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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

THIRD SERIES

MARCH, 1933

PUBLISHED BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1933

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1933

THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS¹

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Allow me to express to the authorities of this University my great appreciation of the honour they have done me by asking me to address this Convocation. I am very much indebted to them for the courtesy they have shown to the Calcutta University by inviting its Vice-Chancellor to be the speaker at to-day's function.

It is a great pleasure to me to be here to-day in the capital town of the great land of five waters, which has been for centuries the theatre of epoch-making events in history. From the days when the Aryans crossed over from beyond the Hindukush, down to modern times, the Punjab has been the gateway of India, the place of interchange of the cultures of many nations: Iranians and Turanians, Greeks and Scythians, Aryans and Dravidians, Mongols and Chinese, of people from the East and people from the West. The Punjabi, one of the finest specimens of mankind, embodies in him the result of a wonderful interracial and intercultural synthesis. His physical impressiveness is as arresting as his mental alertness is remarkable. Among the sons of the Punjab and the alumni of this University have been men who have won distinctions in many and varied

¹ Delivered by Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Lieut.-Colonel, O.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, at the University of the Punjab, on Friday, the 23rd December, 1932.

fields of activity. We have had amongst them distinguished soldiers, renowned sportsmen, captains of industry, leaders of political thought, illustrious religious and social reformers, great poets and philosophers. At the present moment the Department of Education, Health and Lands of the Government of India is in charge of a gifted and versatile son of the Punjab. I could go on recounting the names of many other worthy sons of this province who have shed lustre on the spheres of their respective activities and spread the name and fame of their mother-land.

PERIOD OF MOMENTOUS CHANGES

Graduates of the University of the Punjab, it is a source of deep gratification to me to offer you my sincerest congratulations. You have my very best wishes for your success in the future which is now opening out before you. You have had exceptional opportunities here of obtaining knowledge and skill, and you will have greater opportunities in the spacious days to come of serving your country. You are beginning your life at a period which is fraught with the deepest moment to the future of your country: you are on the threshold of great constitutional reforms, leading to increased responsibilities for the children of the soil; you are in the midst of changes in age-old customs and social traditions; you are in the throes of a great economic and industrial upheaval. Great will be your share in the shaping of the future destiny of your mother-land. It is your duty to devote your time and energy to the proper understanding of the essential features of our national development so that you may worthily play your part in the great task which lies ahead.

SOCIAL TRANSITION

While it is essential to recognise that changes are necessary, it is equally important to note that blind and superficial imitation of other nations and of other countries may lead to disaster.

While there is much that is dead and effete, in our customs and practices, there is also much that is worth preserving. You are not truly educated, if you do not understand the relative fitness of things and do not develop in yourselves an attitude of discriminating criticism in regard to social problems. Things like untouchability, purdah system, early marriage, caste-restrictions, are impediments to future advancement which you cannot afford to tolerate for ever. The development of a democratic spirit is hardly consistent with the prevalence of social habits which perpetuate distinctions between man and man. I appeal to you, young men and women, to bestow your serious thought on these important problems of national well-being.

INFLUENCES AT WORK

With regard to changes due to the operation of Western influences, to contact with other countries and with higher and more liberal education, it is essentially necessary to adopt a sane and balanced view. Without hesitation I would like to recognise the fact that the influence of Western civilisation, of scientific advancement and education has, on the whole, exercised a beneficial influence on our country. I must, however, warn you against the superficial adoption of Western modes of living without the proper assimilation of Western culture and civilisation and of the ideals which guide everyday life in the West: I would like to impress on you that whereas there is a good deal to be adopted and assimilated for our own benefit from the civilisation and culture of the West, you should always treat with respect and veneration your age-old traditions and civilisation, so that you may never run the risk of getting reformed out of recognition, losing your own identity and individuality. It should not at all be difficult to build upon the foundations of our past greatness a beautiful and enduring structure with a happy blend of the best in the methods and ideals of the West and of the East.

ECONOMIC EVOLUTION

I should now for a moment like to turn to the economic changes that are beginning to take place in our country. You very often hear the slogan that India has great economic resources, and that if these were properly utilised, our country would be one of the richest in the world. As a matter of fact, estimates of our national production and income show that India is perhaps one of the poorest countries on earth, and I feel it my duty on this important occasion to make a few observations on our economic development, in which some of you will, I hope, take your due share.

EXPANSION OF AGRICULTURE

Let us take agriculture first. It is obvious that with the help of a systematised policy of agricultural advance, our ryots can produce more and improve the quality of the crops as well. The Punjab Land Alienation Act has proved a boon to your agricultural population, but still I venture to think that the indebtedness of the rural population is as bad in the Punjab as in other provinces. How to free the agricultural population who are victims of money-lenders, whether it can be done by the extension of the co-operative movement or the institution of a Land Mortgage Banking System or by any other means, are questions which should engage the serious thoughts of the educated classes. I am convinced that rural reconstruction in its different aspects is an occupation to which many of our educated men can turn their attention, not only without any loss of dignity, but with real profit to themselves and their country.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT : COTTAGE INDUSTRY

Turning towards industrial expansion, I find that almost all categories of industries—large, middle-sized, and small—afford suitable careers for men possessing the necessary talents and

skill. When we realise that it is only a very small fraction of our total population that lives in large cities and is connected with large-scale industries, the need for developing medium-sized and, specially, cottage industries becomes most pressing. We must so devise our industrial policy as to afford chances to the cultivators to increase their agricultural output and thereby improve their purchasing power. I feel sure that the urgent task in our country on the industrial side is the development of medium-sized and, as I have mentioned above, specially of cottage industries. It will provide the agricultural labourer with work during the time he is off his agricultural occupations. It will improve the income of the ryot and his purchasing power and thus contribute to a gradual rise in the standard of living of the nation. Perhaps the safer policy for our country would be one of industrial decentralisation rather than of concentration.

OVERCROWDING IN UNIVERSITIES : VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

I would now like to speak for a moment on the important subject of University Education. "The Universities have been hampered in their work by being overcrowded with students who are not fitted by capacity for University education and of whom many would be far more likely to succeed in other careers." While there has been a great increase in the number of Universities and University men, there does not, however, seem to have been a corresponding rise in the level of quality.

The tragedy of unemployment among the graduates and their inefficiency, is largely the result of following the beaten track of University education, not with the noble object of acquiring knowledge for the sake of knowledge, but in order to obtain diplomas and degrees which will ensure them entrance into Government and other services. The present examination system tends to encourage cramming. It has occurred to me that while the questions set in examinations are very

impressive, answers do not indicate that the students have an adequate appreciation and understanding of the problems raised. Many of them repeat the answers they have been drilled to learn. While thus the powers of memory are exercised, I am afraid, those of understanding and judgment are not brought into adequate use. It does not matter if our questions are not so distinguished or not so pedantic. Our aim should be to ascertain whether the students have had a thorough understanding of the basic and fundamental principles of the subject in which they are examined.

It will be a good thing if instead of giving undue importance to the passing of University examinations as a qualification for entering posts under Government and elsewhere, special tests are instituted for the various kinds of service.

A large percentage of persons who are mentally and constitutionally unsuited for higher education will do well to be diverted to industrial and commercial channels and given a start upon a useful career while they are still young enough to learn. By a judicious and proper application of psycho-analysis and experimental psychology, we may be able to direct the energies of our young men in the right path, and thereby save them from pitfalls and untold miseries in their after-life.

I am convinced it will save Government a good deal of expenditure in the judicial, the jail and the police departments, if they spend a comparatively small sum of money to start in every University a department for vocational guidance and an employment bureau. I call the special attention of our Ministers in charge of Education in the different Provinces of India to this aspect of our educational policy.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

As regards research work of which so much is heard at the present day, I have my own misgivings, and I venture to express my view before this learned body, that the severest

scrutiny is necessary in selecting persons for a career in the higher work of research in a University. I do not deny that there has been some excellent work done in Arts and Science in our Universities, and with pardonable pride I may draw attention to what has been accomplished in the Post-Graduate Departments of my own University and in the departments of Chemistry and Biology in the University of the Punjab. But I must also admit that research work has been made a fetish of, and much of it is made to order, with loss of perspective in dealing with materials. There are so many who empty their note-books into print without realising that raw material will have to be understood and assimilated before it can yield fresh materials or discoveries.

No responsible teacher should present to his students or his readers work which is merely one of scissors and paste. Research work can only be considered valuable and desirable, if the facts gathered, preferably for the first time, are so linked up and are so elucidated that new ideas and new principles can be drawn from them. We must be able to throw new light upon the subject, or discover the inter-connectedness of important fields of work and make some definite contribution to knowledge, whether in Science or in Letters.

SCOPE OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

I am rather diffident to discuss or to speak on the scope of the present system of University Education. The matter is now engaging the attention of the Punjab University Enquiry Committee. But I venture to express the opinion that like the Khalsa College at Amritsar the Punjab has the possibilities of providing not one, but many ideal places to serve as intellectual centres, amidst historic environments and living forces which help to mould the strength of mind and the character of a nation. Whether you decide to have one University or more, whether your University be of the unitary type for direct teaching, or of

the federal type with affiliated colleges in different parts of the province, I venture to express the hope that you will not allow one University to be a replica of another. Their ideals and ultimate aims may be the same, but each must have a distinctive stamp of its own. For example, one University may give more attention to the claims of ancient and modern languages and the liberal professions, another may devote itself to scientific subjects and specialise in applied science, while yet another may take up technological, mechanical and vocational instruction.

The organisation and maintenance of a University require expenditure of large sums of money, and until larger educational endowments are made by the princes and the people of the country, it may not be found practicable on financial grounds to encourage the establishment of new Universities. Extra-mural institutions specialising in suitable branches of study and all-India institutions at different centres, run on cheaper lines than Universities, may meet the national demand for higher scientific education. For instance, the Punjab is eminently suited for the establishment of an all-India institution for special training in Agriculture.

FACTORS OF POLITICAL UNREST

I would now like to make a very brief reference to the causes of political unrest amongst the educated classes. Unemployment is certainly an important factor. I am, however, convinced that the political unrest and upheaval we are witnessing everywhere have a psychological and a pathological background due to defective nutrition and nervous overstrain. I would like to invite the special attention of all members of Government in the different provinces of India and also of the Hon'ble Sir Fazl-i-Husain to this important problem, and start with the least possible delay an enquiry into the causes of ill-health among the masses of this country,—into the psychological, physical, pathological, economic and environmental

factors, which are responsible for the unbalancing of the minds and the warping of the imagination, and the distorting of the ideals of many of our youths. It appears to me that poor food, unemployment, overcrowding in the Universities with students unsuitable for higher education, are some of the chief factors. It is therefore essential to conduct a detailed survey of the food resources of the country and to classify indigenous food materials in categories of their nutrition value and encourage and guide our youngmen to take to professions and callings which they are financially, physically, intellectually and temperamentally fitted to pursue.

We are on the threshold of great constitutional reforms. It is in the fitness of things that the educationists of our country should consider the ways and means of overhauling and re-organising the entire machinery of University Education in order to bring it in conformity with the requirements of time and the needs of the country.

INTER-COMMUNAL UNITY

I cannot conclude my address without drawing the attention of our graduates to the important topic of unity amongst the different communities of India. When I look upon the bitterness with which communal strife has been carried on in this country within the last few years I am mortified to feel that education has apparently lost its true mission. The Universities must be regarded as the training centres for turning out broad-minded, tolerant and self-reliant citizens. Education must drive off from within our minds the darkness of ignorance and emancipate us from the bondage of bigotry and denominational bias,—must teach us to avoid exclusiveness, narrowmindedness and selfishness.

Graduates of the University, having drunk at the same fountain of knowledge, is it not natural to expect you, the youths of the Hindu, Muslim, Sikh and other communities of India, to cultivate mutual understandings and friendships in

the class-rooms, in the field of sports and manly games, which will enable you to go out into the world as brothers and comrades in arms for the realisation of your great ideals ?

There can however be no true friendship and goodwill without a feeling of equality and without breaking down the barriers of snobbery and the tyranny of Caste. Those who may be advanced in education and in opulent circumstances should provide every facility for the better education of those who are educationally backward, so that through liberal education, the greatest gift of mankind, they will be in a position to look eye to eye with one another and appreciate one another's point of view.

Different communities should allow one another to maintain their own identity and treasure their own traditions. One community should not try to overpower, stifle or efface the other out of existence, but help it to develop its special culture and genius. Like flowers of different hues and shades, of different degrees of perfume, sweetness and beauty, students of the University, of all castes and creeds, enrich and beautify the garden of your country.

My young friends, I cannot conclude my address better than by repeating the soul-stirring words of some of our Hindu and Muslim poets which have been compiled and linked together by me—

ہم چل پڑے ہیں لیکن منزل ابھی ہے کوسوں
 اور سخت مشکلوں میں ہے کاروان ہمارا
 آپس کی دشمنی کے یہ دن نہیں ہیں ہرگز
 پہلے ہی جبکہ دشمن ہے آسمان ہمارا
 حُبِ وطن کا ملکر سب ایک راگ گائیں
 لہجہ جدا ہو کرچہ مرغانِ نغمہ خوان کا
 یہ وقت ہے کہ کہہ دیں سب ہو کے یک زبان ہم
 ہندی ہیں ہم وطن ہے ہندوستان ہمارا

آملے غیریت کے پردوں کو پھر اٹھا دیں
 بچھڑن کو پھر ملا دیں نقش درگئی مٹا دیں
 مندر میں ہو بلانا جس دم پجاریوں کو
 آواز اذان میں ناقوس کو چھپا دیں
 اگنی ہے وہ جو نرگن کہتے ہیں پیت جسکو
 دھرمونکے یہ بکھیرے اس آگ سے جلا دیں
 مذہب نہیں سکھاتا آپس میں یی رکھنا
 ہندی ہیں ہم وطن ہے ہندوستان ہمارا

“ The caravan has started on its journey, but the goal is still far off, many are the difficulties, arduous is the journey before us.

Oh unlucky ones, this is not the time nor the occasion for disruption, pettiness and jealousies.

Let us all sing to the same tune of the love of the mother country, though the melody and the voices be different.”

Now is the moment when we should all unite and with one voice say, “ We are *Hindis* (Indians) and the land of *Hindusthan* is our mother-land.”

Come along, let us unite, and discard the veil of other-ness ; unite those who have straggled away from the fold and efface the difference of ‘you’ and ‘me’ and become one.

Let the call summoning the votaries to the place of worship be such that the music of the temple of the Brahmin may be drowned in the voice of the Muazzin.

May the fire of love consume all the elements of discord and reduce the different denominations into one precious mass.

Religion does not teach you to harbour feelings of distrust and grudge against each other; we are all children of *Hind*, the same Mother India, the land of *Hindustan* is our common mother country.

FROM A RUINED GARDEN

In the gardens of Shah Jahan
I heard a peacock cry;
And time was an un-returning dawn
Under a molten sky.

And the wonder that once was Ind
Was a raucous rattle, a note
Blown on wings of a searing wind
From a crazed peacock's throat.

WADE OLIVER

GAUTAMA BUDDHA

Up to the threshold where his young wife slept,
Nestling their infant son in soft embrace,
Like a ghost in the white of the moon he crept.
And sorrow lay in his eyes and on his face.
"This is another tie to break," he sighed,
And turned him forth, and rode through the white moonlight
Into a distant world where no voice cried,
Save the woe of the world he yearned to set a-right.

A startled peacock cried upon the dawn ;
Above the rice-fields rose the burnished sun ;
And she awoke to a prince and lover gone,
He to the lonesome road, and the quest undone;
Over his eyes the white of Nirvana stood,
And the world's woes were a bell crying in his blood !

WADE OLIVER

WESTERN INFLUENCE IN BENGALI LITERATURE

*A Review.**

I have read Prof. Priyaranjan Sen's "Western Influence in Bengali Literature" with deep interest and pleasure. The author has chosen for his thesis a subject which for a long time has been waiting for adequate exploration by scholars. His work throws much light on the early stages of development of our literature and presents in a lucid manner a connected account of the formative influences that have helped in its self-expression.

Sufficient emphasis however has not been laid on the fact that it is this power to assimilate cultural influences from outside which proves the creative vitality of Bengali literature. Originality in literature lies in its capacity to absorb the universal in all literatures and arts and give it a unique expression characteristic of its particular genius and traditions. Then again, the human mind being one, parallel developments along similar lines can be traced in different literatures not suggestive of mutual influence but denoting independent pursuit of truths which are universal. This is specially true of the production of great minds whose highest realizations often present a remarkable harmony of kinship even though they may be widely separated by distance and time.

It is not true to say that a literature alienates itself from the masses by following its highest inspiration, by tuning itself to the spirit of the Age, and accepting the fruits of wisdom garnered by the mind of man through centuries of effort and achievement. The function of literature is not to stoop down to the level of the average mind but to lead it to a wider understanding of eternal values of life which may be unfamiliar

* *Western Influence in Bengali Literature*, Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, Calcutta University, 1932.

to them owing to the narrowness of their cultural experience. Literature is not for the satisfaction of minds that remain static in their own standard of enjoyment. I am sure that the works of great geniuses like Shakespeare, Goethe and others need special training of taste before they can be fully appreciated and that the education has been gradual for the general readers which has reached the present stage of sensitiveness. We are grateful that Bhavabhuti never hesitated to write in his own magnificent style though he was doubtful about its acceptance by the multitude as is proved by the verse containing his aggressive self-laudation contemptuous of the capacity of the uncultured. Kalidas, instead of writing *Sakuntala*, could have written doggerels for popular comprehension but that would have been a tragedy not only for his own genius and for eternal literature but for all his countrymen, both his contemporaries and of succeeding generations, who have been redeemed and sustained by the greatness of his writings. ✓ It is an artist or writer constantly seeking to satisfy the multitude who betrays their deepest human nature and is spiritually isolated from them. ✓

I hope that the author will follow up his present work and deal with his subject in fuller detail. He is eminently fitted for this task because of his erudition and his gift of clear, and systematic exposition.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

ROMANTICISM

In all studies of Romanticism there seems to exist some confusion of issues. The main problem that confronts us is simple. What is that particular something the presence of which, in poetry or in any other forms of art-expressions, may be said to constitute Romanticism? But the reply to this simple question has been rendered difficult by certain indirect methods of approach usually adopted by critics, which obscure the vital elements of the problem. One such method has been to confuse a particular expression of Romanticism with Romanticism itself. When the reader, for example, comes across Keats's famous lines about

Charmed magic casement opening on the foam
Of perilous seas in fairy lands forlorn :

he is delighted with Pater's evasive dictum about the addition of strangeness to beauty as constituting the most satisfactory description of what Romanticism is. When again he is enveloped by the weird and eerie atmosphere of the Middle Ages, and is informed that the Romantic must have something to do with mediaeval *Romances*, the conclusion seems to him to be perfectly legitimate to identify Romanticism with the revival of, or a revived interest in that dubious imaginary world which we call the Middle Ages. The nature poetry of Wordsworth again, with its endless vistas of suggestions surpassing the obvious meaning of words, leads him to fumble indecisively with such phrases as a "return to nature" or a "spiritual interpretation of nature" as perhaps embodying the essential element he is in search of. A recent and stimulating critic has made much of the haze of distance as being a characteristic element of Romanticism. And then there is that mysteriously suggestive phrase of Watts-Dunton—"The Renaissance of Wonder"—which so

vaguely flickers on the borderland of understanding, as to leave us suspended in the region of unformed convictions.

That each of these expressive statements gives us partial glimpses into the nature of the truth admits of no doubt. And yet precisely because all of them have elements of truth that we are not able to accept any of them as expressing the whole truth. Each of these statements, in so far as it affirms its own content, denies, to that extent, the implications of the others, and hence must be in its very nature unsatisfactory, incomplete, and uncertain. But still, so long as we treat each of these as approaches to the vital elements, their utility in carrying us to the central principle of Romanticism must be recognised.

(2)

I believe it does not admit of any doubt that Romanticism is a certain quality inherent in a form of art which gives it an individuality. But whether that quality appertains to the subject-matter, or to the artistic treatment, or to the creative mind that reproduces itself in a work of art, is a question not so easily decided. It is to this uncertainty that we must trace the original source of confusion. Take, for example, those lines of Keats already quoted,—the quotation of which indeed, is unavoidable in any treatment of Romanticism,—

The same that oft-times hath
Charmed magic casements opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in fairy lands forlorn :

Now, wherein lies the individualising quality of these lines? Is it in the peculiar artistic treatment which the poet has accorded to the castle by lifting it out of its concrete architectural associations and establishing it in a vague and shadowy world, to the creation of which is summoned all the rich treasury of imaginative associations hoarded in our mind;—in other words, to paraphrase Pater, by adding a quality of strangeness to an object that we already feel to be beautiful in its emphatic

setting in the actual world? Or are we to see this essential quality in the peculiar nature of the subject-matter itself,—“memorable touches of far-off Bible and legendary romance?” Or, again, is that quality quintessential to the mind of the poet, “the magic quality of the Celtic temperament,” as Matthew Arnold has happily phrased it?

Take another and a far more simple instance :—

The feast was over in Branksome Tower,
And the lady had gone to her secret bower,
Her bower that was guarded by watch and by spell,
Deadly to hear and deadly to tell;—
Jesu Maria! shield her well.

Here, again, we are tantalised by the same uncertainty. Does the appeal of these lines lie in their association with the Middle Ages? Or in their suggestion of distance, of remoteness? Or in their supernatural machinery?

Let us take another example, and a more complex one,—

The sea that bares her bosom to the moon,
The wind that will be howling at all hours,
And are upgathered now like sleeping flowers:
For this, for everything we are out of tune.

Are these lines romantic because of the spiritual interpretation of nature that they suggest? Or because they expand the mind with a feeling of elemental wonder? Or is it because they give us a conception of nature that is saturated in the sensitised personality of the poet?

Now, I believe, it will be conceded that the passages I have cited are essentially Romantic. And yet that precise something that differentiates them from the “Classic” into the isolation of their own specific quality, eludes the limits of a rigid definition. Neither the incitement to wonder, nor the suggestion of distance, nor the resurrection of the remote, nor any of the other qualities that have been already referred to, can be regarded as constituting the essence of Romanticism.

There is a certain value in that time-worn method of studying the three constituent elements in every work of art which we may now profitably adopt;—*viz.*, an examination of a work from the standpoint of subject-matter, the style or expression, and the creative mind of the artist. When a particular object comes under the influence of the re-creative energy of an artistic soul, and is chiselled or expanded until it assumes a certain style,—a certain external appearance or form,—it becomes the subject of our aesthetic contemplation; and it is then that we analyse it in search of its essential meaning and purpose,—the ultimate reason of its existence. Let us take into consideration each of these elements, and see how far it leads us.

First, as regards the subject-matter :

I think it will not be difficult to agree that Romanticism cannot be a quality attaching to a subject-matter irrespective of its nature. Odysseus sailing across the unchartered ocean,—

Alone, alone, all, all, alone;—

Alone on a wide, wide sea :

certainly gives us a subject-matter that is full of incipient romance. And yet can we by any interpretation of the term call Homer's epic romantic? Or take the exquisite pastorals of Virgil;—they are steeped in the seductive atmosphere that we associate with a particular aspect of English Romanticism. And yet, is not the very word Virgilian reminiscent of suggestions that are essentially anti-romantic? Again, nothing can be more poignantly subjective than the underlying *motif* of Milton's *Samson Agonistes*,—

But chief of all

Oh loss of sight! of thee I most complain;

Blind among enemies: oh worse than chains,

Dungeons, or beggary, or decrepit age.

But in spite of this subjective *motif*, *Samson Agonistes* remains the finest drama in English literature in the purely classic style. We may, therefore, arrive at the presumptive conclusion that

Romanticism has got nothing to do with the subject-matter of the poem. In the hand of a Pater, the story of Eloisa and Abelard would assume the cold and statuesque repose of the purest classic workmanship. And Goethe was able to impart to the story of Faust a severe dignity and reticence that stands out in sharp contrast to the sweeping periods of Marlowe.

The question that will next demand examination is, whether Romanticism has anything to do with the treatment which a poet accords to a particular subject-matter. Is it in any way connected with the way in which a particular idea happens to be expressed? A straightforward answer to this question is rendered impossible for the reason that it involves a subtle metaphysical question that baffles analysis. The question is,—Is it at all possible to dissociate a mode of expression from the mental idea it seeks to express? In the domain of art, all expression must out of a sheer inner necessity be suited to the idea it has to express; it is fashioned thereto by an irresistible psychological necessity; and the absolution of all art is ultimately to be sought in the degree of approximation that exists between the idea in its original inception and its final expression. When we say that all poetry is inevitable we are only implying this, that in poetry the idea receives absolute expression; for according to the strictest logical interpretation, every idea can only have one expression;—and *that* comes to the poet spontaneously. While, therefore, it would not be wrong to say that Romanticism is inherent in the treatment accorded to a subject-matter by an artist, it would be fundamentally true to say that it inheres in the mind itself which selects and adopts its own mode of treatment to meet its psychological obligation.

Thus out of these considerations, at least one definite conclusion emerges, and it is this :—The subject-matter of a poem is comparatively of little importance ; it is only a convenient medium which the artistic mind selects to satisfy its need for self-expression. The artistic treatment again is of minor importance; it is entirely dominated and controlled by the mind of the

artist. But what is of the utmost importance is the creative mind, which seeks to realise itself on an imaginative plain through some mediate symbol; which seeks in other words to objectify its self-recognition at a particular moment of experience in some external form. And whenever we are concerned with the ultimate principles, conditions and limitations of a work of art, it is with the quality of the mind that is startled into self-recognition by some thrilling experience that we have to do primarily. Romanticism, therefore, should be definitely related to a certain condition of the creative mind which embodies itself in poetry, painting, music or sculpture, as the case may be.

(3)

What then, is that mental condition to the expression of which in terms of art the name Romanticism is applied?

An analysis of the human mind will show that it has two primary moods. In the one, the human mind is pervaded by a sense of profound and inward contentment with the facts of existence, as they actually are,—a love of the external, objective world of our sense perception; a feeling that this world is the best of all possible or impossible worlds, and all that they may connote ;—that we need not go beyond it in search of peace and blessedness. In the other, the human mind rebels against “the whole mass of the motley facts of life,”—believes itself to be an alien in a hostile scheme of things which stifles its aerial essence with its smothering solidity, and yearns for something which transcends all these facts and evanesces into the remote and the infinite in which all that is hard and defiant in the real world bursts as mere bubbles in the air. The one finds expression in the serene beatitude in which Wordsworth steeped himself in moments of sheer spiritual exaltation ;—when for example, he says,

’Tis her privilege
Through all her the years of this our life to lead

From Joy to Joy : for she can so inform
 The mind that is within us, so impress
 With quietness and beauty, that neither evil tongues,
 Rash judgments, nor the sneers of selfish men,
 Nor greetings where no kindness is, nor all
 The intercourse of daily life
 Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb
 Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold
 Is full of blessings.

For the other, we can go to any of the Romantic poets. This, for example, from Clough will do as well as any :—

Oh Perfect ! if it were all ; But it is not.
 Hints haunt me for ever of a more beyond ;
 I am rebuked by a sense of the incomplete,
 Of a completion over soon assumed
 Of adding up too soon.

The former mood finds expression in Classic art ; the latter in Romantic art.

In Classic art, life is glorified and made beautiful and holy and something that in itself possesses " a supreme value over and above all other things." But the Romantic poet regards life " as false nature," he is chained down to life by ' a heavy weight of hours,' he is tired with life and cries for " restful death," or is " half in love with easeful death." To the Classic poet, contemplation of the sufferings and woes of life only serves to add to the value and beauty of life ; in the words of a writer on Nietzsche, " They (the Classic poets) contemplated suffering and pain in the light of an aesthetic manifestation of the universal Will of which all life is but the manifestation." But the Romantic poet contemplates life only to be crushed under " the heavy and weary weight of this unintelligible world," and instead of rising to the height of his argument and " justifying the ways of God to man," all his soul is aflame with " a devotion to something afar, from the sphere of our sorrow." Nowhere is this incapacity to envisage the hard facts of life so apparent as in the

tragic heroes of Shakespeare. Hamlet cries out, "Oh that the too, too solid flesh would melt." To Macbeth, "life is a tale told by an idiot full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." The whole of King Lear turns upon the idea—

As flies to wanton boys, we are to the gods,
They kill us for their sports.

It is a feeling of the utter meaninglessness of life, or of helpless impotence or tragic futility, that imparts to a Shakespearean tragedy its stormy atmosphere. It is also worthy of notice that even in his comedies, Shakespeare's lovers never find their bliss in the actual world but they are transported into an ideal world, the world of the Forest of Arden or of *Midsummer Night's Dream*,—a world sheltered and protected from the "wind that blows in the night," and destroys the flower ere its day is done.

(4)

A sense of dissatisfaction, then, with the real world, often leading to a desire to escape from that world, constitutes the very essence of Romanticism. Hence, it has two distinct but correlated aspects. There is in the first place, a vehement protest against the actualities of existence ; and, in the second place, a yearning for some completer synthesis, where the actualities of life will lose their edges and will not grate upon the senses and the feelings. It is thus, both an emphatic denial and a bold affirmation ; and it is in a large measure this oscillation between two opposite tendencies that constitutes the peculiar fascination which Romanticism exerts over the susceptible mind.

Hence, at all times, Romanticism has been on the one hand revolutionary and destructive ; and on the other, imaginative and creative. It now raises itself in an attitude of violent rebellion against all those elements which have tended to arrest the fluidity of life into set forms and moulds,—thus conspiring against that instinct for expansion which is the attribute of the soul. But

• • •
 at the next opportunity, it is impassioned with a longing to create or discover another world where the storm and stress of the soul may be quieted in an atmosphere of peace and beauty. The cry of the romantic poet must at all times be the cry of Omar Khayyam—

Ah Love! could thou and I with Fates conspire
 To break this sorry scheme of things entire,
 Would we not shatter it to bits and then
 Remould it nearer to our heart's desire.

These lines may be said to sum up the vital essence of Romanticism in all its several manifestations. There is in it that world-embracing dissatisfaction with "this sorry scheme of things entire," that complex mood of infinite longing and tragic helplessness; "the yearning that craves for expression, yet defies expression, the inconclusive struggle between emotional apprehension of life and the articulation that must transcend personal emotion."

(5)

The distinction between Classicism and Romanticism will be more real if we refer ourselves to the more concrete forms of art, *viz.*, painting or sculpture,—forms of which an immediate sensuous perception brings with it the hall-mark of conviction in no uncertain fashion. Thus in the works of Raphael and his contemporaries, we have the representation of the impalpable and mystic spiritual experience so characteristic of the age, *e. g.*, in the wonderful Madonnas of Raphael, or in the Christ of Leonardò da Vinci. Again in the modern English pre-Raphaelite school, we have the expression of a profound sense of weariness behind all its minute and meticulous emphasis on picturesque details, *e. g.*, in the Pandora of Rossetti or in the Autumn of Millais. Contrast with such pictures a piece of Phidian sculpture or a statue of Buddha, and the elemental difference between the two

will be unmistakable. The whole expression of the latter is one of profound and inward contentment from a sense of perfect and complete realisation. In the former, we have representation of a spiritual aspiration or of a discontent arising from a possible sense of irrefutable imperfection. Buddha, serenely satisfied with the great truth which he had realised within himself ; Apollo gloriously conscious of his divine perfection,—are these not fundamentally opposed to our vision of Christ, with that look of passionate yearning irradiating from his countenance, or of the Madonna eager to lose herself in the Infant God in her arms?

(6)

Romanticism, we have noted, has a negative side of denial, and a positive side of affirmation. It might be said that Romanticism denies only to affirm more vehemently ; affirms in order to imply a comprehensive denial. In its aspect of negation it received considerable impetus from the French Revolution, and manifested as a violent protest not only against all existing institutions as such, but against the very conditions under which life has to be lived in this planet. It would be not without interest to pass under rapid survey the different forms which this protest and this revolt took in the poets of the English Romantic movement.

The loudest and the most emphatic of these revolutionaries is undoubtedly Byron, who has proclaimed his rebellion in verses that blaspheme against the very foundations of life. Mr. Arnold has sought the seeds of Byron's Titanism in his Celtic temperament, which after all is Romanticism as conditioned by the wild surroundings amidst which the Celts lived. Everywhere in Byron's poetry, we have this Titanism of the Celt... "his passionate, turbulent indomitable reaction against the despotism of facts."

The reaction, against what Mr. Arnold called "the despotism of fact" even more subtly interpenetrates the lyrical cry

of pain which exhausts itself in the poetry of Shelley. "Tameless and swift and proud" as his spirit is, Shelley is chained down by a heavy weight of hours, and he falls upon the thorns of life and bleeds. Take up any of his more characteristic poems, and we will recognise the same all-pervasive dissatisfaction with the real world, and the same restless yearning to burst the chain that ties him down to the earth and to find in death that consummation which life denies ;—and even there he is pursued by the soul-killing doubt—"Lest the grave should be, like life and fear, a dark reality."

In Coleridge's poetry the revolt and the yearning are both exclusively personal. They give rise to a strain of melancholy, a feeling of futility before the baffling conditions of life. It never becomes so shrieking or tempestuous as in Byron or Shelley, but yet, it is this elemental sense of dissatisfaction that forms the vital element in Coleridge's poetry.

Almost on the same level with Coleridge stands Keats. Garrod refers to a "shyness of the actual" in Keats's poetry ; we regard this as the essence of Romanticism. On the other hand, there is in Keats's poetry, an unconscious but insistent effort to create for his imagination "an ideal atmosphere unaffected by the social influence of his age." (Courthope.)

It is only in the poetry of Wordsworth that this aspect of Romanticism is not fundamental. He does indeed refer to "the heavy and weary weight of this unintelligible world," but only to show how the heaviness can be made to evaporate and the weight to become less wearying and oppressive, and the world to lose its aspect of unintelligibility. Wordsworth's poetry is inspired by a reaction against the mechanisation of life in these days, and is therefore as much protestant in its implications as the more obvious rebellion of Byron and Shelley, and the more personal distress of Keats and Coleridge. Let it at the same time be remembered that so far as Wordsworth, extorted satisfaction out of the facts of life, he approximated to the Classic

attitude, as has been recognised by several of his most ardent admirers. Wordsworth has a strenuous moral fibre by the strength of which he is able to raise himself far above all pessimism. Indeed in his poetry such half-truths as pessimism and optimism might imply are finally resolved into a glorious and glowing synthesis, where the mind is poised in the stable equilibrium of self-realisation. This is nowhere so apparent as in those magnificent narratives which express through all the tragic hostility of enveloping circumstances "the beauty of life, and the exuberant power of life," desiring eternity for the realisation of its infinite possibilities.

(7)

What has been already referred to as the positive side of Romanticism is to be found in the continuous search for avenues of escape from the world of facts, and the imaginative reconstruction of an ideal world where the mind can realise the ineffable satisfaction of fulfilment.

The simplest and the most obvious means of escape from the real world was to go back to the past. In this sense we are all more or less romantic; often and anon we become sick of the present with its overwhelming emphasis on facts and we wistfully revert to that fabulous Golden Age, where all our unrealised and unrealisable dreams and desires are accommodated in a scheme of perfection. In romantic poetry, this reversion to the past was accomplished with a swift and easy facility. Thus it carried us backwards to the luminous age of Greek mythology, where all rivers and mountains were haunted by nymphs and naiads, dryads and hamadryads,—where, in the words of Keats,—

Holy were the haunted forest boughs,
Holy the air, the water and the fire.

In the elemental simplicity of that beauty-intoxicated age

the romantic poets found a sanctuary from the troubles that assail and overthrow the equilibrium of life.

Greater was the fascination of the Middle Ages, which were so delightfully interwoven with tales of magic and diablerie that in their eager desire to escape from the drab and dreary life of the present, it seemed to these poets to be just the world where their unquiet souls might attain their dreams of fulfilment without being disturbed by the scepticism of contemporary age.

The escape from the real world was further effected with the help of what Coleridge called "the shaping power of the imagination," the power to create a new world of ideal beauty "embroidered with dim dreams," where the mind can luxuriate in voluptuous ease, or be thrilled with vivid ecstasy. This imaginary world having ideal completeness can be seen in the romantic narrative poetry of Keats, Shelley and Coleridge.

A further way of escape was discovered by Wordsworth when he threw over the incidents of common life, "a certain colouring of imagination whereby ordinary things should be presented in an unusual aspect." This differs from the former in so far as it did not do away with the actual world, but only enveloped it with "the light that never was on sea or land." It is a curious process of imaginative transformation of the actual world, which is so satisfying to the weary mind that many regard this to be the very essence of poetry.

Again the Romantic poets tired with life often regarded it as illusory :

We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.

This is chiefly to be found in Shelley. In the intense vision of Shelley, reality loses its militant solidity and becomes strangely vaporous and shadowy. It is this which leads him to fall back with so much uncritical ardour upon the Platonic conception

of ideas as being the ultimate substance of which reality is but an unsubstantial shadow.

Aspiration towards totality or the infinite is so common an element in Romantic poetry in its reaction against the finite littleness of life that German philosophical critics have identified it as the very life and spirit of Romanticism. It is Shelley's "devotion to something afar;" it is Keats's yearning after "fellowship with essence," whence he "rises into a sort of oneness" and his "state is like a floating spirit." Of course, its sublimest expression is to be found in those wonderful lines of Wordsworth about the shadowy recollections of childhood joys—

Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain-light of all our seeing,
Uphold us, cherish, and have power to make
Our noisy years seem moments in the being
Of eternal silence.

Hence in a season of calm weather
Though inland far we be
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea which brought
us hither.

Finally, working through an elaborate process of analysis, Mr. L. Abercombie sees in Romanticism an withdrawal from the outer experience to concentrate on inner experience, and we may regard this as another means of escape from the limitations of actual life. Of course to identify Romanticism with that limited world of inner experience would be to restrict Romanticism either within that limited world where the mind alone creates in entire oblivion or disregard of the outer world; or it would be exaggerating the limits of that world till it became co-eval with all that Romanticism might imply. At any rate, it would effectively exclude the poetry of Scott and might be made to include the "Imaginary Conversations" of Landor. For this

reason we have suggested that while Romanticism does imply and involve a rejection of the outer world of experience, the withdrawal or escape from it is effected variously by the different poets.

(8)

Because Romanticism is too much pervaded by this rejection of all that constitutes empiric reality, it has aroused the ire of the robust-minded thinkers and artists of modern times, who see in it only the germs of that decadence which infected English literature of the later 19th century. Thus Bernard Shaw suspects Romanticism to be the cause of all the sentimental mid-Victorian priggishness which weaves round the novels of Dickens and the poetry of Tennyson a peculiar atmosphere of unreality. There is again that stimulating critic, Irving Babbitt, roundly telling us that Romanticism is in itself the source of all decadence, being itself the child of that arch decadent, Rousseau. Finally this chorus of protest is exquisitely rounded off by Rudyard Kipling in his own inimitable way:

Romance! those first class passengers,
 they liked it very well,
 Printed and bound in little books, but
 why don't poets tell ?
 I'm sick of all those quirks and qualms,
 the loves and doves they dream ;
 Lord send a man like Bobbie Burns, to
 sing the song of the steam.

That there is much in these adverse criticisms essentially true not even the stoutest champion of Romanticism will deny. The self-analytical self-introspections of many of the poets seem to indicate a morbid pathology that repels robust thinkers. Also their tendency to ignore life often made the poets recluses in the world of art and imagination, or led them to absolve themselves from all serious responsibilities of life,—thus fostering a

spirit of unhealthy monasticism. It is a fact that Romanticism places on idealism at such an exaggerated value, that often made the poets slaves of mere sentiment which could lapse into prettiness with only too much facility. But the danger in these days being so much in the way of belittling Romanticism it will not be remiss if a brief reference is made to the signal contributions of Romanticism towards the enrichment and strengthening of the foundations of life.

(9)

To an Indian, what appeals most in the Romantic conception of life and art is its recognition of the claims of intuition to perceive immediately the ultimate nature and principles of reality which baffle the intellect of men. This intuitional perception has been well-defined as "the power of penetrating the ordinary objects of experience and perceiving meanings and relations lying beneath the surface and of revealing these elements not isolated and at random, but as part of a new synthesis." The entire epistemology of the Upanishads centred round this idea; but in the West it was for the first time affirmed with all the emphasis of a definitely personal realisation by the great Romantic poets. Coleridge said, "All truth is a species of revelation, and the deepest truths are available only by a man of deep feeling." The poetry of Wordsworth is pervaded by this vision which transcends the common formulæ of the understanding with the help of a penetrating insight, and realises a truth "not standing upon external testimony but carried alive into the heart by passion; truth which is its own testimony, which gives confidence and competence to the tribunal to which it appeals and receives them from the same tribunal."

In the second place, Romanticism created in men a love of nature for its own sake, which made the poets approach the beauties of nature with a caressing tenderness, a wistful fondness for all its delicate nuances, its subtle harmonies of light and

shade, all the qualities which give it its enveloping atmosphere. It was not that poets did not feel attracted by nature before ; but whereas formerly poets used natural landscape for purposes of embroidery, decoration and an effective background, now they looked upon nature as something capable of responding to the moods of a poet spontaneously, ready to minister to their spiritual and moral needs, and to drown all their sorrows and heart-aches in a wave of beauty. It has been suggested by Rabindranath Tagore that this attitude to nature has found its way into Western literature from Eastern sources ; that the influence of Kalidas's *Sakuntala*, newly translated from Sanskrit by William Jones, was potent in this direction. What validity such a theory might have it is not easy to assess. But the fact that here we have for the first time in Europe a recognition of the personality of Nature, a perception of the independent existence of Nature, surely pre-disposes the mind to study the probable sources of such a conception ; and in such a study, India is sure to loom large by reason of her peculiarly subtle feeling for external life. We are of course not affected in our present study by these considerations. Let us recognise the immense expansion of the world of poetry that has resulted from this attitude to nature.

In the third place, Romanticism has tended to liberate life from the circumscribed groove in which the social man is liable to move and think, and which arrests the fluidity of life. In Classic art, life was stereotyped into set moulds and forms,—forms of transparent beauty, moulds of self-complacent strength, deriving therefrom that graceful equilibrium which we associate with that art. But in Romantic art, life constantly overflows restrictions ; the artist is swept away from the sphere of limitations into a region of daring experiments. Impossible situations, abstract idealism, visionary splendours, magnificence which no eye has seen, music that defies definition, fragrance that exhales the atmosphere of paradise, these are the substances out of which the Romantic artist creates a wonderful world for his mind to dwell in and luxuriate in bliss.

There can be no doubt that Romanticism has extended 'the horizon of man's imagination on all sides. The limiting conditions of life make man seek that which is illimitable. We thus find the romantic poets using words which are "winged" in the truest sense of the term, words that carry us flying through the impalpable regions of infinitude. Hence the romantic poets find it necessary to employ symbols that suggest more than lines or words that express. They evoke our memory through the channels of images and ideas that reproduce themselves through associations and memory. Hence symbolism has become one of the most accepted medium and expression which the romantic artist employs.

Finally in the world of artistic and literary forms, Romanticism has been the originator of striking innovation and invention. Romantic poets have tried to re-capture in the music of their poetry, the complex rhythm of life in all its manifestations. They have sought to arrest in the lines of their painting and sculpture the delicate romances of nature in all their evasive subtlety.

DHIRENDRANATH GHOSH

THOUGHTS SUGGESTED BY SOME
ELIZABETHAN PLAYS

(1)

Life is holy. It has a moral basis and justice is its backbone. He who acknowledges them not is an out-law, a reprobate—be he a crowned monarch or a common highwayman. A thing not rightly acquired is a misappropriation,—be it a kingdom or a trinket. Its retention debaseth the mind and corrupteth the heart. But how lovely is innocence and injured innocence, how lovelier still! Before its youthful presence, unrighteousness—a deformity—stands abashed like a guilty thing surprised. From the height of humanity it falls till it reaches the lowest pit of grovelling baseness and passes into regions where fierceness abides. Unacquainted with the crooked ways of iniquity, innocence walks abroad with the courage of a born hero. The twin sisters of affection and sympathy keep him company to wipe away the sweat of his summer fatigue and enliven him with a benignant warmth against the chill blasts of unprosperous winter. Beauty, the Queen of Spring, attended by her sweeter sister Chastity, unsolicited greets him and vows eternal fidelity to him in the privacy of her flowery retreat. It lies not in the power of a brutish instinct, committed to wrong-doing, to despoil the sweetness of this elysium of happiness with threats or violence. Swift-foot jealousy—a curse of earthly life—might raise a dust-storm of suspicion only to be dispelled by the light April showers of love-tears and the swift vernal breeze of love-sighs. The sweet serenity of this happy land is uncongenial for wolfish evil to dwell in, which beats a hasty retreat leaving innocence, smiling and graceful, its victor and lord.¹

¹ Philaster by Beaumont and Fletcher. *

(2)

Chastity has ever outshone beauty in woman. The evanescent charms of the one are nothing to the consistent grace of the other. Blessed is the woman that unjustly deserted, with her happiness blasted through unholy machinations, never turns away from him who is once admitted into the sanctuary of her heart and whose memory like an evergreen shrub thrives in the congenial soil of her mind, watered by her unfeigned tears and nursed by her sweet devotion. The imperfections of matter ever yield the palm to the purity of the spirit. But a maiden, born ever so high and noble, who yields her virgin fort, be it to the king, is an uncouth bitch under the dissembling cloak of beauty, capable of killing her paramour lolling his head on the defiled bed and wallowing in the mire of pollution. Her own vicious breath makes her flee from herself and excites murderous feeling in her kindred. The humblest of men never puts up with any outrage to his womenfolk. Bloodshed is its inevitable sequel. To be entrapped in the snares of beauty, lured by carnalism, has ever been the bane of flesh. But to force a strumpet as an unsullied virgin on an unsuspecting youth, already in love with a maiden, chaste as Diana, is a piece of devilry befitting the purgatory.²

(3)

Love's bower is a perpetual sunshine. Leafy spring, mild zephyr and smiling flowers are his ministering angels. Fond kisses, soft whispers and throbbing hearts evoke a sweet symphony that keeps the air vibrant. The lovers glide through the sunny glade scattering joy, mirth and laughter. In this world of romance where purity plays with innocence, Religion—the primeval Dame, is an unwelcome guest. Her

² The Maid's Tragedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

frosty breath turns love's rosy tints into livid blue. Her scowling look stops blood's merry course, chills heart's wild thrills and dissolves lip's ruddy glow. But nothing has yet shackled love, nothing can. A Jessica will always find a Lorenzo, come what may. Her glowing passion ever breaks through barriers of schism and sets the quick panting emotion free to fly where it listeth. Warm blood is impetuous and nothing that opposes it is spared.³

(4)

Vanity is a one-eyed Queen of imperious temper. Foul-mouthed malice and fire-brand jealousy, like the ever-watchful dragon defending the golden fleece, guard her unbounded domains. Ambition is her precursor and self-praise her standard-bearer. Ever mounted on the high-mettled charger of success she rides rough-shod over the feelings of others. Adventurous in spirit and tyrannical by nature she never rests till her supremacy is acknowledged with a low obeisance. Brought up in the artificial atmosphere of false adulation, she shuns the natural sunshine of candour and truth. Parasites, cowards and time-servers sing her praise and adorn her court. Under thralldom even a queen, resplendent like sun in her splendour and serene as the moon in her benignity, would invite the very devils of the hell to her aid to blacken spotless chastity and employ all the engines of destruction to bring honest truth under subjection. But she has never succeeded in this. Her greed for praise is insatiable. Half the follies of the world own allegiance to her.⁴

(5)

That man has not been born yet whom beauty attracteth not. Beauty is a born aristocrat. Homage is her waiting-maid and

The Maid of Honour by Philip Massinger.

⁴ *The Picture by Philip Massinger.*

respect her birth-right. Cupid's fairest creation,—a perpetual curse—dogs her steps through her brief earthly sojourn. Tragedy and she have been twins ever since creation. In the hot-house of unceasing watch and utmost devotion such delicacy thrives sheltered from unfeeling touches. The least slight or slackness leads to disaster. Friendship founded on the bed-rock of sincerity when left alone with her is transformed into a lustful passion preying upon the very object vowed to preserve her unsullied in the absence of her lord protector. Conscience is thawed and lust aroused from its torpor by her bewitching looks. To malign the unspotted whiteness of chaste beauty with all the dejection of a feigned remorse and cause the fairest bloom to be plucked out from the pliantest stem by the very hand that nursed it to its admiring growth is a foul trick of faithless friendship. Too much doting on beauty argues weakness even in a hero that moves the heart of his victorious opponent by his native courage and honest frankness.⁵

(6)

The serenity and sweet composure of heaven lies about a pious soul at all times, till it shuffles off the mortal coil. Threats and persecution beat against it with ineffectual violence of waves against a rocky shore. It stands rooted to its convictions with the consistency of a submarine cliff amidst tides and tumults. It treats with like indifference all earthly weal and woe. The fever of passion, the elation of hope or the numbness of despair never darkens its gaze "through golden vistas into heaven." A vision beatific fills it with uncloying sweetness before which pomp and vanity mules and pukes. In this height of self-conscious purity even the soft whispers of coy love move it not. Life and death are to it as toys to a prattling babe.⁶

⁵ The Duke of Milan by Philip Massinger.

⁶ The Virgin Martyr by Philip Massinger.

(7)

In this world of hollow show a man is judged not by what he is but by what he appears. Artful lying, loud swaggering, pretended indignation were devised to deceive others but never for self-deception. A man may be the dread of his foes but an obsequious slave to his own goatish lust hid in the unlit corner of his mind. He may be the brightest jewel in the crown of his country but a pest of his own home, a torture to himself and a monster preying upon his own blood. Nothing is farther from heaven and nearer to hell than an incestuous creature—thirsting after a child of his own loins—a maiden of blooming youth, of meek obedience and natural sweetness. Happiness and he are as poles asunder. The iniquities of a sinful life never escape the lashes of a just retribution. The worst calamity that has ever befallen man is by himself.⁷

(8)

Beauty—an evanescence—is a blazing flame and one not pure in heart should approach it not, lest he be singed. Love and sensuality—how mocking ! One a monster and the other, a god, are twins engendered in the womb of heart by this earthly faery. A man, be he the father, is an unclean swine, if loose desires possess him at the beauty of his son's fiancée. Peace and happiness take a hasty departure from such a region yielding place to sooty melancholy. But ever blessed are true lovers ! Earthly calamities, like dark storm-swept clouds revealing the smiling blue of the heaven in all its lovely glory, enhance the soothing sweetness of fast-beating hearts resting on each other. A gracious hand of divinity cuts the knot of their sufferings in twain and brings them close that have burnt holy incense at the altar of unshaken fidelity.⁸

RASH RANJAN BASU

⁷ The Unnatural Combat by Philip Massinger.

⁸ The Lover's Melancholy by John Ford.

LAXEY

Laxey has a wheel
Far famed I'm told,
But then it don't appeal
I'm left quite cold
For wheels I see at home
Both large and small
'Tis not for wheels I roam
No' not at all !
But Laxey has a beach
Of shingle and of stones
Not an easy one to reach
At least, to lazybones
But oh ! you will agree
It's simply splendid fun
To watch the Laxey Sea,
Toss in the Laxey Sun.

LELAND J. BERRY

ERNEST DAWSON

"Life," says Shelley, "is a dome of many-coloured glass which stains the white radiance of Eternity." Its varied colours are but the reflected glory of the human mind. We receive from life only what we give. The fountains of our joys and sorrows gush from the depths of our soul. Our personality transfigures the world in which we live; we invest it with our own ideals, colour it with our own emotions. Ours is the visionary gleam which flits over its face; ours again, the sombre gloom which often darkens it. Man is the dreamer and life his dream. To the strong in faith the entire universe is but the vesture of the Eternal Father, God. To those who have fallen on the thorns of life yet can still retain their idealism, this world shines with an ethereal beauty which radiates from beneath its outward form of decay. But all are not gifted with this illumination of the spirit; few, indeed have the power "to strip the painted curtain of this scene of things." There are men—and poets also—who are gifted with an exquisite sense of beauty, but have no strength, either of spiritual experience, or of a robust intellectual outlook, to uphold them in their struggle for existence. To natures, so constituted and so developed, life is a grim terror. It is fate, unrelenting and inscrutable, which ruthlessly smothers their own personality. They are blind to things at their best and base their ideal world on a conception of things at their worst.

Such a nature was Ernest Dawson's. Like the Pierrot of his play he wants to live in the midst of "visions, strange and sweet." He remembers his days of innocent childhood when

"in single glee" he chased the fitting creatures of beauty in his world of experience. "The soft wood sounds, the rustlings in the breeze," the eglantine stooping down to "woo the maidly violet," and, last but not the least, Music, its echoes "stealing upon his senses with unlooked for weal"—all create for him a world of dreamy langour in which he yearns to be. The poet is sorely distressed; tired of his "old joy in the rout and masquerade" of life, weary of all memories and care, all joy and mirth, he seeks forgetfulness; utter oblivion must steal into his soul with the soft music which echoes his heart's complaint. He hankers for the realm of fancy, where

Drawn by a team of milkwhite butterflies
Whom with soft voice and music of thy maids,
Thou urgest gently through the heavenly glades;
Mount me beside thee, bear me far away
From the low regions of the solar day;

Even in the midst of the sordid experiences of everyday life he seeks for "the lustrous kingdom of the heart" and dreams how,—as the Moon-lady describes,—

Calm is it yonder, very calm; the air
For mortal's breath is too refined and rare;

his imagination conjures up before his mind's eye a vision of sensuous beauty, a world where

Hard by a green lagoon our palace rears
Its dome of agate through a myriad years.
A hundred chambers its bright walls enthrone,
Each one carved strangely from a precious stone.
Within the fairest, clad in purity
Our mother dwelleth immemorially:
Moon-calm, moon-pale, with moon-stones on her gown
The floor she treads with little pearls is sown;
She sits upon a throne of amethysts,
And orders mortal fortunes as she lists.

She is the symbol of the spirit of Beauty in nature ;

And dreamers all, and all who sing and love
Her power acknowledge and her rule approve;

Her votaries

Forthwith forget all joyance of the day,
Forget their laughter and forget their tears,
And dream away with singing all the years.

(Pierrot of the Moment)

Sharply set off against this background of a dreamy sensuous world of beauty stands, so the poet avers, the humdrum world of everyday existence. It is a realm of cruel insincerity, where men are "polished, petulant, malicious, sly." The keen rapier-play of wit and repartee, the merciless thrust of quips pregnant with malice, the innocent-looking inuendo which glibly destroys reputations—all combine to make of it a scene very uncongenial to the delicate sensibilities of imaginative dreamers. These sordid experiences naturally weigh upon the spirit of man; they crush the poet's personality; they cast a gloom, as it were, over nature herself. Our poet becomes weary of life. His whole world of thought and imagination is coloured by this melancholy conviction. When his beloved Neobule dies it seems to him, as if she

.....too tired
Of the dreams and days above!
Where the poor, dead people stray,
Ghostly, pitiful and gray
Sleeps the sleep which she desired.

(A Requiem)

April comes "with dainty step brushing the young, green grass." She is fair and beautiful; and

.....all her flower-like beauty, as a glass
Mirrors out hope and love.

(My Lady April)

Yet she is tearful as well ; tears tremble down her sad face, her languid eye-lashes wear traces of them. Does she then, asks Dawson, " Weep for very wantonness ? " Or is it not that rather

.....she doth dimly foresee
Across her youth the joys grow less and less,
The burden of days that are to be :
Autumn and withered leaves and vanity
And winter bringing in barrenness ?

(My Lady April)

Weary of the day's toil and anxiety, the shades of evening comfort him with hopes of repose.

Labour and longing and despair the long day brings ;
Patient till evening men watch the sun go west.

They seek oblivion " of all the vanities observed by the sun "—and the yearning of the human soul for rest makes her hanker for the last of our evenings when our spirit will cry out " sufficient unto the day were the day's evil things " (Vesperial).

The world may still allure man ; its worldly wisdom may urge him on—

Go forth and run, the race is to the brave ;
Perchance some honour tarrieth for thee !

But the weary heart of the poet remains inert. It does not feel the inspiration. The only answer it can give is the answer of despair, of hopeless despondency. Death is inevitable, why should we then struggle ? Wherefore should we

.....strive or run
On dusty high-ways ever a vain race ?

For, is it not certain that the " long night cometh, starless, void of sun " (Sapienla Lunae) ? Tempest-tost and cast away from the sympathies of men the derelict soul of the poet seeks consolation and repose. She goes to all shelters, likely and

unlikely, but finds no solace. And in the restless struggle of his life, the quiet sleep of the dead in their solitary graves has a strange significance for Dawson. Those "dear dead people with pale hands" urge the poet to join them in their places of rest. The death of a child leaves a profound impression on his mind. He would fain be like the child; fain would he find repose in the eternal sleep of death.

Yes to be dead,
Dead here with thee to lay
When all is said
'Twere good by thee today
My weary head.
The very best!
Ah! child so tired of play
I stand confessed:
I want to come thy way,
And share thy rest.

(The Dead Child)

This pessimistic outlook on life finds a poignant expression in Dawsons' poetry. It darkens the entire atmosphere with thoughts of failure and misery. In dirge-like cadences the poet takes up all that is joyous and beautiful in the world and strips it bare of its radiance. His vision becomes bleared; he cannot look at the brighter aspects of life even when he speaks of them; he mumbles and hesitates. Verily his life is one valley of the shadow of death and

The fire is out, and spent the warmth thereof
(This is the end of every song man sings!)
The golden wine is drunk, the dregs remain,
Bitter as wormwood and as salt as pain;
And health and hope have gone the way of love
Into the drear oblivion of lost things.

He looks around him but finds no single ray of hope. His companions are no longer sympathetic; in the unnatural twilight of his imagination they, too become unreal, mere

shadows of themselves, ghosts flitting hither and thither through the gloomy atmosphere of his world. With pale, indifferent eyes he sits and waits for the inevitable advent of death, for the curtain to fall and the gate to close upon his distressed soul. And sadly does Dawson remind us "This is the end of all the songs men sing" (Dregs).

2.

To a soul so distressed life is transient. He does not find either in himself or in the world around any spirit nor any power upholding it till eternity. He has not that strength of intellect which can transmute in the light of a consistent theory the phenomenal world into one organised whole nor can he develop that faculty of intuitive vision which can penetrate into the depths of reality and discern the one behind the many. Such a poet, and Dawson was one, is always eager for new sensations; and existence to him is a mere cluster of such sensations. Moreover recoiling as he does from its actual, bitter experiences, he loses touch with reality and lives entirely in a world of shadows. To him,

They are not long, the weeping and the laughter,
Love and desire and hate :
I think they have no portion in us after
We pass the gate.

His life is a mere interlude between two unknown realities; a path, faintly illuminated for a while before finally relapsing into the profoundest darkness. It is primarily one of sensations and has no eternal existence. "They are not long," sings the poet,

They are not long, the days of wine and roses :
Out of a misty dream
Our path emerges for a while, then closes
Within a dream.
(Vitae Summa Brevis Spem Nos Vetat
Incohare Longam)

It is thus "a little while," just—

A time to sow and reap
And after harvest a long time to sleep;

and even in this little "bank and shoal of time" we grow old and leaden-eyed and grey; we lose our old dreams, our wild passionate pleasures, our buoyant joys and ardent desires.

Nor has the poet a more definite conception of a future life. He has no firm conviction about its very existence—only vague surmises regarding its nature. Is our life after death, asks Dawson, one of repose and forgiveness? Shall we then forget our old cares, our past animosities and abide in peace?

In lands profoundly shaded
From tempest and from sun:
Ah! once more come together,
Shall we forgive the past,
And safe from worldly weather
Possess our souls at last?

Or is it one of vain regrets? Is it a dark unknown whence our very imagination shrinks? Will the joys and even the sorrows of our earthly existence enthrall us there as well—compelling our disembodied selves to stretch forth a hand just to have a fresh contact with those "green, remembered meadows," of this pleasant earth, our mother?

And vainly there foregathered
Shall we regret the sun?
The Rose of love, ungathered?
The bay, we have not won?

Again, who knows but that all the cares and anxieties of our life, our bitter struggles for existence may cease when we die? The poet is not sure that our soul "hath elsewhere its

setting and cometh from afar." On the contrary, it is, with men like him, a plausible creed that

..... the world's dark marges
 May lead to Nevermore,
 The stately funeral barges
 Sail for an unknown shore.

(Amantium Iræ)

Death consequently has with him a greater significance than life. His songs are often songs of the setting sun reddening the western horizon as day lies dying; or of the wintry day with its chill and gray sky, its piercing north-wind which withers up all verdure from the face of the earth. He would fain conjure up before his mind's eye visions of decrepitude, its gaze bleared by senile decay and its visage wan "with the weight of yesterdays" (Mositura). Human destiny he sums up in simple words of bitter significance:

Short summer-time and then, my heart's desire,
 The winter and the darkness: one by one
 The roses fall, the pale roses expire
 Beneath the slow decadence of the sun.

(Transition)

3.

The "Pierrot of the Minute" is a characteristic expression of his outlook on life. In it Dawson describes in verses of graceful melody the hankerings of his poetic temperament. His weariness of life, his yearning for an intense experience of love are all depicted here under the veil of an allegory. His soul seeks some unbodied joy, he knows not what. It wistfully enquires

Is there no oracle, no voice to speak,
 Interpreting to me the word I seek?

In the ethereal music that seems to float gently in the atmosphere around, he finds vague intimations, as it were, of

the indefinable urgings of his own heart. They almost teach him what he would fain learn, half-revealing the strongest impulses that are driving him towards his unknown destiny. The prophetic scroll, the symbol of his dim-described longings, tells him that Love can remove the painful void in his life. It merely suggests the remedy but is significantly silent about the details of its action. "Here is indeed more writing, but too faint to read." Characteristically the soul of the poet, laps herself up in soft Lydian airs. He creates around him a wonderful realm of sensuous beauty to escape from the everyday experiences of his life. He feels the entire world panting for love, for union.

The soft wood sounds, the rustlings of the breeze
Are but stealthy kisses of the trees.
Each flower and fern in this enchanted wood
Leans to her fellow and is understood.
The eglantine, in loftier station set,
Stoops down to woo the maidly violet.

The spirit of beauty comes to him. She laments that a being so beautiful, so "arrayed in innocence" should have his entire future destroyed for one single emotional experience. She warns him: "If thou wouldst be wise, return unknowing" for he alone is safe who flies. But the poet's soul will never be satisfied unless he gazes on the countenance of this wonderful beauty, "too luminous though it be for mortal sight." What does he care even if

Whoso seeks her she gathers like a flower—
He gives a life and only gains an hour.

He can hazard everything for this moment of intense emotion; he can venture his whole life for an hour. He wants

That for a moment he may touch and know
Immortal things.

starving the old Adam in him ; but, in the words of Browning,

Thy body at its best,

How far can that project thy soul on its lone way ?

(Rabbi Ben Ezra)

We can never be blind to this newer and higher conception; it is an idea too potent to be brushed aside. This changed attitude towards life is not without its influence on our conception of love as well. Love is no longer "the desire of the moth for the star;" it no longer worships from afar. On the contrary, it believes that "in the flesh grows the branch of life, in our soul it bears fruit," and so strong is this newer ideal that even a Dawson, who had little or no appreciation of Platonic love entirely removed from the world of everyday experience, had to admit :

As man aspires and falls, yet a soul springs

Out of his agony of flesh at last,

So love that flesh enthralls, shall rise on wings

Soul-centred, when the rule of flesh is past.

(Quid Non Speremus Amantes)

There are even moments of intense emotional experience when the poet seems to rise above himself, above his own world of "love's inconstancy" into regions of the pure spirit. The very "defeat" of love is then glorified; it is clothed with a radiance all its own. Though parted from his beloved, her presence, "mere encounter with her golden face," makes the whole world beautiful. There is no grief in such separation; for even after such parting, is not the beloved

.....Still a star

Deeply to be desired, worshipped afar

A beacon-light to aid

From bitter-sweet delight, Love's masquerade?

On such occasions the poet touches Shelley and lives in an atmosphere of idealised emotions. In these rare moments

of the poet's experience the Beloved, like the immortal creatures of Shelley's imagination, is felt as transmuting the entire universe into forms of beauty. Like theirs too, her looks revive the drooping soul of the lover and make it "riper in truth and virtuous daring grow" (To Harriet..., Dedication, Queen Mab). Dawson feels

Love that is love at all,
Needs not an earthly coronal;
Love is himself his own exceeding great reward,
A mighty Lord!

He is almost Platonic when he breaks forth into a song of praise to this mighty God Love who recks of no defeat and misery but, in his proud self-sufficiency, rules the entire world of the lover's existence. He is indeed "Lord over life and all the ways of death," "mighty and strong to save" his votaries from all troubles and anxieties of their destiny.

It would have been a blessing indeed if our poet could always remain in so rare an atmosphere of poetic vision or even if he could retain faint memories of such dreams. We would then have been spared much that is sordid, much that is earthy in his melodious verses. But that was not to be. Arthur Symons, his biographer, has given us an able portrait of his character. He is careful to point out that "To Dawson... nature, life, destiny, whatever one chooses to call it, that power which is strength to the strong, presented itself as a barrier against which all one's strength only served to dash one to more hopeless ruin.....He was unhappy and he dared not think.....Dawson had exquisite sensibility, he vibrated in harmony with every delicate emotion, but he had no outlook, he had not the escape of intellect." The result was as might have been well expected. Unable to realise the dreams of his life in this world, he sought to forget his dreams in a ferment of animal life, in gross amusements and sordid experiences. He deliberately gave himself up

to dissolute and dissipated ways of life, flung himself recklessly into riotous living and hastened, consciously or unconsciously, to an inevitable early grave. Seeking to escape from life, he suddenly confronted death.

Such being the real nature of the poet it was impossible that he should, for any great length of time, remember ever so faintly, the beautiful visions of spiritual love which had sometimes sustained him in his grief. With him, at this stage of his mental development, the highest type of love is pastoral.

Oh I would live in a dairy,
And its Colin I would be
And many a rustic fairy
Should churn the milk with me.

He bids adieu to Paris ladies ; for,

Ye are brave in your silks and satins
As ye mince about the Town ;
But her feet go free in patterns
If she wear a russet gown
(Soli Cantare Periti Arcades)

It is more often merely sensual. Wine, woman and song are, the poet assures us, the three things which garnish our way and we would be doing our youth wrong if we do not gather them while we may. Dawson cannot now understand

Why wine-stained lip and languid eye,
And most unsaintly Maenad air,
Should move us more than all the rare,
White roses of virginity ?
(Rondeau)

His philosophy of life is, consequently, thoroughly pagan :

Love wine and beauty and the spring
While wine is red and spring is here

And through the almond blossoms ring
 The dove-like voices of thy dear.
 Love wine and spring and beauty while
 The wine hath flavour and spring masks
 Her treachery in so soft a smile
 That none may think of toils and tasks.

(Wisdom)

Such love cannot indeed be constant. The allurements which beset human life on all sides prove too strong for such a pagan. New desires and new pleasures hurry him onward and do not allow him to linger long on one beloved object. The very transitoriness of life makes him eager to enjoy it to its very dregs. "While life is ours" so advises the poet,

While life is ours
 Hoard not thy beauty rose and white
 But pluck thy pretty fleeting flowers
 That deck our little path of light.
 For all too soon we twain shall tread
 The bitter pastures of the dead :
 Estranged, sad spectres of the night.

(Amor Profanus)

Such love makes no vows. It is free and unfettered like the wind on the hill. The lovers want "only to walk in love's land" a little way ; only to learn his lessons a little while ; just to love and linger for some little time and then part for ever, for :

A little while and night shall come
 A little while then let us dream ;
 Beyond the pearled horizon lie
 Winter and night : awaiting these
 We garner this poor hour of ease,
 Until love turn from us and die
 Beneath the drear November trees.

(Autumnal)

There are, in his songs of love, the same joy in life, the same devil-may-care attitude which are associated with the lyrics of the seventeenth century Cavaliers. The poet does not care whether love lasts for ever or not; nor does he want to tempt fate by vows of constancy. Our destiny wills otherwise; we can only, "kiss when kissing pleases" and "part when kisses pall." The beloved cannot, under such circumstances, expect lasting affection. "You ask my love," sings Dawson,

You ask my love completest
As strong next year as now
The devil take you, sweetest,
Ere I make such a vow.
Life is a masque that changes,
A fig for constancy,
No love at all, were better
Than love which is not free.

(To his Mistress)

When, however, the poet is brought face to face with the tragedy of parting he cannot, for any length of time, retain this attitude of indifference. In his poems as well as in his life, we can discern two Dawsons—one, gentle, charming, almost "virginal" in his devotion, with "an infinite tenderness" and an "infinite respect" for womanhood; another, heedlessly drifting about amidst sordid surroundings, wallowing in sensual pleasures. It is the nobler Dawson that sobs through his songs of parting. The death of his beloved overshadows his entire universe, life loses all its varied interest and victory its joy (Vanities). Music gives him no consolation; roses pale into faint shadows of their former beauty. In the anguish of his heart the poet laments,

No man knoweth our desolation;
Memory pales of the old delight;
While the sad waters of separation
Bear us onward to the ultimate night.

(Exile)

He now lives in the past. The eyes of his beloved, her lips, her very personality haunt him day and night. In the midst of his dissipations her face swims before his mind's eye and reminds him of his past happiness. He may try to drown his sorrow in "madder music" and "stronger wine,"

But when the feast is finished and the lamps expire
Then falls thy shadow, Cynara! the night is thine
And I am desolate and sick of an old passion

Yea! hungry for the lips of my desire. (Non Sum
Qualis Eram Bonae sub regus Cynarae)

It is in these moments of parting that the love-lorn poet wistfully yearns for a future life. He would fain believe that even after death there might be some hope of reunion.

Yet crossed that weary river,
In some interior land,
Or anywhere, or ever,
Will she stretch out a hand?
And will she understand?

(Vanitas)

There are again other moments when Dawson keenly feels the indifference of his beloved. In spite of her cruel rejection of his love the poet does not lose heart. On the contrary, he yearns for her presence and wants to approach her on some more fortunate occasion with his "burden of waste days and drifted rhyme." He dreams dreams and sees visions of love's fulfilment when "her calm eyes down drooping maidenly" will change and grow soft (Vain Hope). Sometimes he "steels" his heart and strives to forget his cruel mistress. He wants to forget her and live a life of total indifference. But alas! the very sight of his Beloved makes him forget everything and yearn for her love (Vain Resolve). These vain hopes and resolves still more vain, give us a Dawson far removed from the Devil-may-care Cavalier of the earlier lyrics. He is no longer a votary of "love wine and beauty" no longer a trifler of women. Woman is now the only source

from which he receives comfort and consolation in the midst of the sorrows of his life.

But when the storm is highest, and the thunders blare
And sea and sky are riven, O moon of all my night!
Stoop down but once in pity of my great despair,
And let thine hand, though over late to help, alight
But once upon my pale eyes and my drowning hair,
Before the great waves conquer in the last vain fight
(Seraphim)

This is certainly a spiritual ideal of love far higher than what he had expressed in his lighter moods. It comes direct from the depths of his personality where even the most sordid experiences of his life were not able to extinguish the light of his poetic vision. This dual personality is, indeed, the bane of his life. The struggle between the noble and the sordid elements of his character practically exhaust him and sick of this eternal conflict, the poet pathetically prays :

Let us go hence, some-whither strange and cold
To Hollow lands where just men and unjust
Find end of labour, where's rest for the old,
Freedom to all from love and fear and lust.
Twine our torn hands! Oh pray the earth enfold
Our life-sick hearts and turn them into dust

(The Last Word)

5.

It was only natural that his bitter experiences should make the poet long for rest. But rest he never found in his common everyday existence. The peaceful life led by religious men had consequently a fascination for him. He profoundly admired the mental equanimity of persons belonging to the monastic orders.

These heed not time ; their nights and days they make
Into a long returning rosary,
Whereon their lives are threaded for Christ's sake
Meekness, vigilance, and chastity.

. . Their prayers and penances rise like "fragrant incense" to the presence of their Saviour. The wild passionate world, "man's weary laughter and his sick despair" can never touch them. They are not of the world though they live in it.

They saw the glory of the world displayed ;
 They saw the bitter of it and the sweet ;
 They knew the roses of the world would fade
 And be trod under by the hurrying feet.

They alone have the inner illumination of the spirit. The darkness of a despairing age never troubles them. We can only guess but they alone know that the dawn is not far distant. The strife and struggle through which Dawson had to pass invested the peace that reigned in the monastic cloisters with a deep significance all its own.

Oh beatific life ! who is there shall gainsay
 Your great refusal's victory, your little loss
 Deserting vanity for the more perfect way,
 The sweeter service of the most dolorous Cross.
(Carthusians)

For,

Surely their choice of vigil is the best !
 Yea ! for our roses fade, the world is wide
 But there, beside the altar, there, is rest.
(Nuns of the Perpetual Adoration)

The beautiful ceremonies of the Church oftentimes bring hope of peace to the wounded soul of the poet. "The voice of London, hoarse and blaspheming" is hushed into silence. The strange religious atmosphere of the Church—its "incense-laden air," its altar "dressed like a bride," and "illustrious with light"—instills into the mind of the poet a solemn calm which he finds nowhere else (*Benedictio Domini*). "The extreme unction" has now a pathetic appeal to the imagination of the

poet. The atoning oil is spread with a renewal of lost innocence, and, all at once,

The feet that lately ran so fast
To meet desire, are soothly sealed
The eyes that were so often cast
On vanity are touched and healed.

Fain would the poet believe that

.....When the walls of flesh grow weak
In such an hour, it well may be
Through mist and darkness, light will break
And each anointed sense shall see.

(The Extreme Unction)

Such was Dawson—an enigmatic personality eternally battling with his own desires and impulses. Unable to gain respite from sorrow he sank to a premature death.

AMIYAKUMAR SEN

CO-EDUCATION¹

Co-education means boys and girls should study together in one class-room. It is a plant of recent growth in India. It is a plant of tardy growth in Europe. Some are in favour of the system while others content themselves with throwing mud against it. Modern India is acting like Shakespeare's Hamlet, simply thinking good and evil of it. No sincere efforts have been made nor definite steps have been taken to introduce this system of education. We thought with the inauguration of reforms in 1919 that our ministers would do much but they have retarded the progress of education in general. Modern scientific civilization has vastly modified the vision of the world and new educational systems are being introduced in consequence of this. This system is in operation all over the civilized globe.

How India imbibed the system of the separation of the sexes in education ? Nor is there any convincing testimony that it existed in ancient India. Among Hindus, the female is considered as the other sweet-half of the male. Nay, even in some cases she enjoys a higher status than the male. She is linked and her presence is necessary in all the religious functions. This separation of the sexes, I think, is due most probably to the Muhmmadan and Mughal conquests in the Middle Ages. Those rulers introduced the barbarous system of Purdah and hence by and by the females were separated much more even in everyday affairs. Ancient Hindus knew not the Purdah system. In Deccan it was unknown. The Hindus of Northern India adopted it quickly, God knows whether as a fashion or out of necessity.

Mughals had a keen aesthetic sense for beauty. I wonder, why they wanted to cover these tender shrubs of nature with a

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thin silken cloth. Is it to heighten or mar it or to arouse the unnecessary attention of the passers-by. Is it that a covered beauty is more eloquent ? Thank God, those enlightened rulers did not enact that men should walk with blindfolded eyes. I am at a loss to reconcile this thought with their beautiful works in architecture. Perhaps they lacked a sculptor, who would have shown them that purity also consists in nudity.

Mothers educate while teachers only teach. Teachers are a store-house of book-knowledge. Except the class-room they know nothing of the practical world. Such is not the case with a woman-teacher. Her sympathetic outlook of life and practical bent of mind tell much upon the early environments of childhood. Mothers only know how to develop the faculties of the children. A single glance of a mother can teach more than a thousand teachers.

In all ages and in all climes mothers have played a prominent part in nation-building. In the Indian hermitages the breeze of joyful dawn of education blew freely with the tinkling of rosy ankle with tiny golden bells and *satis* went to heaven singing at each step. Naland, the centre of world's desire, was a glorious thoroughfare of learning for both the sexes. From Buddhist monasteries went forth bands of monks and nuns to preach the gospel of truth. There would be harmonious development of both the sexes if both are taught together. The girls shall enjoy a higher standard of honour. The boys will imbibe a higher standard of chivalry. Eyes of the girls will make boys more mannerly; for they admire and encourage manly virtues. It will banish the uncouthness and brutality of a boy. Boys and girls, if properly educated, shall snatch the blessings of a plenteous day and the earth shall show more fair.

It is always claimed that India is against co-education. Is it true? What are the chief grounds on which prominent Indian Educationists oppose it ? Let us glance at these crucial phases of co-education.

Much ink has been wasted and tongues have been dried in discussing the relative merits of these two systems of education. There are no disadvantages at all in the system of co-education, and a little understanding of the subject-matter will make it clear.

Co-education does not mean that boys and girls should be taught exactly in the same way. Some part in the teaching process must be common to both. It also does not mean that the methods suitable for boys should be imposed unaltered upon the girls. The interests of the two should not be subordinated at the cost of each other; for this some part of the curriculum may be on separate lines. A co-educational school must have competent teachers of both the sexes. Now, it is not very difficult for India for there are lots of educated ladies. Undoubtedly, there are certain subjects which women can teach better than men; while there are certain subjects which men can teach better than women. The atmosphere in such a school is of perfect equality. Recent Civil Disobedience movement has proved that Indian ladies are far superior in status and discipline and they can share the burden of harder toil along with men.

Advocates of the separation of the sexes claim :

(1) That by mixing the two the progress is retarded. Our experience is far otherwise. When the two study together the natural aptitudes get a full scope for automatic development.

(2) They say that it causes dislocation or break in the work, when girls are separated in the hours of needle-work, cookery, etc. In boys' school too it causes dislocation when the students go for science, drawing or any other optional subject. There ought to be a break in the work, for all the boys do not take the same subjects. So girls ought to go, never mind if it causes break. Time-tables should be arranged in such a way as to have fewer breaks.

(3) They say that the same sort of discipline is not suitable for both. Let there be twofold discipline according to the sex. I think in co-education discipline is more easily obtained.

(4) They say that a woman's work is far different from that of man. We agree. In co-education we have to bring both the sexes together for doing different work. All boys do not become pleaders or doctors, so let everyone choose the subjects according to one's liking.

(5) Lastly, they say, that in the transitional period of life when the new-born consciousness comes the two sexes should not intrude upon each other. They think it a sacrilege. It is here that the shoe of co-education pinches in India. If the boys and girls are brought up from childhood in a co-educational school, it becomes a matter of course and it naturally diverts the attention from the sexual aspects of life. Proper education of the sex-problems will mitigate this evil. It is only by this method that the two sexes shall learn much more about each other and both shall be able to acquire truthful views about life. Male egotism and female sentimentality will vanish away. It will go to solve the matrimonial mistake in life.

Decidedly co-education has many advantages. It will put a stop to the duplicating of staff in schools and colleges. It is more economical. It is very beneficial for a poor country like India. The principle being democratic is based on the idea of Equality of Sexes. It has a very wholesome influence on boys and girls and both develop a spirit of comradeship soon. Each will be benefited by the moral standard of the other. Neither will the boys think that they are supermen nor will the girls think that they are superwomen. In such an atmosphere brightness and demeanour of life will never fade away. It will stimulate the sporting spirit and life will be cheerful. It will easily go in forming the association of ideas and thus the two sexes will be benefited intellectually. The student-life instead of being dull would be linked with happy memories and unforgettable dreams. I cannot help being of opinion that it is nature's own plan. It is the most natural way of teaching both boys and girls. It will lift the veil of ignorance. Modern India is in urgent need of co-education. Will the Indian Educationists solve this problem satisfactorily?

Grand-fathers and middle-aged sires would be sorry why such a system did not exist when they were studying, and youths who have recently passed through the 'Alma Mater' shall be tempted to learn again.

This mingling flow of cultural stream shall reveal the gems of holy lore for Mother-land—the Everest of our dream; and the spirit now shall fly and harp the songs of yore.

VAMAN H. PANDIT

FRAIL LOVERS !

Frail lovers ! with vague yearnings torn,
Who waste away their souls love-lorn !
What gain, O what gain ?
“ Ask of the wild girl
That smiles in the lane.”
Why, peasant girl, why ?
“ Who calls them to sigh ? ”

Silk worms ! that on the Mulberry are,
And love it but are torn afar !
What gain, O what gain ?
“ Ask of the Mulberry
That laves in the rain.”
Why, Mulberry, why ?
“ Who calls them to die ? ”

Dew-drops ! that come to kiss the green,
And wither in the fiery sheen !
What gain, O what gain ?
“ Ask of the bare earth
That draws us in vain.”
Why, loveless earth, why ?
Who calls them from high ? ”

GURDYAL SINGH WADALIA

KĀLIDĀS AS A DRAMATIC ARTIST

It sounds a truism when it is said that the more a dramatist can conceal himself behind the characters, the more successful he is; and it is generally well-recognised that the superior order of dramatic genius goes ill with a person who cannot keep himself aloof from the creatures of his imagination. Their thoughts and utterances are dramatic because they come out spontaneously of the "dramatic situation" and harmonise with the character as such. Otherwise they would have been of a purely lyrical character and would mar all the dramatic effect. This we find amply borne out by Shakespeare, whose each character is a world in itself, with which the dramatist sympathises for a time and, may be, lives completely in his being. But his own world remains apart, always receding in the background. This is considered—and that rightly—as one of the supreme merits of Shakespeare as a dramatist.

But according to many eastern and western critics, such is not the case with Kālidās, who is fondly dubbed the Shakespeare of India. It is a common truism of Kalidasian criticism that the genius of Kālidās was essentially of a lyrical order, and the highest merit of the Śakuntalam lies in some of the dramatic situations, in the complexity of opposed motives, and supremely in the fine lyrical passages (not utterances), strewn like gems with a lavish hand. Thus apparently seen, Kālidās has failed to harmonise every utterance with every situation of every character that is presented. For, who can think of such utterances of Duṣyanta, *e.g.*, চিত্রে নিবেশ্য পরিকল্পিতসম্বোধন, etc., as dramatic enough. Evidently, it is the poet himself who intrudes upon the privacy of Duṣyanta's feelings, and himself colours the utterances with all the smoothness and magnificence of his lyrical genius.

But this is, to say the least of it, a feeble estimate of Kālidās's dramatic genius. As we are going to show, Kālidās, specially in the Śakuntalam, has, with the instinct of a true dramatic genius, harmonised every utterance as well as every situation to his character. In this respect, the character of Duṣyanta, which beside that of Śakuntalā is the central character, presents the greatest difficulty as we have noticed above. So we shall herein deal with that character alone in a new light. Upon this count alone, our estimate of Kālidās as a dramatist *par excellence* will stand vindicated.

Kālidās has never in his dramas taken anything for granted—neither “the Superiority Complex” of Brāhmanism, nor the dry canons of Sanskrit dramaturgy. But nevertheless, his drama fulfils all that is required by the rules of Sanskrit dramatic art, and is a great model in that respect. The fact is, as will be evident presently, that the freedom of genius lies not so much in breaking down rules that look so obsolete and insufficient, as in transmuting them with a reality that is ever present in our everyday experience, and out of which the very rules were originally formulated.

As Shakespeare in Hamlet catches and recreates the very Sāgā atmosphere of old Denmark, similarly Kālidās creates for us the atmosphere of the holy grove of the pre-historic India. Again Kālidās visualises in the story of Śakuntalā in the Mahābhārata, the eventuality of a man of superior character and talent with a thoroughly sensitive and aesthetic nature, as also with a taste cultured by aesthetic attainments, in the same way as Shakespeare found of Macbeth or Coriolanus in Holinshed or Plutarch's Lives. It is apparent therefore that though Kālidās accepts the canon of dramaturgy in making Duṣyanta a বীরোদ্ভব নায়ক; still with him the hero ceases to be a creature of convention and has all the living complexities of a real personage. Thus from the conception of character as such, we have in Duṣyanta the poet-artist and the man-of-action, all fused and presented

in one. And this is so much nearer our heart that all that is best in us (readers or spectators) is drawn out in admiration for a character at once so human and divine, as much as man essentially is.

Now let us see how Kālidās has, from the very beginning, brought into prominence the dominant aesthetic nature of the hero. But it will do better to finger at once upon the Sixth Act, where Duṣyanta beguiles his heavy hours by laying his soul at the feet of the beloved drawn on the canvas by his own masterly hands and pencil. As *সানুমতী* commends—*অহো এষা রাজর্ষেণিপুণতা, জানে সখ্যাগতো মে বর্ততে ইতি* (oh the skill of the great king—no longer a king but a bereaved lover and artist!—meseems my friend stands before me flesh and blood). But Duṣyanta is in the vein of the true artist, with whom all attempts of art are but feeble expressions of the beauty that haunts his imagination—and in the case of Duṣyanta his conscience also says—“*যদ্ যৎ সাধু ন চিত্রে স্তাৎ ক্রিয়তে তত্তদন্তথা । তথাপি তস্তা লাভ্যাং রেখয়া কিঞ্চিদয়িতম্ .*” Again Duṣyanta like the true artist, feels in his personal sorrow the whole world of sorrow universalised and this inspires him with the artist's mission to recapture as much of the beauty as his distracted mind recollects now that the beauty itself is gone. The utterance of Duṣyanta in this connexion—*সাক্ষাৎ প্রিয়ামুপগতাম্ অপহায় পূর্ব্বম্*, etc.,—has a haunting pathos that gives his weary desolate heart no peace.

Again, in the forgetful nature of Duṣyanta we have the artist. The joy with an artist is always but a sleep, a forgetting. It is always flickering like the wick of the lamp at every gust of beauty that captures and takes him away in a whirl. Forgetfulness is in his very being; because his sub-conscious self is ever active. People who are always conscious have a hold on the present, but not on the “dark backward and abysm of time,” when the soul was clothed in other vestures of decay. So when the sweet, lamenting song of *হংসপদিকা* creeps into his soul, the music could not but

awake in Dusyanta the memories of love forgotten, and he felt ill at ease (*cf.* রম্যানি বীক্ষ্য মধুরাংষ্ট নিশম্য শব্দান্, etc.). Forgetfulness is the twin-sister of imagination and both are the hand-maids of an artist's mind. So unlike Greek tragedies, the curse of দুর্বাঙ্গা could only accelerate the momentum of forgetfulness with dire effects. It was this forgetfulness that gave Shelley or Goethe no peace, driving them from one Beauty to another and at each time eluding the grasp of their towering imagination. It was this forgetfulness also that gave Dusyanta no peace, till he could sublimate his "seeing eye" into a vision where there is the consummation of all perfection.

Thus we can very well see that such comparisons like মধু নমনাস্বাদিতরসম্, put in the lips of Dusyanta, bespeak the aesthete to his very finger-tips; as also his grand conception of Destiny discovers him as the supreme artist in such an utterance as চিত্রে নিবেশ্য পরিকল্পিতস্বযোগা, etc. And it is this aesthetic nature which stands before a beauty which embodies the artist's consecration and the poet's dream, and his very soul is drawn out in admiration with a speechless surprise almost akin to worship. It has been said by Rabindranath, Chandranath Basu and other famous critics of the Sakuntalam that the dominant note in the character of Dusyanta was physical enjoyment, which was purged of its grossness through suffering due to a loss of his dearest possession. This might be true in a philosophic sort of way; but it scarcely does justice to the character of Dusyanta from a humanistic standpoint. Indeed if so represented, it becomes very difficult to follow the spiritual uplift to which he was destined later on. If one is of a normal type, in spite of intellectual attainments, one cannot be so soon disillusioned, unless he has a high spiritual ideal which is coursing underneath, and which is struggling for mastery. This can be the feeling only of an abnormal mind, to which category every true artist more or less corresponds. It is psychologically impossible that a thief

can become, at three months' notice, changed into a saint. Here we are reminded of a familiar picture by Nandalal Bose, the famous artist, of Jagāi and Mādhāi, enjoying their drinking bout. The picture is a subtle psychological study. It suggests by depicting a slowness in the movements of the hands that they are not so much after the drink itself, and what they want is to drown their soul in its voluptuous enjoyment. This innate goodness paves their future way to salvation.

That Duṣyanta pays respect to the sage in all humility is not of very much consequence to show that Duṣyanta was of a lofty nature. Indeed these are only outward manifestations and may be more or less due to habit. Still less can these be understood in the directly opposed presentation of Duṣyanta's character that so soon follows in its dire consequences. But Kālidās as a great artist brings out in subtle touches the innate good nature and lofty ideal that dominates Duṣyanta as being a great artist himself, who has drunk deep in the fountain of Beauty—Beauty of Nature and of Human form. This truly accounts for the fine height to which he rises in the long run and we expectantly wait for this triumph of humanity in its feebleness and strength against Destiny itself.

Thus, also, can we account for the marvellous insight shown by Goethe in his appreciation of the *Sakuntalam*, translated into German in a very mutilated manner from the imperfect English translation of it by Sir William Jones. Goethe himself had this essentially aesthetic eye for beauty, and in Duṣyanta Goethe found his own heart laid bare, the heart in which heaven and hell struggled incessantly for supremacy, as is so well portrayed by Emil Ludwig in his masterpiece of biography on Goethe. This dual personality as presented by Faust in the most poignant manner, and this constant sense of struggle against Destiny, we have in Duṣyanta transfigured in the peaceful serenity of Heaven. If the

essence of tragedy lies in the divine urge for leaving behind the old for the new, whether of the atmosphere and environments of nature, or of mental life, then the life of Duṣyanta, as that of Sakuntalā, was tragic enough. And in the representation of the struggle from Darkness into Light, whether of the individual (as in Goethe's Faust or Hugo's Les Misérables), or of the whole humanity (as in the Indian epics, the saga legends, etc.), lies the abiding value of all great literature, as also, of the immortal work of Kālidās. So, rightly has Shakespeare said :

“ The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven.”

which pre-eminently applies to Kalidasa whose vision of Heaven like that of Milton was not blurred by the sordid reality of the world, while Shakespeare was too much obsessed by the imperfections of the earth, which he loved so much. For with him all tragedy—and even comedy—was seeing the truth of human nature in the broken light of this frail humanity.

MAKHANLAL MUKHERJI

HISTORY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TRADE IN BENGAL (1757-1765)

The abuses in the field of internal trade did not escape the attention of Siraj-ud-Dowla, who complained "that the British had abused the privileges of trade granted them by their firman." But he was soon carried away from the throne of Bengal, and the disorder and weakness of the central authority that followed the battle of Plassey, allowed these abuses to grow from day to day. The moral effect of the victory of Plassey was very great, and it filled the minds of the Company's agents and gomasthas in Bengal with a strong desire for further aggrandizement in the field of commerce. By the general sanad issued by Mir Jafar on the 15th July, 1757, the Nawab confirmed the old privileges of the Company in definite and emphatic terms and passed strict orders against hampering English trade in any way.¹ Of course, theoretically speaking, "with regard to trade no new privileges were asked of Mir Jafar ; none indeed were wanted by the Company who were contented with the terms granted them in 1716, and only wished to be relieved from the impositions to which they had been exposed from the arbitrary power of the Nawabs,"² but there is no doubt that the victory greatly increased the prestige and influence of the Company. No sooner had this influence been felt than "many innovations were practised by some of the Company's servants, or the people employed under their authority."³ The servants of the Company began to trade in articles which were before prohibited and they claimed also exemption from duties not only on exports and imports but on all articles in their private trade. Historian Orme has very

¹ *Vide*, Bolts, Considerations, Appendix, pp. 78.

² Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*

aptly remarked : “ ...but as it is the nature of man to err with great changes of fortune, many, not content with the undisputed advantages accruing from the revolution, immediately began to trade in salt and other articles which had hitherto been prohibited to all Europeans ; and Meer Jaffer complained of those encroachments within a month after his accession ; which although checked for the present, were afterwards renewed, and at last produced much more mischief than even disinterested sagacity could have foreseen.”¹ In July 1758 Mr. Scrafton wrote from Moradbag to P. R. Pearkes at Dacca “.....There is likewise a complaint lodged against an English Gomastha at Chilmaree, that he gives protection to numbers of merchants who trade there, which has proved a loss to the Government of seventy thousand rupees. Also (there have been) several cases of under-protection to the Zemindars, Tenants and others.”² The Gomasthas were also very often guilty of frauds and made private gains in Company’s investments, *e. g.* Kussenundah (Kusananda), a Gomastha of the Company’s factory at Cassimbazar, had been found guilty of several frauds in the management of the investments ; he had been detected in giving false accounts for the year 1756, in which he had over-charged Rs. 8,427 in the real cost of the goods provided by him.³

¹ Orme’s *Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 189.

Cf. “The preference granted to the English, gave them great advantages when they came to deal with the weavers in the inland country, where the factors and gomasthas employed by the Company, on this change in the mode of providing their investment, were in general treated with great respect. This influence increased with the power of the English Company ; so that after the defeat of Serajah-ud-dowla in 1756, that Nawab was made to engage ‘that he or his officers should on no account interfere with the gomasthas of the English ; but that care should be taken that their business might not be obstructed in any way.’ “After these the Gomasthas so well availed themselves of this new acquired power, that the Company by their substitutes, had made their first Nawab Jaffer Ali Khan, in the year 1757, their black gomasthas in every district assumed a jurisdiction which even the authority of the Rajahs and Zemindars in the country durst not withstand.” *Bolts’ Considerations*, etc., p. 191.

² *Original Papers*, etc., Vol. I, p. 4.

³ *Letter to Court*, December 31, 1758 A.D.

With a view to check the abuse of dustucks by the servants, the Company had established a number of "Dustuck Peons, with badges carrying a Persian inscription, signifying their being the Company's servants." With every dustuck one of those peons was sent, who was responsible for goods passing free of all duties and impositions and after the delivery of the goods, the peon was ordered to return the 'dustuck' to the President to be cancelled by him, so that no future use might be made of it. For defraying these additional expenses the dustucks had been rated at Rs. 5 each.¹ The captains and officers of ships also carried on a large private trade to the great prejudice of the Nawab's as well as the Company's interest. In order to prevent this, the Company advertised that "no persons residing in the settlement are to purchase woolen goods, copper, lead, or iron from the Commanders or Officers of the Company's ships, without permission from the Import Ware-House Keeper for the time being, upon pain of losing the Company's protection and being expelled the settlement."²

But these regulations were not effective in preventing the abuses, which had become so rampant and universal. On the 13th January, 1759, Mr. Hastings wrote from Moradbag to Mr. W. B. Summer, Chief at Dacca:—"I have received a long letter from the Shahzada in which he complains that you have begun to carry on a large trade in salt, and betelnut, and refuse to pay the duties on those articles, which has likewise encouraged others to do the same in your name; which practice if continued will oblige him to throw up his post of Shahbunder Daroga.....We have not, I believe, any right to trade in salt and betelnut; at least, it was never, (that I know of) stipulated in our favour with the Nawab; and with respect to the salt trade, I myself know, that none of the Company's servants, not the Colonel

¹ Letter to Court, January 10, 1758 A.D.

² Letter to Court, February 27, 1758 A.D.

himself has engaged in it without the Nawab's Perwannah."¹ An English Gomastha named Mr. Chevalier had carried a large cargo of salt to Chilmaree (Chilmory) and he had taken Muchulcas (written bonds) from all the other traders in the same article by which they were not allowed to sell any salt till his own quantity had been disposed of.² Worse than this happened, when Mr. Chevalier openly defied the authority of the Wadadar of the Baharbund Pergana, and refused to explain the commission under which he acted, on the latter's demanding it from him.³ All these were communicated to the Nawab, who murmured greatly before Mr. Hastings, the Resident at Moradbag, and so Mr. Hastings again wrote to Sumner on the 26th July, 1759, complaining of Mr. Chevalier's conduct:—"Many complaints have been laid before the Nawab against Mr. Chevalier, who is accused of having acted in a very violent and arbitrary manner at Chilmaree, and Coreegaum,⁴ by oppressing the merchants of those places in the monopoly of several commodities, particularly salt and tobacco, no one being allowed to buy or sell either of these articles but with his permission. A translation of a letter of the Wadadar of the Pergunah, under the seal of Mr. Chevalier in answer to the demand made by him, to know by what authority he came into those parts, I send you herewith on which I shall make only this

¹ Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 5; Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, pp. 26-27.

² Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 28.

³ Mr. Chevalier's letter to Meer Atta Olla, Wadadar of the Pergunah Baharbund—"The letter, which you sent to my writer, I have received. You write, that if I belong to the English, I must have the English Sunnud and desire a copy of it to be sent you. In answer, I ask who are you, that I should send you a copy of the Sunnud? If you want to be informed who I am, and who sent me, send a man to the Chief who will answer you. If the people of your Pergunnah are guilty of any insolence to mine, I shall chastise them handsomely for it. Forbid your people, that they enter into no quarrels with mine; if they do without reason they shall be punished; if my people behave ill to yours, do you write me word of it, and I will punish them." Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 7.

• • ⁴ Bennel's Curygong—Kurigram.

remark, that the magistrates and public officers of the Government have an undoubted right to see the Company's Dustuck having no other way to distinguish between the agents of the Company and others usurping the English name, nor the Company any means besides to secure their own privileges. It cannot, therefore, but appear strange in any person employed by the English that they should make any difficulty to show by what powers they are commissioned; unless they are conscious they are guilty of practices which ought to be concealed.....¹

But all these complaints ended in smoke. Very soon the death of Miran and the mutiny of the soldiers made Mir Jafar's position extremely critical. What to speak of removing these grievances, which had been telling heavily on the resources of the country as well as on the purse of the native merchants, it became absolutely impossible for him to tide over the dangers with which he was now confronted. Disorder prevailed all round, taking advantage of which the rapacious Gomasthas and servants of the Company went on increasing the volume of their illegal trade.

By the time of Mir Casim's accession these abuses had reached the highest point of culpability. Many new factories had been established in every part of the country, both on the Company's account, and by private gentlemen, and "a trade was carried on in all sorts of goods, such as it was never yet the custom to trade in."² The manner of carrying on this trade had become highly objectionable. "A trade was carried on without payment of duties, in the prosecution of which infinite oppressions were committed. English agents and Gomasthas, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of Government, binding and punishing the

¹ Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 6-7.

² Mircasim's reply to the representations of the Board, Original Papers, Vol. I, pp. 170-173; Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 46-47.

Nawab's Officers wherever they presumed to interfere."¹ Mr. George Gray, Chief of the Maldah Factory, had committed great acts of oppression in seizing and imprisoning the Pischar of Hiramun, the Zemindar and Wadadar of Taajeepoor, and in sending Sepoys and Europeans to purchase grain and erect new factories in every part of Purnea.² The behaviour of the Gomasthas at Dacca and Luckipur had become extraordinarily insolent.³ "A party of Sepoys were sent to Sylhet by the Gentlemen of Dacca on account of some private dispute, who fired upon and killed one of the principal

¹ Verelst's View of Bengal, p. 48.

² Complaint was made to the Nawab against Mr. Gray by Meer Sheer Aly, the Naib of Purnea. The Nawab sent a copy of this complaint to Mr. Ellis and desired him to redress it. (Letter from the Nawab to Mr. Ellis, dated 22nd January, 1762, *vide* Original Papers, Vol. I, pp. 136-37). To this Mr. Ellis replied :—"That Mr. Gray complained to Sheer Aly Cawn twice or thrice against the Zemindars, but receiving no answer nor redress, he was under the necessity of taking such measures" (copy of Mr. Ellis' answer to the Nawab's Letter, dated 4th February, 1762. Original Papers, Vol. I, pp. 137-38). At this time an officer of the Nawab named Coja Antoon had been accused of purchasing five maunds of saltpetre; he was imprisoned by Mr. Ellis and to answer for this charge he was sent to Calcutta, and after a confinement of three months, was delivered over to the Nawab for further punishment. Another charge against him was that he had given a certificate of some goods having been duly passed, which was a contempt of the Company's Dustuck. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, pp. 302-04.

³ Sergeant Brego's Letter to the Governor, dated Backergunge, 25th May, 1762 :—"A gentleman sends a Gomastha here to buy or sell; he immediately looks on himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant either to buy his goods or sell him theirs; and on refusal (in case of noncapacity) a flogging or confinement immediately ensues. This is not sufficient even when willing; but a second force is made use of, which is to engross the different branches of trade to themselves and not to suffer any persons to buy or sell the articles they trade in, and if the country people do it, then a repetition of their authority is put in practice; and again what things they purchase, they think the least they can do is to take them for a considerable deal less than another merchant, and oftentimes refuse paying that, and my interfering occasions an immediate complaint.....This place is growing destitute of inhabitants, every day numbers leave the town to seek a residence more safe; and the very markets, which before afforded plenty, do hardly now produce anything of use, their peons being allowed to force poor people.

Before justice was given in the publick but now every Gomastha is become a judge, and every one's house a cutcherry; they even pass sentences on the Zemindars themselves and draw money from them for pretended injuries, such as a quarrel with some of their peons or their having as they assert stole something, which is more likely to have been taken by their own people; but allowing they were robbed, I believe no Gomastha's authority extends so far as to take his own satisfaction on the Government."

people of the place, and afterwards made the Zemindar prisoner and forcibly carried him away." The Chief and Council at Dacca wrote at this time "in a towering indignation at the boats being stopped, and their trade and privileges interfered with by the Nawab's Agents, (and) they ordered up Sepahis from Chittagong ; " but the Calcutta Council quietly replied, "it seems very probable from circumstances in Mr. Hastings' Minute, that the Gentlemen's Gomasthas there have been the principal causes of these disturbances ; there is reason to fear that Gomasthas and Agents have made use of very unwarrantable practice in their trade." The Council consequently countermanded the marching of the Sepoys.¹

These agents and Gomasthas further practised a method of carrying on business called 'barja' and 'Kichaunt,' that is, forcing the merchants and shop-keepers to take their goods at 30, 40 or 50 per cent. above the market price."² The following letter of Mahomed Ali, Collector of Dacca, to the English Governor at Calcutta, contains a true picture of the miserable state of the country : " In the first place a number of merchants have made interest with the people of the factory, to hoist English colours on their boats and carry away their goods under the pretence of their being English property, by which means the Shah-bunder and other customs are greatly determined. Secondly the Gomasthas of Lucky-poor and Dacca factories oblige the merchants, etc., to take tobacco, cotton, iron and sundry other things, at a price exceeding that of the bazar, and then extort the money from them

¹ Proceedings, October 14, 1762 A.D.

Cf. " Can that plan be solid where nothing is fixed, and where the English Gomasthas shall be under no control, but regarding themselves far above the Magistrate of the country where they reside, take upon themselves to decide, not only their own disputes with the merchants and inhabitants, but those also of one merchant and inhabitant with another or is it possible that Government can collect their due revenue in such circumstances? " Proceedings, February 1, 1768 A.D.

² A letter from Governor Vansittart to Messrs. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts, dated Monghyr, December 15, 1752.

by force; besides which they take diet money for the peons and make them pay a fine for breaking their agreement. By these proceedings the Aurungs and other places are ruined. Thirdly the Gomasthas of Luckypoor factory, have taken the talookder's talooks (the farmer's farm) from the Tahsildar by force of their own use, and will not pay the rent. At the instigation of some people they, on a matter of complaint, send Europeans and Sepoys with a Dustuck into the country, and there create disturbances. They station Chowkeys (toll-houses) at different places, and whatever they find in poor people's houses they cause to be sold and take the money. By these disturbances the country is ruined, and the Reiat's cannot stay in their own houses, nor pay the malguzaree (rents). In many places Mr. Chevalier has, by force, established new markets and new factories, and has made false sepoy on his own part, and they seize whom they want and fine them. By this forcible proceedings many hauts, gauts, and parganas (markets, landing places, and fiscal divisions) have been ruined."

Similar complaints poured in from different quarters. Syed Rajab Aly, Zemindar of Burbezzo Pergana, wrote about the middle of the year 1762 :—" Now from Calcutta, Dacca, Chilmury and Rungamati, numbers of Englishmen and merchants and the people of Mons. Chevalier, bring into the pergunnah copper, tothenague, cotton, tinkall, salt, betelnut, tobacco, rice, Mugga dhootis, Seringa boats, lack, stick lack, dammer, dried fish, etc., and these people, assuming the name of the Company, force the ryots, who never dealt in such commodities, to purchase them at exorbitant price. Besides this, they violently exact large sums for presents and for their peon's expenses, and take at a low rate whatever oil, etc., they buy. By means of these oppressions the merchants, picars, ryots, etc., of the Pergunnah have taken to flight, and the Hauts, Gauts, Gunges and Golas are entirely ruined. Moreover, they prevent the reiat's from carrying on their

business; they rob and plunder them wherever they meet them on the road and giving colours and certificates to the merchants of the Pergunnah, who formerly paid duties, they will not suffer any to be taken from them.”¹ Durlabram made the same complaints to the Nawab regarding the behaviour of the Gomasthas in Silhet :—“.....but now Mr.....and Chunderman and Coja Muscat, English Gomasthas, having brought a large quantity of salt in the aforesaid Chukla, oblige my Gomasthas by force and oppression to purchase it at an exorbitant price; and having by violent means taken the buttywood trade into their own hands, they have put a stop to my business, whereby I suffer a great loss; yet the Fougedar has oppressively exacted from me the usual rents, plundering my house and forcing me from my home, and my Gomasthas, by reason of the oppressions of the English Gomasthas and the rigour and violence with which the Malguzaree is exacted, have taken to flight.”²

The Nawab's patience was at last tired out and he complained to the Governor in the following strong terms:—“ And this is the way your gentlemen behave; they make a disturbance all over my country, plunder the people, injure and disgrace my servants with a resolution to expose my government to contempt; and from the borders of Hindoostan to Calcutta, make it their business to expose me to scorn. In every Perganah, and every village, they have established ten or twenty new factories, and setting up the colors, and shewing the Dustucks of the Company they use their utmost endeavours to oppress the reiat, merchants and other people of the country. The Dustucks for searching the boats which you formerly favoured me with, and which I sent to every Chokey, the Englishmen by no means regard, but bring shame and

¹ Original Papers, Vol. I, pp. 201-202.

² Translation of a Letter from Durlabram to the Nabob, Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 203.

disgrace upon my people, holding themselves in readiness, to beat and abuse them. Having established these new factories, they carry on such business as the Company never heard of ; and every Bengal Gomastah make a disturbance at every factory, and thinks himself not inferior to the Company. In every Perganah, every village, and every factory, they buy and sell salt, betelnut, ghee, rice, straw, bamboos, fish, gunnies, ginger, sugar, tobacco, opium, and many other things, more than I can write and which I think it needless to mention. They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the reiat, merchants, etc., for a fourth part of their value ; and by ways of violence and oppressions, they oblige the reiat, etc., to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee ; and for the sake of five rupees they bind and disgrace an Assamese, who pays me one hundred rupees *malguzaree* ; and they allow not any authority to my servants. Near four or five hundred new factories have been established in my dominions ; and it is impossible to express what disturbances are made in every factory, and how the inhabitants are oppressed. The officers of every district have desisted from the exercise of their functions ; so that by means of these oppressions and my being deprived of my duties, I suffer a yearly loss of near twenty-five lacks of rupees.....

Be kind enough to take these matters into consideration without delay, for they expose my government to scorn, and are the greatest detriment to me.”¹

Sometimes the Nawab’s officers also were not lacking in retaliatory measures. On the 7th October, 1762, Mr. Ellis wrote to the Governor and Council :—“.....at Ishanabad,

¹ Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Received, May, 1762 A.D. Vansittart’s Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 97-102. Compare with this the letter written by Mr. Hastings to the Governor, dated Bauglepoor (Bhagalpur), April 25, 1762 A.D.—*Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 79-84. Mr. Hastings pointed out in his letter the same evil practices of the Company’s Gomasthas and servants.

the principal cloth Aurung, our Gomasthas, Dillols (dalals), etc., have been peremptorily ordered to desist from purchasing, and quit the place. Upon their noncompliance, they have been threatened, and abused in the most vile and gross terms and the washermen employed in whitening our cloths have been actually beat and peons put on them to prevent their going on in their business.”¹ The gentlemen at Luckipūr² and Chittagong made similar complaints against the³ Nawab's people, and the Chief of the Dacca Factory also wrote the following to the Governor:—“At every Chowkey our boats are stopped, the people insulted, and the flag used with the utmost and most gross contempt. Our advices, further adding that Mutchulcas have been taken from many inhabitants, prohibiting them on no account to have any connections with the English.”⁴ In December, 1762, Messrs. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts wrote to Meer Sheer Aly Khan, the Faujdar of Purnea:—“Our Gomastha Ramcharan Dass, being gone into those parts, meets with obstruction from you, in whatever business he undertakes; moreover you have published a prohibition to this effect that whoever shall have

¹ Copy of a letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council, dated 7 October, 1762, *vide* Original Papers, Vol. I, pp. 207-208. The Nawab, however, wrote to the Governor that the washermen were not prevented from working for the Company: “You well know that the washermen pay no duties and that the Amils have no authority to interrupt them or prevent their washing or dressing their cloths. Was this affair really true, he (Mr. Ellis) would have informed Raja Nobit Roy of it and he would immediately have wrote to the Amil about it, but as it is altogether without foundation, he choses to make a false complaint to you.....” A letter from the Nawab to the Governor, dated November 1, 1762 A.D.

² Extract of a letter from the Gentlemen at Luckypur to the Governor and Council, dated 14th October, 1762, *vide* Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 209.

³ Extract of a letter from the Chief and Council at Chittagong to the Governor and Council, dated 14th October, 1762, *vide* Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 210-211.

⁴ Extract of a letter from the Chief and Council at Dacca to the Governor and Council, dated 8th October, 1762, *Vide*, Original Papers, Vol. I, pp. 210-211. The Council at Calcutta wrote to these gentlemen to be careful about their own Gomasthas (referring to the letter of Mohamed Ali, and not to use force without the Council's positive directions, as the President was himself going very soon. Consultations of the 18th October and 1st November, 1762, *vide* Original Papers, Vol. I, pp. 212-214.

any dealing with the English, you will seize his house, and lay a fine upon him. We were surprised at hearing of this affair because the Royal Firmaun which the English nation is possessed of, is violated by this proceeding ; but the English will by no means suffer with patience their Firmaun to be broke through. We therefore expect that, upon the receipt of this letter, you will take off the order you have given to the Ryots and in case of not doing it, we will certainly write to the Nawab in the name of the English and send for such an order from him, that you shall restore fully and entirely whatever loss the English have sustained, or shall sustain, by this obstruction ; and that you shall repent having thus interrupted our business, in despite of the Royal Firmaun. After reading this letter, we are persuaded you will desist from interrupting it, will act agreeably to the rules of friendship, and so that your amity may appear and you will by no means stop the Company's Dustucks." ¹ By the beginning of the year 1763 Kaisoo Ray, the Dewan of Usker Aly Khan, the Zilladar

¹ Verelst's View of Bengal, Appendix, pp. 191-192. We should mark the imperious tone of this letter, for which the writers were highly condemned by the Court of Directors in their Letter to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, February 8, 1764. *Vide ibid*, p. 192. The Nawab of Purnea replied :—" I received your letter from Ramcharan Dass, in which you write that I obstruct your Gomasthas in your trade, and have published by beat of drum that whoever deals with English Gomasthas shall be fined or punished, all which I duly observe. What I have to offer on this subject is, that the Gomasthas of English gentlemen did give and receive money at interest to the officers of the King's revenues in my districts, which, by deaths and people running away, caused great outstanding debts, and in consequence of quarrels and disputes with my officers, by which the duties and revenues of my Phouzdarry have been quite impaired. That a stop might be put to these quarrels for the good of both your and our business, and that no one of my officers may take on credit from the factories of the English Gomasthas, but deal for ready money, agreeably to the order from the Nawab, I have taken Moochulcas, but am ready to assist the gomasthas of English gentlemen in everything they desire of me." Proceedings, January 17, 1763 A.D.

Mr. Hastings was of opinion that these retaliatory measures of the Nawab's people were due, more or less, to the evil practices of the Company's Gomasthas. His opinion is expressed in the following :—"As I have formerly lived amongst the country people in a very inferior station (a junior servant of the company at the silk Aurunge) and at a time when we were subject to the most slavish dependence on the government; and have met with the greatest indulgence, and even respect from the Zemindars and officers of the

of Rajshahi, imprisoned the servants of many of the Company's dependants there.¹ In February 1763, some boats laden with salt, belonging to Messrs Lushington and Amphlett, and provided with the Bukshbunder's pass and the Company's Dustuck were going to Patna, but they were stopped near Rajmahal by Kutub Alum, the Faujdar of that place.² About the same time some saltpetre of the Company, which had been coming from Gazipur loaded on bullocks, was pulled off from the bullock's backs by the Nawab's Amil at Mangy in Sircar Sarun (Saran); the Daroga of Seisaun (?) stopped a boat laden with saltpetre belonging to the Company and took out the saltpetre; and the Faujdar of Rajmahal stopped four boats loaded with bettel-nut, which had a dustuck from the Chief of Dacca Factory, and made a demand of duties.³ Mahomed Ali, the Nawab's Collector of Dacca, had also adopted some severe measures. He had written to Abdoolla, Amil of Sundeep Paragana, not "to suffer a single Englishman in the country, and to punish whosoever shall take upon himself the name of an Englishman." On the death of Nehool, an old dalal of the Company, Mahomed Ali "put peons on his house and laid claim to his effects in wrong of an infant" who appealed to the English in the Dacca Factory for protection.⁴ Syed Jalal Bokory,

Government, I can, with the greater confidence, deny the Justice of this opinion; and add further from repeated experience. (that if) our people, instead of erecting themselves into lords and oppressors of the country confine themselves to an honest and fair trade and submit themselves to the lawful authority of the government, they will be everywhere courted and respected." Hastings' opinion in the Consultations of the 1st March, 1763. *Vide Vansittart's Narrative*, Vol. II, pp. 354-355.

¹ Letter from the Governor to the Nawab, January 22, 1763 A.D., Persian Department No. 7. Long.

² Letter from the Governor to Kutub Alum, February 10, 1763, Persian Department No. 16. Long.

³ Letter from the Governor to the Nawab, February 12, 1763 A.D., Persian Department No. 18. Long.

⁴ The Chief of the Dacca Factory sent a party of sepoys "for the security of the house," and his step was approved by the members of the Board, who sent a letter to Mahomed Ali,

the Nawab's Chowkidar at Shahbunder, demanded an additional duty of Rs. 3,250 from Mr. Senior, who, after having paid the duty for 4,000 maunds of salt into the Shahbunder and taken a pass, sent away the salt; Syed Jalal had stopped the boats at every 'Ghat,' and taking an account of goods, demanded as much duty as he liked, and plundered the oarsmen and the helmsmen of all their effects. The Amil of Rungpur demanded duties on cloth, silk and all kinds of goods, and imprisoned the 'Dalals' and 'Pykers' of the Company. At Shengunge, in the district of Dinajpur, Ramnat Bhaduri, the Naib, set a guard of ten Burkundazes (armed retainers) over each of the six English Gomasthas settled there and took money from them under the pretence that they must contribute their share to remove the fakirs.¹

"warning him to desist from any such proceeding in future." Proceedings, February 3, 1763 A.D.

Cf. the letter written by Mr. Cartier, the Chief of the Dacca Factory, to Mahomed Ali :—

"Sir,—The strange and violent proceedings of the different Sickdars, Zemindars, and Chowkedars in the district of Dacca in stopping the English trade, plundering their Gomasthas and servants, and affronting their colours, oblige me, as Chief of the Company's affairs at Dacca, to apply to you for satisfaction for these insults and to demand a reason for such an extraordinary conduct. I can scarcely believe, Sir, that these actions can be the result of your orders and much less Cossim Aly Khan's; but as you cannot be ignorant of the secret springs of them, I require of you a positive explanation concerning this matter. You must be sensible of the danger an invasion of the privileges granted to the English must be attended with and the resentment we have it in our power to show, and have shown in instances of the like nature. I choose to communicate my sentiments by letter, well knowing the many mistakes that happen in sending and answering messages, the sense of them very often being perverted." Proceedings, January 17, 1763.

¹ Letter from the Governor to the Nawab, March 7, 1763. Persian Department No. 31, Long. These Fakirs or Sanyasis were often very turbulent in this part of Bengal. Rennel in his Journals refers to a skirmish between his own men and some Sanyasis in Baar (near Bhutan). It should be, however, noted here that before the final breach with the English occurred, Mir Casim had, on many instances, paid heed to the complaints of the Gomasthas and servants of the Company. In his letter to the President, received 10th February, 1762, Mir Casim wrote :—"At this time Mr. Ellis, the Chief at Patna, writes that the Purnea and other Faujdars molest the Company's business. I have therefore wrote expressly to

* Now it is important to know how the President and the Council in Calcutta and the Nawab as well tried to settle down these disturbances and how far their measures and motives were just and impartial. From March to June 1762, vigorous and lengthy debates took place in the Council, on the subject of trade, the nature and extent of it, the power of the English Factors and Gomasthas, and their right of using force in their own concerns. Variety of opinions prevailed but there was agreement in the one that redress was urgently needed. At last it was agreed that the Governor, attended by Mr. Hastings, should pay a visit to the Nawab, and regulate affairs with him. Accordingly they set out from Calcutta on the 12th October, 1762, and arrived at Murshidabad on the 3rd November.¹ The Nawab was at Monghyr, where the Governor arrived on the 30th November, and after frequent discussions and enquiries of various kinds, they agreed upon the following resolutions :² “ (1) For the Company's imports and exports, the Company's dustuck (pass) shall be granted and respect should be paid to it. (2) For the private trade the pass of the government shall be given. (3) At the time of taking out the last mentioned pass the duties shall be paid according to the

the Purnea Faujdar, etc., not to interrupt the Company's trade, but always to assist them. I before wrote to the Bengal Faujedars and others not to impede the Company's business in any respect, and to advise you of anything that came before them. I am at great distance; therefore should anything happen write to the Faujedars and others, and they will act as shall most tend to benefit the Company's trade and business of my Subadderry.' Original Papers, Vol. I, p. 139.

Cf. “ That Turrut Sing, the Amildar of Gungypore (Jangipur) being convicted of killing Mr. Gray's Gomastha, has received sentence to be hanged at the place where the violence was committed, and Shijr Aly, Fouzdar, for endeavouring to screen him, and other, bad behaviour towards our Gomasthas, will be dismissed from the Government of Purnea.” Extract of a letter from the Governor, dated the 15th January, 1763. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 190-194.

Cf. Another letter from the Governor and Mr. Hastings to the Council, dated at Monghyr, December 15, 1762 A.D. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 150-164.

¹ Letter from the Governor to the Council, 19th November, 1762.

² The plan of these regulations corresponds in a great measure with that of 18th May, 1762. *Vide* a letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor, Secsaram, May 18, 1762 A.D. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 90-95.

rates which shall be annexed to the agreement. (4) The duties shall be paid once for all, so that there shall be no delays on the road, or at the place of sale. (5) If any frauds shall be committed, notice shall be immediately sent to the nearest English factory, and to the nearest officer of the Government. (6) If any person attempts to pass goods, without a dustuck for inland trade such boats or goods, so attempted to be passed clandestinely, shall be seized and confiscated and notice be given to the nearest English Factory, and to the officer of the Government. (7) Goods without a Dustuck attempted to be clandestinely passed in company with boats or goods having a dustuck,—such goods or boats, so attempted to be passed clandestinely shall be seized and confiscated. (8) The Gomastas (factors), in every place, shall carry on their trade freely, and as merchants. In case of any dispute on either side, application shall be made to the officer of the Government, and justice shall be done. (9) If the Gomastha thinks himself aggrieved, he shall complain to his principal, and his principal according to custom shall appear to the Presidency, and redress shall be obtained.”

The rates, mentioned in article three, were fixed at 9 p.c. on the prime cost, at the places where the goods would be provided. It is important to note that these rates fixed were something less than what had been paid by the English themselves at Luckipur in their private trade,¹ *e.g.*, on salt Rs. 9-14-3 pies per 100 maunds, tobacco, annas 4-0 per maund.² It was also much less than what was usually paid by other merchants in their private trade ; “ besides that, the inconvenience was avoided of making a diversity, of payments which other merchants were subject to.”³

¹ A letter from the Council to the Governor, dated 15th November, 1762, Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 217.

² A letter from the Gentlemen at Luckipur to the Board, dated 5th November, 1762, Original Papers, Vol. I, p. 218.

³ “ After getting what informations we could, I agreed with the Nawab, that they should be rated at 9 p.c. upon the purchase price, which being paid before the dispatch of

* At the time of his departure the Governor advised the Nawab that he should pass orders on his officers, directing them to act in accordance with those regulations, when these orders should be forwarded along with those of the President's from Calcutta together with circular letters from the Board to the factories.¹ The Governor promised that he would try his level best to get the consent of the Council to these regulations. "But the Nawab, confiding in that kind of promise conceived the hopes of keeping up his pretensions for duties ; insomuch so that after some time had elapsed, he wrote to his officers everywhere to give them notice of the agreement he expected and to put them upon their guards ; lest, meanwhile, and until the reglement should come up, the English private traders might find means to evade the custom and to escape duty-free. But how could he expect that overbearing custom officers, and short-sighted toll-men would have so much sense and discretion as to keep such a secret locked up in their breasts, and meanwhile, manage with so much art, as not to lay themselves open to accusations by their precipitancy and

the goods, and the dustuck of the country Government taken, they should be liable to no further demands throughout the three provinces..... In my way down, I took an account from the agents of some Patna and Hugely merchants of what they had paid, and were liable to pay for the salt under their charge, by which you will perceive that the Sircary duties only, without reckoning the Dustore (that which is customary) taken at the several Chokeys amount by the lowest of the several informations, to more than 25 rupees per 100 mannds." A letter from the Governor to the Council, dated 15th January, 1763, *Vide* Original papers, Vol. I, pp. 239-240.

Cf. Haji Mustafa's note in *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 469 :—"The fact is, however, that in reality, and with the condition in appearance" submitted to by Vansittart, but in reality annexed thereto by the Governor had a complete advantage over the natives, for whilst these were liable to that infinity of small duties and stoppages over the waters of Bengal (duties which independently of the Stoppages, amounted altogether to full 25 p. c.) the English themselves were to pay 10 p. c. for once and all ; and that duty, once paid, their boats were exempted from all further stoppages and searches ; an exemption which cannot be rated at less than 10 p. c. more : so that whilst the Company's public trade remained free, boundless and sacred, the private trade of their servants, which to that day had never existed was admitted as lawful under the single duty of 10 p. c. which 10 p. c. would, in time, become only nominal."

¹ Vansittart's *Narrative*, Vol. II, pp. 163-164.

forwardness? In fact, oppositions and stoppages having commenced in many places, the veil was torn away at once in two places: at Azimabad, where Mr. Ellis Chief of the Factory, was highly incensed against the Nawab, and zealously attached to Mr. Amyatt, and at Jahangirnagar (Dacca) where Mr. Boston held a similar office. These two men equally incensed and equally impatient of restraint, and both unable to endure any more sent a force, which seized the Nawab's officers and brought them prisoners to the English factories, with intent to have them tried and punished by the Council of Calcutta, and to throw the blame of their conduct directly upon the Nawab and indirectly upon Vansittart."¹

Unfortunately, at this critical moment, the members of the Board, with two or three exceptions, were all guided by selfish interests and feelings of personal rivalry; so they at once construed this to be an attack upon their privileges and threw out all sorts of invectives against Vansittart and the Nawab.² Major Carnac was desired to assist at the Board, that he might contribute his censure upon the President's regulations, and a resolution was taken to call down all the members of the Board from the subordinate factories to the Presidency.³ In the meantime English subordinate factories daily sent to the Board fresh complaints of the interruptions of their business, which was done with such exaggerations as served to widen the breach still further. It was urged that their weavers could not be protected, because the President had forbidden protecting the dependants of the country's Government.⁴ The Nawab also sent to the President

¹ Seir-ul-Mutakherin (Cambray Edn.), Vol. II, pp. 435-436; Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 250-252.

² Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 250-252. *Vide*, the Governor's Minute of the 1st Feb., 1763, in which he gives answers to the objections to the regulations, Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II.

³ Extract of a Consultation of the 17th of January, 1763.

⁴ "The dependants of the country government are plainly those who hold offices, trusts, or rents under the Government, and there is an established distinction between

similar complaints against the servants of the Company.¹ At last, the Board decided on the 1st of March, 1763, that they had a right to trade in salt, betelnut, and every other article of inland trade, duty free and with the Company's Dustuck, equally with the foreign trade.² It was further decided that something should be paid to the Nabob, in conformity to the usual practice, not as the Nabob's right, but as an indulgence to him from the Board. Therefore they decided to pay him a duty of two and a half per cent. on salt.³

On this occasion, the behaviour of the members of the Board in reducing the duties on salt to two and a half per cent. and in refusing duties in every other article of inland trade was highly uncompromising. The duty of 9 p. c. on the prime cost of the goods would have been "a very easy and advantageous accommodation for the English dealers in their trade;" and as the Nawab had "consented to accept that as an equivalent for all demands," it would have been proper for them to have readily agreed to it, as this would have secured a confirmed right to what had hitherto been always disputed.⁴ Moreover, as has been already pointed out, it would have placed them in a distinctly privileged position than the native merchants.⁵ But all prudence and judgment vanish away when hatred, rivalry and selfishness reign supreme.

Day by day affairs took a serious turn. The Dacca Factors informed the Board of a fray between the officers of the

them and the weavers, who are regarded as dependants of the merchants that employ them; and this is a distinction wellknown to all but those who through passion will not know it."

¹ Letter from the Nawab to the President, 22nd Feb., 1763, Original Papers, Vol. II, pp. 94-95.

² For further details, *vide* Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II.

³ Consultations, 1st of March, 1763, Original Papers, Vol. II, pp. 75-87; Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, p. 417; "and this as a compliment, a favour, a consideration, not a right."

⁴ Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 414-416. *Cf.* Vansittart's letter to Messrs. Johnston, Hay and Bolts, Dec. 15, 1762 A. D.

⁵ *Vide ante*, note 37.

Government and a party of sepoys that had been sent to release some boats, stopped near Jafferunge. The gentlemen at Patna also wrote that they had sent an officer with three companies of Sepoys to Mow, to free the business of the Factory, and to seize some persons who had given them interruptions.¹ Being unable to put up any longer with this anomalous state of things² the Nawab at last took the extreme step of abolishing all duties on inland trade for two years.³ The Nawab fully expressed his point of view in this matter in his letter to the Board, dated, 22nd March, 1763:—"The affair of the duty is as follows: on account of the oppression of the English Gomasthas, there has not as much as a single farthing been collected by way of duties. Nay, so far from it, you have combined with some of my people and taken penalties from others. And many merchants, who ought to pay customs, have carried their goods duty-free through your protection. Upon this

¹ Copy of a letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Governor and Council, dated 6th March, 1763. *Vide* Original Papers, Vol. II, p. 109.

For further details, *vide ibid.*

² *Cf.* "It appeared that an exemption from duties had thrown the whole trade of the country into the hands of the English. This, however, was the least evil. The country Government was destroyed by the violence of their agents; and individual tyranny succeeded to national arrangement. In the general confusion all were disposed to plunder the seats of justice, and carried on what they called a trade, by violence and oppression. The Nawab's officer either fled before them or joining the invader, divided the spoil. The barrier or the country government once broken down, it became impossible to stop the inundation. Mahomedan, Portuguese and Armenian alike, nay, every illiterate mariner who would escape from a ship, erected our flag, and acted as lord of the district around him." Verelst's *View of Bengal*, p. 103.

³ "Perwannah from Mircasim to Raja Nobet Roy, dated the 19 Shauban, or 5th March, 1763:—

"Having been certainly informed that the greater part of the merchants of my country have suffered considerable losses, and have laid aside all traffic, sitting idle and unemployed in their houses

Therefore with a view to the welfare and quiet of this kind of people, I have caused all duties and customs, chowkedaree Mangan, collections upon new-built boats and other lesser taxes by land or by water, for two years to come, to be removed, and my sunnud is accordingly sent to enforce it." *Proceedings*, March 22, 1763.

account I have entirely given up the collection of duties and removed all Chowkis wheresoever established. For why should I subject my character to be reproached without cause on account of duties? If any one of my people insist on duties I shall severely punish him. As to what you write of your grounding your rights upon the Firmaund and former Sunnuds, I have been twenty or thirty years in this country and am perfectly well acquainted with the nature thereof. But you ought to remember that your Gomasthas, until the time of Meer Mahomed Jaffar Khan, traded only in some certain articles. Nay although I stood your friend, you were unable to provide ten or twenty timbers from Chittagong for building; but now in my administration, your Gomasthas make so many disturbances, and are guilty of so great injuries that I cannot enumerate them. Judge, therefore, from these circumstances, who is the oppressor, and who the oppressed.”¹

As soon as the Nawab's Perwannah for abolishing inland duties was out, it was resolved by a majority in the Board that “this exemption was a breach of the Company's privileges and that the Nawab should be positively required to recall it, and collect duties as before from the country merchants and all other persons who had not the protection of the Company's Dustuck.”² The President and Mr. Hastings disagreed with the Board, and pointed out that “the Nazim of every Province has a right to do anything for the relief

¹ Original Papers, Vol. III, pp. 138-140. It should be noted here that in the President's Letter to the Board, dated 14th December, 1762 (Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, pp. 222-228) he mentions that in course of his conversation with the Nawab, on the subject of inland trade and duties, the Nawab had observed that “if the English Gomasthas were permitted to trade in all parts and all commodities custom free, his custom would be of little value to him, that it would be much more for his interest to lay trade entirely open; and collect no customs upon any kind of merchandise which would draw a number of merchants into his country and at the same time it would cut off the principal subject of the disputes which had disturbed the good understanding between us.”

² Original Papers, Vol. II, p. 124.

of the merchants trading under his protection without awaiting an order from the Court; besides at this time no court, nor has been for some years, and therefore the Nazim must of necessity manage their several governments as they shall judge best for the general good. And if either the Nawab Serajoo Dowla, Jaffer Ally Khan, or Cossim Aly Khan have a right to give up to us those duties which their predecessors received, or permit us to trade in articles we were before excluded from; of course they have a right also to make regulations in favour of trade in general.”¹ The Nawab was strongly determined to take off customs in general and to lay trade entirely open. He therefore sent the following reply to the Command of the Council, in personal correspondence to Vansittart:—“It was notorious that merchants of all sorts made it a practice to pass their own goods under the name of English agents; and that as a release of duties to the latter would in fact amount to a general exemption also to most of the former, save only a few wretches too obscure to afford the expense of purchasing protectors, and too poor to afford duties that would be worth perception; he had therefore taken steps to suppress all customs and duties whatever, and to render the exemption general since as long as the principal merchants could find means to pass duty-free under an English mask, it would be hard to torment a few poor people who could submit to duties, but whose contributions would never repay the charges of perception. That as to the order of dismissing the English agents’ prisoners in his camp, it was an injunction vain and absurd; since the English having first seized and confined his officers, these, of course, ought to be released first before the others could be dismissed at all.”² The Court of Directors

¹ Proceedings, March 24, 1763.

² *Seir-ul-mutakherin* (Cambray Edn.), Vol. II, p. 453.

strongly condemned this action of the Board and rebuked every one except Vansittart and Hastings.¹

It is really difficult to understand as to how those members of the Board could base their right to internal trade, free of all customs and duties, on the Firmaund of 1717.² The Firmaund was never intended to throw open the internal trade of Bengal (*i.e.*, trade from place to place within the country in the commodities of the country, *e.g.*, salt, betel-nut and tobacco) to the servants of a foreign trading company, to the prejudice of the interest of the country merchants, as well as of the Nawab's treasury.³ Neither Siraj-ud-Dowla nor Mir Jafar did understand it to be so.⁴ It is doubtful if any sound principle of International Law can allow such treaties of commerce between two contracting parties, as would benefit one to the utter destruction of the other.⁵

"If what is all stated is fact, it is natural to think that the Nawab tired out and disgusted with the ill usage he has received, has taken this extraordinary measure finding that his authority and government are set at naught and trampled upon by unprecedented behaviour of our servants and the agents employed by them in the several parts of the Nawab's dominions. If we are right in our conjecture, we positively direct, as you value our service, that you do immediately acquaint the Nawab, in the Company's name, that we disapprove of every measure that has been taken in real prejudice to his authority and government, particularly with respect to the wronging him in his revenues by the shameful abuse of Dustucks; and you are further to inform him that you look upon his and the Company's interest to be so connected that we wish for nothing more than to have everything put on such a footing that the utmost harmony may be promoted and kept up between." Separate Letter, London, 30th December, 1763, Wheeler's Early Records of British India, pp. 311-12.

² "The conduct of the Company's servants upon this occasion furnishes one of the most remarkable instances upon record of the power of interest to extinguish all sense of justice and even of shame." Mill's History of British India, Vol. III.

³ Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. II, pp. 271-72.

⁴ *Vide ante*.

⁵ "We do not mean to enter into a discussion, respecting the political conduct of our late Governor (Vansittart) and his Council; but must say that an unbounded thirst after riches seems to have possessed the whole body of our servants to that degree, that they have lost all sight of justice to the country government and of their duty to Company. In reading the opinions of the several members of the late Council respecting illegal trade, by which they mean the articles of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, we are astonished to find those among them who pretend to found their rights on the Firmans.

The remission of all duties on the internal trade for the foreign traders, while retaining it for the country merchants, would have meant nothing but a total stoppage of commerce by the country people. Further, the East India Company, a corporate body of merchants, had procured from the Mughal Emperor, at a great price, freedom from duties (except at the fort of Surat) for all goods belonging to the collective body. They did not lay out the money of the community for the benefit of private merchants, but for the benefit of the Company. So the true intent and meaning of the firmaund was to give the Company and its servants a free trade, clear of all customs, in articles of commerce to be imported and exported by shipping." It was such commerce, from which a mutual benefit could be derived by both the Company and the kingdom of the Nawab, that was intended by the Firmaund.¹ The members of the Board, blind with their own selfish interests, interpreted the Firmaund in a manner which suited their interests best. It is quite natural that they became filled with animosity against Mir Casim, who sought to strike a blow at their source of income from

Treaties of Commerce are understood for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties. Is it then possible to suppose that the Court of Delhi, by conferring the privilege of trading free of customs, could mean an internal trade in the commodities of their own country, at that period unpractised and unthought of by the English, to the detriment of their revenues and to the ruin of their own merchants. We do not find such a construction ever was heard of until our own servants first invented it, and afterwards supported it by violence; neither could it be claimed by the subsequent treaties with Mir Jafar (June, 1757) or Cossim Aly which were never understood to give one additional privilege of trade beyond what the Firmaunds expressed. In short the specious arguments used by those who pretended to set up a right to it convince us that they did not want judgment but virtue, to withstand the temptation of suddenly amassing a great fortune, although acquired by means incompatible with the peace of the country, and their duty to the Company." Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated April 26, 1765 A. D. *Vide Verelst's View of Bengal*, Appendix, pp. 128-29.

¹ A letter from the Governor and Mr. Hastings to the Council, dated 15th December 1762, Original Papers, Vol. I, pp. 222-24.

private trade in order to protect his own country merchants. So from interchange of complaints and haughty words through letters, the two parties at last met in a serious conflict which ended in the victory of the Company's forces over those of the Nawab. The defeat of the Nawab gave a free scope to the continuance of these evils.

After this Mir Jafar was reinstalled as the Nawab of Bengal. A treaty was entered into with him on the 10th of July, 1763, by which it was agreed that "the English shall carry on their trade by means of their own Dustucks, free from all duties, taxes and impositions, in all parts of the country excepting the salt, on which a duty of two and a half per cent. is to be levied on the Rowana or Houghly market price; wherein, it is further agreed, that the late Perwannahs, issued by Cossim Aly Khan (Mir Casim) granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before."¹ This left the country open for the oppressions and plunderings of the Company's Gomasthas, and the sufferings of the country people and merchants increased to a great extent.

Mir Jafar sent the following representations² to the Board in Calcutta, through Major Adams, for regulating the internal trade of the country:—"As there are factories of the English Company at Cassimbazar, Dacca, Patna, and other places and Chiefs and Councillors are there whatever Dustucks there may be for trade let them be established under the seal of the English Company. And let them not interfere, nor grant recommendations in the affairs of the Revenues of the country as it is a means of weakening the authority of my officers.

¹ *Vide* Verelst's View of Bengal, Appendix, p. 128, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. III.

² Bengal Secret Consultations, Fort William, 2nd January, 1764. I. R. D. (Foreign).

Sepoys and Lircarries in the name of the Company go to the country and oppress the Ryots. If they are sent into the country for the Company's business let them have a certificate in the seal of the English Councillor and if they go into the country without a certificate and make a disturbance let them be punished.

Let not the English Gomasthas take possession of and set up their authority in any of the Zemindaree, or milky lands granted by the King rent-free, or for a very trifling consideration, nor receive money for protection called Meraein nor hold any Farms: and whoever has taken possession of any lands let him relinquish them and let not protection be granted to the Dependants of the Sircar.

Let there be Dustucks and the Company's seal with boats loaded with silver and goods and let them pass and repass giving copies to the Chowkey according to custom.

With regard to the Gomasthas of the English Company who are in different parts of the country excepting for the business of the English Company and Councillor's let them not for their own affairs and concerns send sepoy upon the Ryots, nor oppress them, force them to purchase their goods and if any dispute shall arise let them make it known to the officer of the Sircars and have it settled by him."

On the 6th of January, 1764, the Nawab sent a letter to the Board complaining of the many obstructions that he had met with in the province of Behar from the Patna Factory.¹ The Board was desirous of making some necessary regulations with the Nawab for preventing future disputes in the country, and, therefore, wrote to the Chief of the Patna Factory repeating, along with other instructions, the prohibition which had been already laid down "that no persons or their dependants residing under the Company's flag are to be permitted to hold Gaunges, Rents or any other offices from the

¹ Bengal Secret Consultations, Fort William, 19th January, 1764, I. R. D. (Foreign).

country government.”¹ The Chief of the Patna Factory replied to the Board on the 3rd February that the orders of the Board were duly obeyed and “that no gentlemen of the Factory or their dependants hold either Gunge, Rent or other offices from the country government.....”² But in other parts of the country, such as Cossimbazar, Rangpur, and Dinajpur, the people were labouring under “unlawful proceedings of many private European agents and their Gomasthas.”³ The following letter from the wakil (representative) of the Zemindar of Buzzoorgomeopore (?) to the Nowab gives a true picture of the condition to which the internal trade of the country had been reduced:—“The Pergunnah of Buzzoorgomeopore, etc., in the Zemindary of my master. By reason of the oppressions of the Factors of the Company and many other English traders of whom underneath is a list all inhabitants are fled. The people of the Factors take from the markets what they please at half price, cut down Bamboos and Trees belonging to the inhabitants and take them away by force, if any complains, they punish him for it. They press the inhabitants and carry them into the woods of Soondarbun, paying them only half their wages. They take possession of lands in the Sunderbun and make Tafsels of salt for which they pay no rents. They seize the salt of Tafsels of the Pergunnah and of the inhabitants. They force the inhabitants to take tobacco, salt and other articles and refuse to pay the legal duties on the Trade which they carry on. If we demand a sight of the Company's Dustuck they beat us with Bamboos, some of them pretend that they have been robbed: and insist on our making restitution placing peons upon us and putting us to great expense. They judge causes, and impose and exact fines. They send peons, and seize the Naib of the Pergunnah taking for a Tullabana (Peons' Fees) one rupee

¹ *Ibid.*

² Bengal Secret Consultations, Fort William, 13th February, 1764, I. R. D. (Foreign).

³ *Bl. St. Cons.*, 30th April, 1764, I. R. D. (Foreign).

every day. They grant guards to many of the Taluckdars and Mollungees (salt-workers) in the country by which means we are prevented from collecting the King's Revenues and many of the inhabitants take shelter in the Factories and thereby avoid paying the rents. There is little chunam made within the distance of four days' journey from hence, the whole quantity made within the Pergunnah not exceeding 200 maunds. Notwithstanding Mr. Dobbries has established two Factories within my Pergunnah committing every species of injury and oppressing and violating the women of the Inhabitants and erecting Factories in places where none were ever before, drives away the inhabitants and upon the information of many people he takes upon him to recover debts of five and ten years' standing—whereof I request that you will grant me a Pergunnah that no one may be allowed to oppress the inhabitants that whosoever has not the Company's Dustuck may be obliged to pay duties and orders be sent to the people of the Factories that they do not send out Peons into the country without the knowledge of the Zemindar, and whatever affairs they transact that they give the Naib Zemindar a copy of the Dustuck by which they are authorised and that for such for which they have no Dustuck they pay the King's revenues accruing from them.”¹

The Court of Directors in their letter, dated 8th February, 1764, informed the Governor and Council in Bengal that “from the receipt of this letter, a final and effectual End be forthwith put to the Inland Trade in Salt, Bettle Nut (betel nut), Tobacco and in all other articles whatsoever produced and consumed in the country; and that all European and other Agents, or Gomasthas, who have been concerned in such Trade, be immediately ordered down to Calcutta, and not suffered to return or be replaced as such, by any other persons.

“That as our Phirmaund Privileges of trading Duty-free

¹ *Cons. St. Bl.*, 7th May, 1764.

are certainly confined to the Company's Export and Import Trade only, you are to have recourse to, and keep within, the Liberty therein stipulated, and given, as nearly as can possibly be done: But as by the connivance of the Bengal Government and constant usage, the Company's Covenant servants have had the same Benefit as the Company, with respect to their Export and Import Trade, we are willing they should enjoy the same; and that Dustucks be granted accordingly; but herein the most Effectual care is to be taken, that no excesses or abuses are suffered upon any account whatsoever nor Dustucks granted to any other than our Covenant servants as aforesaid. However, notwithstanding any of our former orders, no writer is to have the benefit of a Dustuck, until he has served his full Time of Five years in that Station: Free Merchants and others are not entitled to, or to have the benefit of the Company's Dustucks, but are to pay the usual Duties.

“As no Agents or Gomasthas are to reside, on account of private Trade, at any of the Inland Parts of the Country, all business on account of licensed private Trade is to be carried on by, and through the means of the Company's Covenant servants, residing at the several subordinate Factories, as has been usual.”¹ For some time after the receipt of this letter, the regulations of this internal trade of Bengal received the attention of the Board in Calcutta.² The Board tried to put some restraints “upon those excesses which either ignorance or passion or self interest” led the English agents to commit in the country.³ These agents were practically under no law, because the charter of the Company did not authorise the Company's Courts “to take cognisance of

¹ Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. III, Wheeler's Early Records of British India, pp. 311-314.

² Letter to Anselm Beaumont, Resident at Midnapur, dated 3rd October, 1764. Midnapur Records, pp. 19-20.

³ Bl. St. Cons, 3rd May, 1764.

any crimes they might commit in those parts," and it had been also "laid down as a fundamental principle that the country Government shall have no power of them."¹ It was therefore resolved by the Board on the 3rd May, 1764, that "all the Europeans, Portuguese, Natives, and Armenian agents which are now up the country shall have notice given them to settle their concerns so as to return to Calcutta by the 30th November, and that after that time no European shall be permitted to go up the country under any pretence whatsoever or any other agent be employed in our own Trade but Bengal Natives.

With respect to the practice of carrying on the Inland trade by Force (called Burja or Guchaount) it is a practice which we entirely disapprove, and in order to put a stop to it as soon as possible it is agreed to send directions to Dacca, Rungepore and Maldah to prohibit it in the districts under their Factory but to do it with such care and discretion as not to affect the Company's Investment as we do not mean to invalidate the right derived to the Company from their Phirmaund always held over their own weavers."² The members of the Board were not unanimous in their opinion on these resolutions,³ but it was at last decided in July, 1764, that all European agents should be recalled, and that they should have their respective places of residence in the country in such time as to arrive in Calcutta by the 31st December.⁴ The members also thought that a scheme should be formed for carrying on the Inland Trade agreeably to the spirit of the orders of the Court of Directors.⁵ We find in the Consultations, 17th October, 1764, that the Council in Calcutta proposed

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ Bl. St. Cons, 21st July, 1764, for details about the opinion of the members, *vide* Appendix.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Bengal and Madras Paper, Vol. III; Verelst, View of Bengal, Appendix, p. 128. At a general meeting of the Proprietors held on the 18th May, 1764, it was pointed out by

the regulation of confining the trade of their servants in the article of salt to the capital cities of Patna, Dacca and Murshidabad on paying the Nawab two and a half per cent. This did not by any means "obviate the Nawab's objections arising from the distress of the poor and the injury to the revenues," for while the Company's people had to pay two and half per cent. the country people had to pay twenty or perhaps forty per cent.¹ The 5th article of the treaty concluded by the President and Council in Calcutta with Nazim-ud-dowla on the 20th February, 1765, confirmed "to the English the Privilege granted them by their Phirmaund and several Husbulhookums, carrying on their trade by means of their own Dustuck free from all Duties, Taxes and Impositions in all parts of the country, excepting the article on salt, on which a duty of two half per cent. is to be levied on the Rowna, or Houghley Market price."²

In conformity with the orders of the Court of Directors, as contained in their letter of 1st June, 1764, the Select Committee in its meeting of the 10th August, 1765, where Mr. William Summer and Mr. Verelst were present, took into consideration the subject of the inland trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco. It was decided that the following plan, which was esteemed to be the 'most correspondent with the Company's Orders and conducive to the Ends which they have

several members that the servants of the Company in India "ought not to be deprived of such precious advantages." The Court, therefore, resolved, "That it be recommended to the Court of Directors to reconsider the orders sent to Bengal relative to the trade of the Company's servants in salt, betel-nut and tobacco, and to regulate this important point, either by restrictions framed at home, or by referring it to the Governor and Council of Fort William to regulate this important Point, in such a manner as may prevent all future Disputes betwixt the Soubah and the Company." Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. III; Verelst, View of Bengal, p. 107.

¹ Verelst, View of Bengal, Appendix, pp. 130-131.

² Court's Letter to Bengal, dated 19th February, 1766. In this same letter the Court of Directors complained that they considered this arrangement "as an express Breach and Violation of our Orders and as a determined Resolution to sacrifice the Interest of the Company and the peace of the country to lucrative and selfish views."

in view, when they require that the Trade shall be put upon such a footing as may appear most equitable for the benefit of their servants, least liable to produce disputes with the Country Government and wherein their own Interest and that of the Nabob, shall at the same time be properly attended to and considered," should be carried into execution :—" 1st, That the Trade shall be carried on, by an exclusive Company, formed for that purpose and consisting of all those who may be deemed justly entitled to share. That a proper fund shall be raised by a Loan at Interest, for the supply and support of the same; and that it shall commence in the month of September ensuing or as soon after as may be found most convenient. 2ndly, That all salt, Bettlenut and Tobacco produced in or imported into Bengal, shall be purchased by this established Company and public advertisement shall be issued, strictly prohibiting all other persons whatever, who are dependent on our Government, to deal in those Articles. 3rdly, That application shall be made to the Nabob to issue the like prohibition to all his officers and subjects, of the Districts where any quantity of either of these Articles is manufactured or produced. 4thly, That the salt shall be purchased by contract, on the most reasonable Terms, giving the preference to the factories of Dacca, Chittagong, Burdwan, and Midnapore, for the produce of their respective Districts to the Fousdar of Houghley, and the other Zemindars, for the produce of Inglee, Tamlook, Mysidole, etc., and to such persons as may offer the most reasonable proposals, for the quantity produced in the Calcutta Lands.

" 5thly, That the Bettlenut and Tobacco shall, on like manner, be purchased by contract, under such Terms and conditions as upon proper Enquiry, shall appear to the Managers to be most conformable to the Interest concerned.

" 6thly, That the contractors for the salt shall agree to deliver it at certain fixed Places at a stipulated Rate per % Maunds, comprehending such an Advance upon their contracts

with the Zemindars and Molungees as may be esteemed an Equivalent to their Risk, Trouble and bad Debts.

“7thly, That as the Advances will be made by the contractors to the Zemindars, etc., at certain periods of the season, in the usual Manner, so shall the Advances from the Public Company to the contractors be made in proportion thereto.

“8thly, That the salt, Bettlenut, and Tobacco, thus purchased by the Public Company, shall be transported to a certain Number of Places for sale, to be there, and there only disposed of by their Agents; and that the Country Merchants may then become the Purchasers, and again transport the Articles whither they think they have the greatest Prospect of Profit; that by this Means, not only the frequent Oppressions the Inhabitants of the Country have suffered, by Europeans having Permission to traverse to every Place for the sale of those commodities, will be put a stop to, but, by thus reserving to the Natives and Merchants a competent share of the profits both in the Purchase and Sale, we may hope for the good Effect of removing the general odium that has prevailed from our seeking to deprive them of every Part of that Trade.

“9thly, That as it is apprehended some Difficulty will arise in securing the Produce of the Dacca and the Chittagong Districts, by reason of the Property of the Lands being scattered in a number of hands, all dependent on the Government. It is agreed, that Application shall be made to the Nawab, for Perwannahs on the several Zemindars of those Districts, as well as those of Houghley, etc., strictly ordering and requiring them to contract for all the salt that can be made on their Lands with the English alone, and forbidding the sale to any other person or persons whatsoever.

“10thly, that the Honourable Company shall either share in this Trade as Proprietors, or receive an annual duty upon it, as may offer to be most for their interest, when considered with their other engagements and demands at this Presidency.

“11thly, that the Nawab shall in like manner be considered, as may be judged most proper, either as a Proprietor, or by annual Nuzzeranah, to be computed upon inspecting a statement of his duties on salt in former years.

“12thly, that the manner in which the Honourable Company and the Nabob shall be considered, being once determined, the remainder of this Trade shall be divided amongst the Company’s servants, arranged under certain classes, and each class to share a certain proportion of the capital stock.

“13thly, that a Committee of Trade shall be appointed to receive the management of this plan, and prosecute the same in all its branches: That they shall be immediately authorised to take measures for raising the Fund at interest, and to receive Proposals, and settle the contracts: And further, that for their assistance in this Work, a Person shall be appointed in the quality of their Secretary and Accomptant”¹ Mr. Sumner handed over to the Committee 106 Parwanahs² which he had received from the Nabob, through Mr. Sykes, who had recently visited Murshidabad, for “authorising and facilitating this trade,” especially for giving effect to the 3rd and 9th regulations. He also presented to the Committee several other papers, which he had collected, regarding the Produce of the different districts and the conditions under which salt could be contracted.³ About the appointment of this Committee of Trade, the Select Committee was of opinion that it should be composed of two members of their body and two gentlemen of the Council.⁴ The Committee of Trade solicited in their letter to the Council in Bengal, dated 11th September, 1765, for “a Deed to secure the Proprietors in the Right to the same (reserved trade in the

¹ Proceedings of the Select Committee, 10th August, 1765.

² Probably three of those are quoted in Bolts’ considerations, pp. 176-178.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

articles of salt, betelnut, and tobacco) during the continuance of their present engagements, to be renewed every season as long as it may be agreeable to the Honourable Company that this plan should subsist." The Council thought it proper to grant the requested "Deed," which was ordered to be prepared by Mr. Wittall for the security of the present proprietors, and also agreed to write to the Court of Directors for permission to renew the same.¹

At a meeting of the 18th September² the Select Committee considered that it would be more for the interest of the Company "to be considered as superiors of this Trade" rather than "to be engaged as Proprietors in the stock" and that it would receive a duty on the following rates :—

"On salt, 35 per cent. valuing the 100 Maunds at the rate of 90 rupees, and in consideration hereof the present Collaree.³ Duty to be abolished.

"On Bettelnut, 10 per cent. on the prime cost on tobacco, 25 per cent. on ditto."

It was also resolved that Proprietors in the stock for this trade were to be arranged into three classes. The first class should consist of the Governor with five shares, the second with three shares, the General with three shares, ten gentlemen of the Council each with two shares, two Colonels each with 4 shares (in all 35 shares). The second class was to be composed of one Chaplain, fourteen junior servants, and three Lieutenant Colonels ; in all 18 persons, each of whom was to be entitled to one-third of a Councillor's proportion or two-thirds of one share (in all twelve shares for the second class). The third class should be formed of thirteen Factors,

¹ Bengal Consultations, 16th Sept., 1765.

² Bengal Select Consultations, 18th Sept., 1765.

³ "Collaree properly Khalari, corruptly collary, Collierie, Collurie, Kphallary, etc., Beng. A place where salt is manufactured : a salt bed or pan ; a mound of earth hollowed at the top, in which straw and other materials are placed to serve as a filter for salt water poured upon it and which when freed from dirt and sand becomes brine for boiling." Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms.

four Majors, four First Surgeons at the Presidency, two First Surgeons at the Army, one Secretary to the Council, one Sub-accountant, one Persian translator, and one Sub-Export-Warehousekeeper ; in all 27 persons, each of whom was to be entitled to one-sixth of a Councillor's proportion, one one-third of one share (eight shares for the third class). Twelve shares in this trade were to be allotted to 18 persons, composed of the First, Senior and Junior merchants, Lieutenant-Colonels, and Chaplain or Chaplains, and eight shares to 24 persons composed of the Senior Factors, Majors, and Surgeons.

The Committee of Trade was to have power to form by-laws and to enforce them with the approval of the Body of proprietors, and the books of the society were to be opened on the 1st of every September and closed on the 31st of the following August. This plan of the Select Committee was confirmed by the Council in Calcutta on the 25th of September, 1765, and it was then sent to the Committee of Trade with instructions to proceed accordingly.¹

The Select Committee in its letter to the Court of Directors, dated 30th September, 1765, stated that this monopoly of trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco was established in the hands of a Company, composed of three first classes of the Company's Covenanted servants, the Field Officers, Chaplains and Head Surgeons, in order "to remove the Inconveniences as a free Trade, prevent the oppressions daily committed, save this valuable Article of Commerce from Ruin, and diffuse the Benefits resulting indiscriminately among all your servants entitled to Dustucks" to the abovementioned officers. "In admitting the Field Officers, and stating the proportions allotted to each class," the members of the Select Committee "had particular regard to the present situation" of the Council and Field Officers, who were excluded from "many Emoluments they before Enjoyed." In their opinion,

¹ Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. III.

gentlemen who had "risen to their stations with Credit and Reputation" were "entitled to something more than a mere subsistence. They have a Right to expect such Advantagesas may enable them to return in few years, with Independence, to their own country."

If these were the objects of the Select Committee in establishing this monopoly of salt trade, let us see how it affected the people of the country. Monopoly of trade in a country is prejudicial to the interests of its inhabitants. Mr. Verelst however holds that "as the price of salt was fixed at two hundred rupees per hundred maunds, and all taxes, delays, and difficulties were removed by collecting the duty from the society, the Committee was able to ascertain the price at the several markets, which would effectually secure the consumer from every imposition."¹ He points out that Mr. Sumner enquired about the prices of salt for twenty years back and the price was thus fixed at the several markets "to which the Company transported salt, full fifteen per cent. lower than the price at which it was usually sold. From these markets it was carried by the natives; so that the consumer must purchase his salt for less than had been ordinarily given." In support of his view, he has quoted the following figures about the price of salt in Bengal before the establishment of the Society. From 1760 to 1765 A. D. salt was sold in Calcutta from 100 Arcot rupees to 170 Arcot rupees per 100 maunds; at Patna the lowest price was 350 and it often rose to 500 rupees, 600 rupees and even 700 rupees. The Committee of trade established 12 different markets throughout the country. In order to settle the prices of salt in those different markets the prices of salt for many years past (from some places for 13 years, from some places upwards of 20 years) were taken into consideration by the Committee of trade, which took a medium of those prices, and settled the price of the salt 12 to 15 per cent. lower than

¹ Verelst, *View of Bengal*, p. 116.

such medium. Mr. Verelst has also quoted figures about prices of salt from Mr. Sumner's papers and from some original papers in the possession of Mr. Rumbold as "proofs that the price of salt at Patna was nearly, if not precisely, *communibus annis*, the same before the society took place, during the continuance of the society, and after the abolition of it..."¹ He has also quoted from 'Thoughts on the Affairs of Bengal' by Arch. Keir, who was so great a trader in salt that he employed 13,000 people in one season for its manufacture, the following sentences in support of his statements :—"That the Society for the trade in salt, bettlenut, and tobacco, instituted by Lord Clive and the Select Committee, was so far from being detrimental to the country, that those articles were not only sold dearer, but indeed at a lower rate, during the monopoly, at most places at least, than, at a medium, had been done for many years before, while there was a fixed price upon them, which no doubt, would have been of advantage to the people, had it been continued particularly with regard to salt." He admits that the price of salt increased, after the establishment of the Society, in and about Calcutta because "formerly the duties were levied on the passage of salt to different parts of the country and now the duty was levied upon its importation into Calcutta." But in his opinion this did not affect the people in the interior parts of the country, and Mr. Bolts² estimated the price of salt by taking into consideration the Calcutta prices of that article instead of forming a proper judgment by studying the condition of the people in different parts of the country.

Bolts gives quite a different account. According to him the establishment of this monopoly of salt trade greatly

¹ *Ibid*, p. 114.

² "In the time of Aly Verdy his favourite, Cogee Wazeed, was irregularly allowed, to farm the trade in salt; but that merchant sold his salt then at five hundred per cent. cheaper than it was sold by this Committee after the establishment of the monopoly now under consideration." Bolts, *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, p. 174, foot-note.

affected the interests of the people in general, as the "produce of the whole country was engrossed by the Committee, who paid at the rate of 75 rupees for what was sold in many places for upwards of 500 rupees per 100 maunds; which in effect was making a poor inhabitant pay at the rates of $6\frac{1}{2}$ rupees for a quantity of salt which, in the course of the trade, he would have bought for one rupee." ¹ He has quoted several documents in support of his view both in the body of his book as well as in the appendix.

We could have prepared a real picture of the condition of the people after the establishment of this Society, if we had been able to study the facts from some other disinterested authorities. The native writers are all silent on this point, and other records are also lacking. If Bolts' account cannot be regarded as historical because he was biassed against the company, no absolute reliance can also be placed on the accounts of Verelst or Sumner. Both the latter had taken part in the trade and had direct interest in the matter. So their accounts might be coloured by personal considerations.

We have already seen that the Court of Directors, in their letters to the Council in Bengal, had always expressed dissatisfaction with the conduct of their servants and gomasthas in Bengal for carrying on an illegal trade within the country, to the great prejudice of the interests of the country merchants, of the people, as well as of the Company. The Directors had hoped that the Select Committee, after its arrival in Calcutta, would be able to make a fair settlement in the field of internal trade. ² But when they were informed about the Select Committee's plan through a letter from Bengal, dated 30th September, 1765, they discountenanced it wholly. They sent their sentiments and orders to

¹ Bolts, *Considerations*, p. 177.

² Letter to Bengal, dated 24th December, 1765.

Bengal in the following terms :—“ We have in all our letters, from the first knowledge we had of our servants being engaged in the Inland Trade, strongly discountenanced and forbid it. We have always treated it as a Breach of our Orders, a violation of the Phirmaund, and in a great Measure the cause of the late Wars : The amazing sums demanded for Restitution, in respect of losses sustained in this Trade, have opened our Eyes to the vast extent to which it has been carried; the oppressions of the unhappy Natives, that have attended the carrying it on, and which have pervaded all Parts of the Nabob's Dominions, have convinced us, that a Monopoly of the Necessaries of Life, in any Hands whatever, more especially in the Hands of the English, who are possessed of such an overruling Influence, is liable to the greatest Abuses.

* * * * *

With respect to the Company, it is neither consistent with their Honour nor their Dignity to promote such an exclusive Trade. As it is now more immediately our Interest and Duty to protect and cherish the Inhabitants and to give them no Occasion to look on every Englishman as their national Enemy, a sentiment we think such a Monopoly would necessarily suggest; we cannot therefore approve the plan you have sent us for trading in salt, Bettle-Nut, or Tobacco or admit of this Trade in any shape whatever; and do hereby confirm our former orders for its entire Abolition.”¹ It was, therefore, resolved by the Select Committee on the 16th of January, 1767,—“ That the Society of Trade shall be abolished and the inland trade totally relinquished on the first day of September next.”²

KALI KINKAR DATTA

¹ Letter to Select Committee, dated 17th May, 1766, paras. 31, 36.

² Verelst, View of Bengal, p. 119.

REUNION

Here lies she on her bed with flowers bright,
Across the moorland, on the curving way,
Away from din, from passers' curious sight,
Gently reposing, dreaming dreams alway.

Here did her feet trip lightly in the past,
Here did she gaze in wonderment around,
Here did she come to seek her home at last,
Here in this virgin soil, this hallowed ground.

Here yet she lies within her grass-grown bed,
And what she sees, no earthly lips define,
The seed is sown, the tender flower shed,
The soul in union with a Love Divine.

And when the visions glow behind the veil,
She sees, what though I strive, I never see,
She hears the echoes which I cannot hail,
The freshening dawn o'er regions bright and free.

I see the daffodil, the blushing rose,
The violet and the scented wild-thyme field,
She sees the asphodel that softly blows;
And the bright fruits that precious nectar yield.

No spring to summer grows, nor autumn yields
To winter, weary, wan and long,
There in those verdant bright Elysian fields
Joy finds its voice in one eternal song.

Here have I stood in sombre quietude
To list in vain for what those voices say,
Have yearned within this solemn solitude
To get a glimpse of that bright light of day.

Have sought the Way, beyond the gates ajar,
That leads unto the distant Mystic Shrine,
The Way that winds to summits yet afar,
The path she once had trod when she was mine.

But she has passed the portals raised on high,
While here I stand in wild despondency
With nightly vigils, heaving sigh on high,
To scent the fragrance of her life to me.

And though I beat my breast against the bars,
Longing to break the bounds of earth and sky,
I still must see the sun, the moon, the stars,
The summer sicken and the autumn nigh.

Yet shall I bid those gates to open wide,
When myriad voices chant their welcome lay,
And like a traveller, step my way inside,
Till I shall reach the Shrine beyond the Way.

All ties of life far gone, I hope to greet
The gladsome shouts of that seraphic band,
And from among those mystic spirits sweet,
I long to clasp a tender lily hand.

H. W. B. MORENO

THE LITERARY IDEAS OF GUSTAVE FLAUBERT AS REVEALED IN HIS CORRESPONDENCE

Flaubert is one of those writers who do not belong exclusively to one particular literary school. Appearing at a time when opposing theories were struggling for supremacy, he borrowed from both sides in order to construct for himself a personal system. Thus it is quite natural to find in his works classical, romantic and realistic elements. These differing tendencies were in agreement with his character. He tells us himself: "Not such a dreamer as they think, I shall observe as do the short-sighted, even into the very pores of things, because they stick their noses into them. There is in me, speaking from the literary point of view, two distinct beings; one who is carried away by oratory, lyricism, great eagle-flights, all the grandeur of the sonorous sentence and the highest ideals; another who digs and delves at the truth as much as possible, who loves to be as precise about the smallest details as about the greatest, who wants to make you feel almost materially the things he reproduces." But he does not develop one of these tendencies to the exclusion of the others. On the contrary, he gives free rein now to one, now to another, and so he can be described as something of an eclectic.

This form of art is one of the most difficult. The writer must know how to choose and re-unite the best elements of the different schools in order to produce the beautiful. He shows thus a universal type of art, but he risks at the same time a lack of depth. He must then confine himself to certain limitations, so as not to lose in depth what he gains in expanse of field. In order to secure this depth the writer must have observed meticulously the human mind, to know those sentiments which are of all time and of all periods; he

must be able to eliminate what is purely individual, and keep to what is essentially general, thus assuring to his art the power of living. Writers such as Montaigne and La Fontaine are good examples of this principle. So long as Montaigne wrote essays dealing with himself 'for his relatives and friends,' that is, showing forth *only* what was particular to himself, the interest was not universal. But when he took as the centre of his essays his 'ego,' as the ego of the human race, stating that any ordinary life serves to illustrate the lives of everybody, we have something living, which has a lasting interest, which is profound, which is true art and consequently the beautiful. As for La Fontaine, he effaced himself from his works purposely, 'to please.' That was the maxim of all his contemporaries, the classicists.

Now a means is necessary to give expression to these sentiments, and here is where the art of the man of letters comes into consideration. Flaubert was called the 'Christ of Literature,' because his ideal of art was so high that he literally killed himself through his efforts to attain it. There has been a great deal written and said about Flaubert and his art. Even contradictory theories about him have been evolved. Albalat differs in opinion from Faguet. Faguet claims that Flaubert had to work hard in order to write well, because in reality he wrote badly, and the proof of it lies in the mistakes and provincialisms of his correspondence. That is saying too much; Flaubert did not pay much attention to his letters. Happy to be at ease, he let himself go, like a schoolboy in the fields, and even took pleasure in offending grammar and purity of language. What is remarkable is that Flaubert became a classical writer,² as much so as Chateaubriand, while incarnating the inverse of spontaneity and ease. Everything is thought out and calculated in his works. But, says Albalat, it is the method which produces the savour of this style. The art of Flaubert is such that it invites diverse opinions; what pleases some displeases others.

We shall then examine briefly what Flaubert himself says about his work as literary artist: and for this purpose we propose to turn to his correspondence, fairly large in extent, where he freely expresses the ideas which were dear to him. We shall seek the definition of his conception of art: what was his aim in writing, and his ideal; what importance he attributes to style, to subject-matter and to the other questions which normally ensue.

This correspondence stretches over a fairly long period of his life—from the year 1847 till his death in 1880. It is addressed, for the most part to friends who were interested above all in literature, for example, Louis Bouilhet, Ernest Feydeaux, the Goncourt brothers, Louise Colet, and George Sand. One sees in these letters that literature and art are the supreme interests of Flaubert's life. "Love is not for me the first thing in life, but the second.....I love art." And he was happy only when writing. "As soon as I am no longer busy with a book, or contemplating writing one, I am bored to tears..... When writing it seems to me that I am doing my duty, and that I am obeying a superior fatality."

On the death of his father in 1845, and because of a nervous disease from which he suffered, Flaubert gave up his studies in law and went to live at Croisset, alone with his mother. There he lived for thirty-four years until he died, working for his art without interruption, except for a tour in Brittany, a journey to the East, and occasional visits to Paris. Isolated as he was at Croisset, he found it necessary to write frequently to his friends in Paris. And this isolation was in full agreement with his philosophy of art. He believed that the artist must live, apart from the things and the world which betray him, for his vocation alone, mount in his 'ivory tower' and there, like a bayadère amongst her perfumes, remain alone with his dreams. This attitude is easy to understand when one looks into the character of

Flaubert. Together with this passion for literature which he had always, there was also something of an Alceste in him. He was not far from being a misanthropist. Like Alceste, he searched continually for a phantom ideal, and he suffered through not being able to seize it. These facts, added to an extreme sensitiveness and to his susceptibility to impression, explain this philosophy. Life for him was something so hideous that the only way to bear it was to avoid it. And that, according to him, could only be done through art, in the ceaseless search for truth expressed by beauty. "The only way to bear existence is to daze oneself with literature, as with a perpetual orgy. The wine of art causes a long intoxication, and it is inexhaustible. It is by thinking of oneself that one becomes unhappy."

Flaubert always scrupulously avoided all that was mediocre; he had no patience for those who aimed less high than himself. Musset, he says, will live because of certain qualities in his works, which he himself abjures. He has had some splendid outbursts and inspirations, that is all. He had not the strength to become a master; he believed neither in himself nor in his art, but in his passions. He celebrates with emphasis the heart, sentiment, love with a capital letter, to the detriment of higher beauties. This sort of thing makes many people think they are poets without having written a single line of poetry. This 'glorification of the mediocre' makes Flaubert indignant, and for him, amounts to the denial of all beauty and art. Béranger, too, he condemns because he was the 'poet of the mediocre.' All that was outside the confines of his art, Flaubert considered as of no importance. And the man who claims to be an artist has no longer the right to live as others do. He must adopt the principle of sacrificing all to art, "and the person of least consideration is himself."

Flaubert was not the only one to attach this enormous importance to art. The idea was rather *en l'air* at the

time,* but nobody carried it to such an extreme as he did. Another idea which he shared with his contemporaries was that of complete impassibility in art. That is to say, the author must not exhibit himself in his work. He must not display his own sentiments and passions. This was a principle to which he was constantly referring. For him, to put oneself into a work of art was only to end in weakness. For example on one occasion, criticising 'Graziella' by Lamartine, he says that it is a mediocre work although it has the possibilities of a fine story. He compares the conclusion with that of 'Candide': "the end where she does not die but is consoled, is most ordinary and bitter. Because of this, the end of 'Candide' is for me the outstanding proof of a genius of the first order. The lion's claw is marked on this ending, as tranquil and stupid as life itself. But that would have required *an independence of character* which was lacking in Lamartine."

So he considered that nervous susceptibility and an exaggerated power of feeling were weaknesses. He knew it through his own experience: "If it were necessary to feel in order to make others feel, I could write books which would make hands tremble and hearts beat, and as I am sure I shall never lose this faculty, which my pen gives me of its own accord and in spite of myself, in a manner which is often troubling; I pay little attention to it, and seek on the contrary not vibration but description." And: "If it were sufficient to have sensitive nerves to be a poet, I would be greater than Shakespeare or Homer, whom I imagine to have been a man of little nervous sensibility. The confusion about this is impious. Poetry is not a weakness of the mind, and this excessive sensitiveness is. Passion does not make poetry, and the more personal you are the weaker you will be. I myself have always sinned in that direction; I have always put myself into all that I have done. In the place of 'Saint Antoine,' for example, you find me; the 'Tentation' was

written for me and not for the reader. The less one feels a thing the better one can describe it as it really is. But one must have the power to *make it felt*. This power is nothing short of genius." Further, when the writer desires to put himself into his work, there is the risk that the subject will run away with him, and then art suffers. The greatest productions of the human mind reveal nothing, or almost nothing, definite about their authors. Whatever lyrical qualities Byron may have had, how Shakespeare crushes him, in comparison, with his superhuman impersonality! Can one tell even whether he was grave or gay? The artist must work in such a way that he gives to posterity the impression that he has not lived. "I can imagine nothing, says Flaubert, about the personality of Homer nor of Rabelais, and when I think of Michael-Angelo, I see, from the back only, an old man of immense stature, carving in the night by the light of torches." Without personal sentiments the horizon is widened and filled with serenity. The author, scattered in all his characters makes them live, and instead of one 'eternal declamatory personality,' which has no precision because of lack of sufficient details, we have human beings. "God knows the beginning and the end: man what intervenes. Art, like Him in space, must remain suspended in the infinite, complete in itself, independent of its creator. Let us respect the Lyre; it is not made for one man, but for men."

Concerning 'Madame Bovary,' he says that the story is a pure invention, and that it contains nothing of his own feelings or experiences. The illusion of reality in the book is brought about by this very principle of impassibility. Flaubert continually emphasises the idea. The artist must be in his work as God in his creation, invisible and all-powerful, he must make himself felt, but must not be seen. He must create and be silent. Independence of character, that is, the power to detach oneself from one's own individuality, is the secret of true greatness. He refuses to give one of the highest

places to Dante, among writers like Shakespeare and Homer. These did not celebrate their petty village, caste or family feuds. The 'Inferno' was written for one particular period and not for all time.

In this connection, however, one cannot help but entertain certain doubts. Flaubert tends to exaggerate this theory—the theory on which 'Madame Bovary' is based and where he is convinced that he carried it out to its full. This masterpiece, while being an impersonal and scientific work, full of details observed in life itself (for example, the scene where Madame Bovary poisons herself, is perfect in exactitude), betrays all the same *certain of Flaubert's own sentiments*. He could never have depicted so vividly the pharmacist Homais if he had not been inspired by his hatred of stupidity and the middle classes. So, one must be careful to differentiate. This impersonality must be a quality of the execution of the work, and not of its conception. When we come to 'Bouvard et Pécuchet,' we find that it is no more than flesh and bone, the blood and vitality are missing. This work seems to have been likewise inspired by his hatred of human stupidity, but the personal element in its conception is so restrained that it becomes a pure abstraction, and thus fails to interest. There is, after all, a rich source of interest in the personal element of the conception of a work, and it is a mistake to suppress it. We have, for example, a man like Pascal, of an essentially scientific turn of mind, directing his interest towards religion—the great interest of his contemporaries—and what interests us in the result is not the religious ideas of the Jansenists set forth by Pascal, but his particular conception of religion.

From the theory of impassibility Flaubert proceeds to another—the scientific treatment of art. Raised above personal affections and nervous susceptibilities, art must be treated with the precision of the physical sciences. The method of the artist must be inexorable. When condemning 'Graziella,' Flaubert said that Lamartine was not possessed of the faculty

of visualising life in a 'medical' manner, of contemplating truth, which is the only way to succeed in creating great emotional effects. One can easily understand how he came to entertain this idea. He was born at the beginning of a scientific age, whose spirit he could fully appreciate, considering the environments of his youth, the hospital at Rouen, and the influence of his father the resident-surgeon. As has already been said, there was a good deal of the romantic spirit in Flaubert, but romanticism was entering on a period of decadence, and he realised the failings of the romanticists. This realisation served as a spring-board and hurled him, as it were, into the very midst of the scientific way of thinking. All the same, he had to struggle against the romantic side of his character. If one stops for a moment to consider the development of 'La Tentation de Saint Antoine,' one sees that it was his life's work. He began it when he was young, because the subject pleased him enormously. But, older and more experienced as an artist, he rewrote it, because he realised that instead of describing the Saint Antoine of history, he had created a new Saint Antoine, who was essentially himself. He never stopped thinking about it and only took it up again when he felt really sure that he could master the subject. He admits that he found the method exceedingly hard and the discipline difficult to keep up. It was like a sacrifice which he was continually making 'for the sake of good taste.'

Flaubert had great confidence in the idea that the further art was developed, the more scientific it would become. He upheld it with all his strength, in spite of the risk of unpopularity. "For I write not only for the reader of to-day, but for all readers who may appear as long as the language lasts. My merchandise, therefore, cannot be consumed now, because it is not exclusively for my contemporaries."

He grew impatient because people were slow in accepting this scientific attitude towards art. "Is it not time to bring

justice into art? Impartiality in description will then attain the majesty of the law, and the precision of science." He attributed this tardiness above all to philosophy and religion. "Till now the novel has been nothing more than an exhibition of the personality of the author, and I would even include all literature, except in the case of two or three men perhaps. The poet is considered now as bound to have sympathy for everything and everyone, in order to understand and describe them. We are lacking in the scientific spirit: we are dabbling in a barbarism of savages: philosophy such as it is created, and religion such as it exists, are as coloured glasses, which hinder clear seeing, because one is prejudiced in advance and because people are too anxious to know why before knowing how."

The scientific spirit in Flaubert led automatically to certain other ideas, which are a little less important, perhaps, but not less interesting. He believed that, in the case of a masterpiece, the author does not consciously choose his subject, but on the contrary the subject imposes itself on the author. The ideal subject for a novel is the one which suggests itself suddenly like an inspiration. It is the main idea from which all the others flow. One is not free to write anything one wishes, or to choose one's subject, and that is what the public and the critics seldom realise. The secret of the masterpiece lies uniquely in the agreement between the subject and the temperament of the writer. What could be more scientific or reasonable? It is, in appearance, such an obvious truth that it is apt to be neglected as most truths of the same nature.

Flaubert himself was never sure that he had found the subject which suited him best. Taine, in stating that aesthetics were still waiting for their Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, was expressing the same idea. He considered mankind as a superior creature, which produces philosophies and poems, just as silk-worms make their cocoons, and bees their hives.

The work which any man produces can first of all be explained with reference to his character.

As for the subjects of Flaubert's own works, they uphold, for the most part, this theory. Take first of all 'Salamambo,' and the 'Tentation de Saint Antoine.' All his life Flaubert was obsessed with the fascination of the Orient, and above all the Orient of ancient times. The mystery, horrors, splendour and colour satisfied his imagination. These two books existed in his mind from his very youth. So that their conception came spontaneously as a result of his temperament. As for the realistic aspect, Flaubert realised that that type of art was much more difficult, because it is not simply a matter of depicting the real, but *what appears to be the real*; and to do that it is necessary to deal with average humanity and the mediocre. Of the two literary types in Flaubert, referred to earlier, one was enamoured of detailed truth, and it is from this side of his character that 'Madame Bovary'—a masterpiece of realism—proceeds. 'L'Education Sentimentale,' and 'Bouvard et Pécuchet,' can be classified with 'Madame Bovary.' Flaubert's mania was a hatred of stupidity, again a logical result of his character, which was at the same time proud and timid. Each work of Flaubert can then be said to be a direct result of a certain trait in his character.

Flaubert considered the art of criticism in the same way. He believed that it should be treated as a science, unbiased by any moral idea. It is useless to merely hold forth on this or that style, but necessary to examine carefully in what it consists, what relationship it has to others, and in what lie its vital qualities.

As the subject is the logical outcome of the author's temperament, so the events in a novel must be normal results of the characters of the people in the book, exactly as it happens in daily life. Criticising the "Two Roads" by Maricourt, he says: "From the narration of the earthquake

the novel is no longer logical. I mean to say that the events have no longer their main-spring in the characters, these characters do not produce them. For it must be one or the other (even both) in reality. Events influence us and we cause them to react."

There we have a Flaubert who is essentially a logician and a reasoner. Like the majority of French writers, he appreciated clarity and precision. This comes in part from his gift of observation. From his youth he had been in the habit of contemplating the people and things which surrounded him. In a letter to Ernest Chevalier, written at the age of nine, he describes a lady who used to visit the house, and tell funny stories, and says he will write them down. And at the age of seventeen he was in the habit of taking notes on the passers-by. He was a born observer. We can, therefore, expect to see this turn of mind react on his work and literary opinions. We know that one of his ideals was to depict truth in the form of beauty: and he does paint truth according to nature. But one thing must be noted, he did not believe that truth should be described without a certain choice and discretion. He was indignant with those who made it their aim to describe crude reality without considering art. "Art must be respected above all." And when a book appeared with scandal as its object, he grew extremely angry. So, unlike Zola and his followers, Flaubert was not strictly a realist or naturalist. At times he even vigorously condemned the Zola school.

From this one normally asks: To what extent may truth enter into the composition of a novel? Flaubert exacts three things; exactitude in local colour, correct rendering of the atmosphere of the period, and truth in material and psychological details. His own practice before commencing to write a book was to make sure of an intimate knowledge of his subject. He read all that was available, and whenever possible visited the place which was to be the setting of the

novel. For instance, before writing 'Salammbô,' he went to Carthage, and did not leave it until he was sure that he knew all that was to be known about the city and its environs. In the 'Education Sentimentale' he followed the same procedure. He had introduced into his book a railway journey from Paris to Fontainebleau about the year 1818, and then learnt that there was no railway existing there at that time. So he began the whole description again, after having done some research by consulting the history of the railway and those of his friends who were experts on the subject. As for the atmosphere of the period of this same book, he reconstructed it by reading, among other things, the newspapers of the time.

He had enormous patience for verifying small details. In order to make sure of the symptoms of a certain disease which he wished to describe, he went to a hospital. "I passed a whole week hanging about the Santé-Eugénie hospital studying children with croup." And on another occasion he wrote to a friend in Lyons: "A character in one of my books describes her childhood. She was the child of labourers in Lyons. I want details about the households of such people." In spite of his hatred of the middle classes of Rouen, he used to mix with them at fairs and balls in order to impregnate himself with the atmosphere of middle class life, which he was to describe in 'Madame Bovary.' He put his art even before his personal feelings. A letter written in 1863 to M. Froehner, editor of the 'Contemporary Review,' in reply to his criticism of 'Salammbô,' shows what pains Flaubert had taken to give an exact impression of the epoch described in this book. One could quote this letter as part of his literary creed.

As for the question of psychological truth, it came to him quite naturally, because of his habitual and continual observation of the people with whom he came in contact. It comes out in full force in the characters in 'Madame Bovary' and

in 'Education Sentimentale.' These characters are not types, they are living beings, and after having read the books, one has the impression of really knowing the people. Take Madame Bovary herself; Faguet found in her the most complete picture of a woman in the whole of literature, including Shakespeare. In fact, Flaubert has given us her biography, her whole life minutely and patiently. One knows just what she is thinking, her sentiments and passions. The psychology is so perfect and so exact that one feels that if one met her, one would know just what she would say and do. Thus one has the impression that she is more vivid than people one has actually met in real life. The same thing applies to Charles Bovary and Homais. They are all human beings, and we have the advantage of seeing them through the eyes of a marvellous psychologist.

So, as has been stated, Flaubert sought truth, by means of exactitude in local colour, in atmosphere, in small details of daily life, and in psychology. But differing from the 'naturalists,' he did not make this the end and aim of his art. "Truth is not the chief consideration in art." Art for him was *truth rendered by beauty*. From an early age he did not believe in the 'social mission' of the writer. The true aim of art should be neither to moralise nor to instruct, but uniquely to reproduce beauty.

Flaubert is, therefore, above all things a lover of beauty, whether it be of colour or form. Writing of Zola and Daudet, he points out that neither of them was interested in what was for him the aim of art—that is, beauty. "I remember my heart beating and the violent pleasure I felt on contemplating a wall of the Acropolis, quite a bare wall. Well, I wonder if a book, independently of what it says, can produce the same effect?" When writing a book, Flaubert always tried to convey a definite impression. 'Salamambo' was to give the impression of purple, and it can justly be conceded that the effect is there. However, in 'Madame Bovary,'

also a masterpiece, there is no question of striking colour effects. In this work he desired to suggest mouldiness and mustiness, and the "existence of wood-lice," and he follows another method, probably the most important, that of creating beauty of style and form. This brings us to that aspect of art which was of extreme importance to Flaubert, and the one which occupied him most. Without beauty of style nothing can be beautiful. As we have already seen, he did not spend a long time selecting a subject; he took longer to accumulate his matter, but it was the style on which he spent all his energy. Reading what he says about this, one can understand why he has been called the 'Christ of Literature.' "I am harassed with writing. The style which is of greatest importance for me, wears out my nerves horribly. I am beside myself. There are days when I am ill with it, and nights when it makes me feverish." And, "The more I study style, the more I realise how little I know about it, and sometimes I am so profoundly discouraged that I am tempted to give it all up and try something easier." He never talks so passionately, nor with so much emotion, as when he refers to this all-important question of style. It was without any doubt his supreme pre-occupation. Most classical writers have known a similar torment, but no one has worked so hard, or with such perseverance as Flaubert. In the end it became an obsession. He has been criticised as lacking in spontaneity, and as not being able to write with the ease of a George Sand. But it was not that he could not write thus, but that he disliked and mistrusted this so-called easy style. For him, the labour was a condition of good style, and the trouble he took to satisfy himself on this point, is astonishing. It was quite usual for him to write eight variations of the same passage, and Albalat in his book on style quotes some examples from his manuscripts, where one can easily follow his method of polishing and repolishing unceasingly. He often took four or five days to write some

three pages, and sometimes even longer. He had the habit of working late into the night, and it was always work before everything.

Flaubert always refused to hurry his writing, believing with Joseph de Maistre that "nothing is done well which is done quickly." "To hurry in literature is to ruin oneself. I am busy just now taking notes for a study in antiquity, which I will write very slowly this summer." And : "May I perish like a dog rather than hasten by a second a phrase which is not mature." The patience and conscientiousness with which he worked have rarely been equalled. He advises : "Neglect nothing, work, rewrite and do not leave the work until you are convinced that you have brought it to the utmost perfection of which you are capable. Genius is not rare to-day, but the quality few possess, and which one must try to develop, is conscientiousness." And he exclaims that if only the 'impious' statement that "genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains," were true, he would be one of the greatest geniuses.

His conception of the ideal style is best given in his own words : 'I can imagine a style which would be beautiful, with a cadence like that of poetry, as precise as the language of science, flowing as in waves with the sonority of the violoncello, and with fiery sparks. Prose was created yesterday ; poetry is the ideal form in ancient literatures. All the combinations of prosody have been perfected, but those of prose are far from perfection.....I like sentences which flow on without hindrance. Ideal prose is extremely difficult to realise ; one must free oneself from the hackneyed phrase, and express modern ideas in the best possible way.'

To perfect his rhythm, Flaubert worked at his sentences and tested each one by reading it aloud, always considering respiration and the ear : and he never judged a style before reading it aloud. Further he memorised pages of the best classical writers and declaimed them while pacing up and

down his room. Some of his contemporaries ridiculed him for this, because they argued, a book is not written to be read aloud. Maupassant describes how Flaubert used to take up a sheet of manuscript, and holding it level with his eyes and leaning on one elbow, used to read it in a loud penetrating voice. He would listen for the rhythm of his prose, stopping now and then as if to catch a passing sonority, and placing the commas carefully, like the halts on a journey. And he himself maintains that a sentence has vitality only when it accords with respiration. Badly written sentences cannot pass this test, they oppress the chest and interfere with the beating of the heart and thus are not in agreement with the conditions of life. For this reason Flaubert proscribed all hiatuses, was so careful about punctuation, and the conclusions of his sentences.

To obtain absolute clarity, Flaubert paid great attention to composition. He avoided as much as possible the use of conjunctions and relative pronouns, because they tend to complicate a sentence. He criticised Lamartine as a bad writer because his sentences are awkward and heavy, and because he makes too frequent a use of the infinitive. There is an anecdote in the 'Journal des Goncourts' about Flaubert in this connection. "The poor man has in his heart a regret which poisons his life. It will lead him to the grave. It is because in 'Madame Bovary' he has two genitives following each other—'*une couronne de fleurs d'oranger*' (a crown of flowers of the orange-tree). He is in despair about it; he tried to change it in vain, there is no other way of saying it."

Another thing to be avoided in good composition is the use of commonplace expressions—'ready-made' Flaubert calls them—such as 'notabilities of society.' He admits that they are very convenient, but slovenly, and because of their banality they have lost force, and fail to convey the idea with strict exactitude.

Simplicity is another quality, but a difficult one to cultivate. 'I love that style which is hidden under an apparent simplicity, those images which stand out in a single word..... but it is not an easy affair to be simple.'

Of prime importance is the use of the '*mot juste*,' the exact word. Take any passage in any one of Flaubert's works, and it will be found that each word is the only word possible in that particular place. Not one can be replaced without taking something from the essential idea. Everywhere it is the right word in the right place.

However, composition is not everything in good style. In order to write well one must think well, because the idea is the foundation of the style. Flaubert was accused of paying too much attention to form, but for him the form and the idea were one and the same thing, and he could not conceive of the one without the other. The finer the idea the more sonorous will be the sentence. If the thought is precise and clear, the sentence must automatically be so too. If you know exactly what you want to say you will express it well. As Buffon says: "To write well is to feel, think and express well; the last being dependent on the two others, since one must feel strongly in order to think, and think in order to write." This was the precept of the earliest classicists. Boileau expresses it in '*L'Art Poétique*,' and Fénelon in his '*Lettre à l'Académie*.'

From this, Flaubert was led to the conclusion that in a novel 'ideas are facts.' It is more difficult to interest with ideas, but that depends on the style. He has at times several consecutive pages without a single event, descriptions of middle-class life and inactive love—the latter difficult to depict because it is at the same time timid and profound. He always entertained the idea of writing a novel devoid of matter, and which would be sustained by the style alone. "A book on nothing, without external attachments," says Flaubert, "and which would derive its vitality from the style alone, as

the earth without being supported remains in space. A book where the subject would be almost invisible.....I believe that the future of writing lies along these lines." Again an echo of Buffon who believed that a book lives only on the merit of its style: knowledge, discoveries and facts are no guarantee of immortality. Such things are beyond men, but style is the man himself. Intellectual beauties, which lie in style are so many truths, as useful and more precious to the human mind than those which form the subject-matter.

Another principle which Flaubert upholds in common with Buffon and Boileau, is the necessity of a plan, and to assure unity to a book. Speaking of 'Saint-Antoine,' he says that the book was not mature enough, he worked at the material elements of the book and, "I imagined that the scenario was complete and I put myself into it. Everything depends on the plan and 'Saint-Antoine' has none. The deduction of the ideas, strictly followed, has no parallelism in the linking up of the facts." And of 'Madame Bovary,' "The worst of it is that the psychological, grotesque, and picturesque preparations, which precede were very long, exacting, I believe a development of action in agreement with them. The prologue must not carry away the story, and I shall find it difficult to establish a proportion between the adventures and the thoughts.....Every work of art must have a point, a summit like a pyramid, where the light strikes. It is not like that in real life, but art is not life." He gives great importance to the climax in the plan of a book, because that gives the impression of a whole. One must avoid, above all, disjointed fragments. The human spirit can create nothing, says Buffon, but if it is elevated by contemplation to sublime truths, if it unites and connects them, if it *forms a unity*, it can establish, on unshakable foundations, immortal monuments.

When they interfered with the plan, Flaubert was quite capable of sacrificing his most beautiful descriptions, however

long he may have spent on writing and perfecting them. The symmetry of the work had to be preserved.

Flaubert was essentially a sincere man. He not only worked conscientiously and remained faithful to his principles but he firmly believed that good work depended on a good character. 'Honesty is the first condition of art.' The idea is not a common one, and it is interesting to consider. Further, Flaubert never wished to write for money. His love and respect for art rendered the idea abhorrent to him. His advice to young writers, given in his preface to the 'Last Poems' of Louis Boulhet is worthy of note.

"Go side by side, in the woods, reading poetry, letting your souls mingle with the sap of the trees, and the eternity of masterpieces. Lose yourself in dreams of history, in the amazement of the sublime. Devote your youth to the muse. Her love consoles the loss of others and replace them..... Face insults, be ready for any sacrifice, armour yourselves against all proofs, write and publish! Then whatever comes, you will be able to look upon the wretchedness of your rivals without indignation, and their glory without envy: for the less favoured will be consoled by the success of the more fortunate and those who are strong will sustain the discouraged: each will bring to the community his particular gifts, and this mutual co-operation will keep out pride and stave off decadence. Then when one of you dies, let the others keep his memory fresh, so that you will have a stronghold against pettiness, a strength in weakness, and company in solitude."

Flaubert expresses an exceptionally high ideal of art: he not only counsels art for art's sake, but as a means of consolation for the misfortune of life. He was probably influenced to a certain extent, in the sentiment, by the period. It was a time when religion had ceased to satisfy, because of the scientific spirit which was just beginning to take a hold on the minds of his contemporaries. And, because an aim or religion

is necessary in life, Flaubert offered that of art. It was his own, and he was a great and worthy example of his faith.

These are, then, the literary ideas, which can be gathered from Flaubert's correspondence. First the pursuance of art for the sake of art, as a remedy for metaphysical ills, and as a reason for living. This artistic fanaticism in Flaubert was not intoxication of the imagination, but the conclusion of a philosophical thought which did not desire to stagnate in pessimistic scepticism. Then there is the idea of impassibility in art, and the scientific treatment of it—ideas due to the natural reaction which followed romanticism. And since Flaubert considered art as the great consoler and as a moral support, it would have missed its object if it were to be only the expression of the personality of the author. Then there is the necessity for a certain compatibility between the subject and the character of the artist: and the events must be the logical results of the people in the book. Further, one must have truth in art, created by exactitude of local colour, material and psychological details, and of historical atmosphere. An important place must be given to beauty: the style must be clear, cadenced and precise: composition must be rigorously correct: nothing must be written in a slipshod way: and everything must be well thought out: a plan is necessary: and lastly the writer himself must be sincere.

These ideas, as we have shown, were not all original. As early as 1832 Gautier had declared himself the champion of 'art for art's sake,' in the preface of his 'First Poems.' He was supported by many of his contemporaries. No doubt the idea originated in the industrial and commercial activity, which developed, to the profit of the 'newly-rich' middle classes, and to the detriment of purely intellectual activities. This spirit also explains Flaubert's hatred of the middle classes. Moreover, we have shown which ideas Flaubert shared with Buffon, Boileau and the other classicists.

But original or not, these ideas have a value and an influence which last even to-day, for the modern novel is but the development of 'Madame Bovary'—the embodiment of all these ideas—and one is justified in saying that, so far, this book has not been surpassed. It is the living witness of the excellence of these ideas, which Flaubert knew so well how to practise, because he believed in them so sincerely, and because they were in such perfect accord with his own character and turn of mind. One can even say that the aim of the modern novelist is to realise the novel dreamt of by Flaubert—the novel which is independent of mere events. But for that it would be necessary for a second Flaubert to appear.

MILLCENT A. DAS

EVER-NEVER—NEVER-EVER

Rolled within long streams of sunlight,
Tumbling over bannered cliff wall
Gulping crowds in swirling elf-light.
Floods the noondays' high carnival

Conned have I the ancient glory filling moiling street,
Known the ways of sunlights traipsey art,
Mingling arc-lights making alchemy complete;
Pell-mell grouping ; gleaming Bagdads, counterpart.

City street to city visage, moulded sharp and over hard
Vampire face of woman frozen in a mirthless smile.
Miser souls of men who late have slain their lord,
Gaily garbed, a rabble ordered in a sidewalk file.

Close beside them always, filmy shadows gliding,
People of the misty land of golden Ever-Never,
In between the columned air near abiding;
Folk dream-born who thereby live forever.

These our doubles—fine as starbeams, Astrals,
Made of elements of the men we hoped to be,
Ere the struggle left us broken 'gainst an iron wall,
Made us faithless : Mimes of drear futility.

We will win there, past the borders of the mystery
To the place of seeming shadows; land of Ever-Never.
Be the thing the dream pretended—finally
In the high hills and broad fields of Never-Ever.

DAVID W. CADE

THE CLOUDY DAY

(*Translation from Tagore's 'Lipika'*)

There's work each livelong day and people all about.
Every evening it seems that the last word is said thro'
work and converse.

There's no time to feel that something unsaid still left
behind.

The heart of the heavens is thick with clustering clouds
this morning.

There's work before and men around.

But it seems to-day that what is within cannot all be
spent thro' speech.

Man has crossed the far seas and mountains and stolen
gems from out the deeps of the earth.

But to say all his say to another—that he has never been
able to do.

That prisoned Word is beating its wings within my mind
this cloudy morning.

Says that inner Man, "Where's that ancient mate of mine
who would beggar my rainy cloud of all its showers?"

That word meseems is tinkling the door-chain of my
closed chamber to-day.

'What to do?' I marvel.

Where's that wondrous He at whose call my message,
bounding over the fence of labour, will go out on a tryst thro'
the universe, song-taper in hand?

Where's that eye at whose slightest hint all my pains
unstrung will in a trice gather into one wreath of joy—will
flash up into one long flare?

Him alone can I give mine all, whose prayer is set to the proper tune.

Where's that all-destroying Suppliant

O where—on what crossing of the ways ?

The anguish of my inner chamber has put on ochre weeds to-day.

Out into the open path would it go, clear of all drab work,—a path straight as a lyre tuneful with the rhythmic trippings of some nameless dear.

HRISHIKESH BHATTACHARYYA

THE WRONG HEAVEN

(Translation from Tagore's 'Lipika')

1

He was a thorough idler.

He had no work to do but was all full of hobbies.

He would put in a little earth on small squares of wood and arrange tiny shells there.

From afar they would look like irregular pictures—a flock of birds, an uneven pasture with cattle, or a hill with just the suspicion of a stream or a foot track.

He met with no end of scolding from his folk.

At times he would make up his mind to shake off his madness, but his madness wouldn't let him go.

2

There are boys who idle away the live-long year and yet get an easy pass in the examination. His case was just like this.

He sported away his life but learnt at death that his passport to heaven was sanctioned.

But fate follows man even to heaven.

Angels erred and he was taken to the busy paradise.

Here there's everything except leisure.

Men always complain, "No breathing while, friend!" and women say, "By-bye dear,—a huge lot to do!"

All say that time is precious but none feels that, that it is above price.

The general moan there is—"Awfully fagged—can't get along any more;"—yet everyone feels happy.

"Work's so crushing"—is, as it were, the common song of the land.

This poor thing has no place here and can't fit in anywhere.

He goes about wool-gathering and hinders the movements of the busy.

Wherever he feels like putting out his little spread for rest, he is warned that it's a little plot and seeds have been sown here. He has thus to get up and move away.

3

A busy slip of a girl comes everyday to draw water from the heavenly spring.

Her steps move like the quick notes of a guitar.

She has hurriedly made a loose knot of her hair. Still a few wild locks hang about her brow to have peep at her deep dark pupils.

The idler once stood quietly aside there, like a palm by a busy rill. The girl looked softly at him, even as a princess from her casement pities a beggar below.

"Alas poor thing! it seems you have no work in hand."

The idler sighed,—“I have no time for work.”

The girl couldn't catch his meaning and said, “Would you have some work from me?”

“It's for this that I am waiting here,” was the reply.

“What work would you prefer?” asked the maid.

The vagabond said, “Let me have one of those pitchers you carry every day.”

“A pitcher? Why? Would you draw water?”

“No, I'll paint its surface.”

The girl felt vexed and said, “No time to waste, by-bye.”

But the idle ever get the better of the busy.

They meet by the spring every day and the idler asks, “One of your pitchers, pray, I'll paint its surface.”

.. She had to yield at last.

All about the pitcher the idler drew many a coloured maze—many a check in lines.

The girl took up the thing and gazed at it.

Puckering up her brow she asked,—“What means all this?”

“Nothing” was the answer.

She took it home.

Alone, she turned it round and round and looked at it in many ways from varied angles.

At times would she get up from bed, taper in hand, and stare at the painted thing, silent.

Next day when the girl came to the spring, her steps, so busy heretofore, looked a thought slower. Her feet as they moved were a wee bit thoughtful musing on things without a meaning.

The idler stood there as before.

“What do you want?” asked the girl.

“More work from you” was the reply.

“What manner of work?”

“With coloured strands, if you please, I’ll make you a ribbon for your hair.”

“What comes out of it.”

“Nothing.”

Many coloured ribbons are made. Henceforward the girl takes long to do her hair.

Work goes unheeded,—time flies.

4

Meanwhile Work in the busy heaven showed big gaps which were filled with songs and tears.

The wise grew anxious and their synod met. They said, “No such thing ever happend in our history.”

The erring angel admitted his lapse.

He said, “I have brought a wrong man to a wrong place.

The idler was produced before the council. His coloured turban and fine belt proclaimed the huge error.

The chairman said, "You must go back to the earth."

"Right," said the man with a sigh of relief, and took up his brush and colour-box.

"I'll follow," said the girl stepping in quick.

The ancient chairman grew absent-minded.

For the first time he saw a thing without a meaning.

HRISHIKESH BHATTACHARYYA

Reviews

Truth about India: Verrier Elwin. George Allen & Union, London. 2s. 6d. cloth, 1s. paper. 1932.

This is an account of the present *impasse*, between England and India. Within the very brief compass of 44 pages, the writer has carefully brought together the relevant facts and his presentation of the case has the merit of force and lucidity. The seven appendices that follow help to make it well-documented, as much as one could wish, and there is an index which makes references to the contents an easy matter. No one who has read the book can help agreeing that it has been written in a spirit of loving service to Britain and India, and the words, "love of men as men must be in very deed the setting for the special love of our own nation," ring clear and true. The writer, as we understand from a note prefixed, has now taken up work for Gonds, in a remote village two days from the nearest railway station; this volume must therefore be understood to be his last contribution on the present situation. The preface written by Laurence Housman shows the liberal Britisher's appreciation of the case presented, and all who are interested in the problem which seems to baffle even the "incorrigible optimist" will profit by a perusal of the book.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

O Oriente Portugues. Nova Goa, 1932.

The second and the third number of this antiquarian journal have been issued together in one volume and the papers published keep up the promise shown in the first issue which has been already noticed in the pages of this Review. The first article of the present issue is on the Religious History of Goa and is from the pen of the distinguished President of the Archæological Committee. It is divided into four chapters and includes an account of the different Missions and Church Organisations. The half-a-dozen illustrations that accompany it are worth mention. This is followed by Legislation in Ancient India which deals with sutras, smritis and samhit or codes of social conduct; it is a brief statement of the position occupied by these codes which were, the author rightly points out, occasionally overridden by the ruling given by a man prominent for his knowledge of and

insight into things ; the concluding portion ought to have been developed and documented. The third paper deals with the death of the Duke of Alva. Next follows a descriptive list of national monuments with a few illustrations. Prof Pissurlencar has an interesting paper on the League between the Portuguese and the Bhonsla against Sambhuji. The other articles are of minor importance. We wish the journal a useful career.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Justice for Hungary: The cruel errors of Trianon. Published by the Pesti Hírlap, Budapest, 1930.

This is a highly interesting album, revealing the injuries done to Hungary by the blundering treaty of Trianon. The Great War had done to it damage in population as well as in territory, and the country was the worst sufferer in all Europe. This the editors have amply demonstrated by the numerous excellent sketches and graphs which stand out as models for propagandists. And one who goes through the work will have to admit that the treaty of Trianon, so far as Hungary was concerned, was the handiwork of greed, gross ignorance, and malicious deception ; that national minorities are protected in theory, but never in practice ; the League of Nations had received more than ten thousand complaints from oppressed minorities, but only a few had been considered, the rest were buried in archives. The Editors therefore submit that, for the lasting peace of Europe, for the reason ' nothing is settled that is not settled by right,' the peace of Trianon should be based on a more equitable distribution and adjustment of boundaries.

The statement of the case is followed by a rapid and graphic survey of the history of the Hungarian nation for a thousand years, its achievement in different branches of human culture, painting, literature, music, theatre, etc., and last, reproduction of the bust of illustrious Hungarians who have won international reputation,—men like Haydn and Sir Aurel Stein, and Munkacsy.

This is therefore an eloquent appeal which no right-thinking man can resist and the case of Hungary, wronged cruelly and brutally, is a warning to nations who may in these days entertain pious confidences in the Great Powers of Europe pursuing ideals of equity and justice when their interests are at stake.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

The Heart of Hindusthan—by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, second edition. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Re. One.

The author of this little volume needs no introduction to the Indian public. An erudite scholar and a deep thinker, he is at the same time a master of clear diction and presents the most recondite problems of religion and philosophy in language which is understood by people with no pretensions to a metaphysical or theological training. Hinduism is a religion which well-nigh baffles definition and is, not unnaturally, often misunderstood not only by hostile critics but by followers and admirers. It is, therefore, a matter for congratulation that so distinguished a philosopher as Sir S. Radhakrishnan should undertake the task of disentangling the essentials of the Hindu *Dharma* from bewildering mass of dogmas, beliefs and practices.

The volume before us consists of seven discourses. They open with a description of the central features of the faith of the Hindus—its philosophical doctrine, religious experience, ethical character and traditional faith. Hinduism, the author points out, is a process, not a result, a growing tradition, not a fixed revelation. It allows the utmost latitude in the matter of addressing and approaching the Supreme and has room for all kinds of men. In essence Hindu thought has much in common with those aspects of the truth of Islam and Christianity which really promoted culture and civilisation. "The differences among the living progressive religions of the world relate to accents and emphases, which are traceable to social environments and historic circumstances." The penultimate discourse is on Buddhism which is a later phase of the general movement of thought of which the Upanishads are the earlier. The volume ends with a succinct account of Indian philosophy.

It is possible to disagree with the author in regard to some points of detail, *e.g.*, the description of Krishna as a non-Aryan representative of the black peoples. But no one who reads the volume can fail to be impressed with the care with which the professor has sought to separate the kernel from the husk, and the deep insight he has shown into the thoughts and ideals of the vast majority of his countrymen.

H. C. R. C.

Ourselfes

OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR'S SPEECH

We are glad to draw the attention of our readers, interested in the complex educational problem of our country as a vitally important social factor on which must largely depend the real progress of all communities in the present transitional stage of the whole country, to the eminently practical and valuable convocation address delivered at Lahore on the 23rd of December, 1932, by our Vice-Chancellor ^{Sir} ~~Sir~~ Hassan Suhrawardy, Lt.-Col. O.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D. ^{had a}

It does not on the face of it claim to be a learned speech but its usefulness is enhanced by the fact that from beginning to end it gives unmistakable evidence that every utterance is dictated by sound judgment and strong common sense and is the outcome of careful personal thinking on the part of a liberal-minded man in direct and intimate touch with our difficulties, deficiencies and needs. It will surely lead to "the proper understanding of the essential features of our national development" and to "discriminating criticism in regard to social problems." And that is what the country particularly needs to-day. In a rapid but intelligent survey the speaker has touched on, briefly but pointedly, momentous economic, political and social changes in our country, the crying need for agricultural improvement along right lines and industrial development suitable for the purpose of affording relief to the agricultural labourer and for opening out careers to educated young men confronted with the serious problem of unemployment, the dangers of overcrowded Universities, inelastic in their methods of training, courses of studies and systems of examination, the absence of special tests in selecting candidates for posts in the various kinds of service under the Government and the necessity of distinguishing true from false

research work and of regulating the scope of different Universities in different provinces in relation to environment so that "each may have a distinctive stamp of its own. One can easily quote a number of wise words from this short speech so impressive by reason of its sincerity and directness and thought-provoking character. But as our desire is that our readers will carefully read the speech itself and personally think over the problems referred to and the suggestions for remedy made in it we rest content with a reference to the acute observation regarding one of the important factors of political unrest, namely, its "psychological and pathological background due to defective nutrition and nervous overstrain." Let us also make one quotation from his concluding remarks on inter-communal unity :—

"When I look," he suggestively observes, with convincing personal touch "upon the bitterness with which communal strife has been carried on in this country within the last few years I am mortified to feel that education has apparently lost its true mission. The Universities must be regarded as the training centres for turning out broad-minded, tolerant and self-reliant citizens. Education must drive off from within our minds the darkness of ignorance and emancipate us from the bondage of bigotry and denominational bias—must teach us to avoid exclusiveness, narrow-mindedness and selfishness."

In this connection we also publish the two following extracts from "The Tribune" and the "Advance" for our readers' information :—

The Tribune—*Sunday, December 25, 1932 :*

Lieut.-Col. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, delivered a remarkable address at the Convocation of the Punjab University held on Friday. It was singularly free from pedantic

platitudes and literary flourishes which do not serve any useful purpose, and contained a good deal of sound common-sense which is not always to be found in such pronouncements. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy briefly referred to the defects in the present system of education in the country, the need for inter-communal concord, the social transition through which India is passing, the essential conditions of economic evolution and the etiology of the prevailing political unrest in the country, and tackled all these questions as a practical man of the world. With regard to our University education, he laid his finger with unerring precision on some of its principal defects. "While there has been a great increase in the number of Universities and University men," he pithily remarked, "there does not, however, seem to have been a corresponding rise in the level of quality." The present examination system, he added, tends to encourage cramming, and "it will be a good thing if instead of giving undue importance to the passing of University Examinations as a qualification for entering posts under the Government and elsewhere, special tests are instituted for the various kinds of service." He also deplored the overcrowding in the Universities and observed that "a large percentage of persons who are mentally and constitutionally unsuited for higher education will do well to be diverted to industrial and commercial channels and given a start upon a useful career while they are still young enough to learn."

With respect to the imperative need for accelerating social reform, Sir Hassan, while advocating the abolition of "things like untouchability, purdah system, early marriage and caste restrictions," deprecated "the blind and superficial imitation of other countries" which may lead to disaster. "It should not at all be difficult," he pointed out, "to build upon the foundations of our past greatness a beautiful and enduring structure with a happy blend of the best in the methods and ideals of the West and of the East." Nor did he support the idea of basing the industrial and economic evolution of the country on a purely western model. He stressed the importance of rural reconstruction, agricultural advancement and the establishment of medium-sized and, specially, cottage industries. The most eloquent portion of his address was that in which he appealed to the educated young men to emancipate their minds from "the bondage of bigotry and denominational bias," avoid exclusiveness, narrow-mindedness and selfishness and "go out into the world as brothers and comrades in arms for the realisation of their great ideals."

Perhaps the most important portion of Sir Hassan Suhrawardy's address was that in which he referred to the factors of political unrest. This is what he had to say on the subject:—

Unemployment is certainly an important factor. I am, however, convinced that the political unrest and upheaval we are witnessing everywhere have a psychological and a pathological background due to defective nutrition and nervous overstrain. I would like to invite the special attention of all members of Government in the different provinces of India and also of the Hon'ble Sir Fazl-i-Husain to this important problem, and start with the least possible delay an enquiry into the causes of ill-health among the masses of this country, into the psychological, physical, pathological, economic and environmental factors, which are responsible for the unbalancing of the minds and the warping of the imagination, and the distorting of the ideals of many of our youths. It appears to me that poor food, unemployment, overcrowding in the Universities with students unsuitable for higher education, are some of the chief factors. It is, therefore, essential to conduct a detailed survey of the food resources of the country and to classify indigenous food materials in categories of their nutrition value and encourage and guide our young men to take to professions and callings which they are financially, physically, intellectually and temperamentally fitted to pursue.

Sir Hassan's diagnosis of the trouble may not be quite as comprehensive as one might have liked it to be, but it is certainly very much nearer the mark and the remedy suggested by him much more efficacious than the campaign of repression upon which the Government has embarked to quell political unrest in the country.

Advance—Saturday, December 31, 1932:

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, delivered last week an impressive address at the Convocation of the University of the Punjab. We do not propose to deal to-day with such commonplace facts of our existence as the backwardness of our society in certain directions, the deficiencies of our agriculture and tardy pace of our industrial development; these are recognised easily enough so far as the broad tendencies are concerned, some of them having been indicated by Sir Hassan himself. There would be complete agreement with his view that "the superficial adoption of Western modes of living without the proper assimilation of Western culture and civilization and of the ideals which guide everyday life in the West" leads to disaster.

and that "it should not at all be difficult to build upon the foundations of our past greatness a beautiful and enduring structure with a happy blend of the best in the methods and ideals of the West and of the East." The unchanging East is now a discredited metaphor, and the coming years are likely to see far-reaching changes in our social structure and in our political conditions. If civilisation is the effect of which culture is the cause, a new civilization is certainly in the making, for though the goal is still far off, the caravan is well started on its journey. Sir Hassan may claim his share in leading this caravan through the track of the decades to its ultimate destination, and as the Vice-Chancellor of the greatest University in the East, his is a leadership that has been acknowledged even in the remote Punjab.

But it is not for the repetition of the commonplaces of our social and economic life that we commend Sir Hassan's address to the notice of the public. The most impressive part of his speech is where he speaks as an educationist, and as a medical man. Here he gives us food for hard thinking. When at the height of the Non-co-operation movement, the University of Calcutta was dubbed as *Golamkhana*, the language was strong but the sentiment and feeling behind it was the same which have impelled the present Vice-Chancellor to condemn the existing system of University education, only using more decent phrases. Nor is Sir Hassan alone in this respect. Since the Sadler Commission published their historic report (now rapidly gathering an antiquarian interest) eminent educationists, no rabid thinker or talker any one of them, and Vice-Chancellors of Universities have deprecated the present system of higher education which has led, generally speaking, to a large-scale manufacture of service-hunters. "It will be a good thing," Sir Hassan suggests by way of remedy, "if instead of giving undue importance to the passing of University examinations as a qualification for entering posts under Government and elsewhere, special tests are instituted for the various kinds of service." We wish Sir Hassan had elaborated this point. It would seem, if his suggestion were accepted, that for the time being at any rate, it would accentuate, rather than diminish, the extent of unemployment among the educated classes of our country. There is no doubt that there is considerable waste at the top, and that a large number of post-graduate students, even of those reading for a general arts degree, are useless for the real purposes of a higher education and that something should indeed be done so that they might usefully engage in other occupations than the liberal and the professional and equip themselves accordingly. But this involves two things: on the part of the students, it involves the understanding that they must have reasonable chances of

finding other occupations for which they might be expected to equip themselves, such chances being hopelessly meagre at present ; and on the part of the Universities, they must learn the art of carrying on with a severely attenuated Fee Fund. Our Universities are still regrettably far from finding a perpetual flow of donations, legacies and endowments such as sustain the Universities in the West and in America ; of Government grants, the less said the better. There is much in Sir Hassan's suggestion that it is preferable to have, instead of one University over-burdened with multifarious branches of study, several Universities in each province, each with a distinctive stamp of its own ; for instance, one may cultivate the humanities, another natural sciences, a third technology and so on. Till adequate finances be forthcoming, " extra-mural institutions," Sir Hassan suggested, " specialising in suitable branches of study and all-India institutions at different centres, run on cheaper lines than Universities, may meet the national demand for higher scientific education." The suggestion is well-worth serious consideration by the Syndics of our Universities. There can be no gainsaying that they are at present attempting to do too much. Specialisation may yet save them from decline.

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RESULT OF THE PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC M.B. EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations) held in November, 1932, was 72, of whom 57 passed, 14 failed, *nil* expelled and 1 absent.

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RESULT OF THE FIRST M.B. EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the First M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations) held in November, 1932, was 75, of whom 50 passed, 24 failed, *nil* expelled and 1 absent.

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RESULT OF THE SECOND M.B. EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Second M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations) held in November,

1932, was 71, of whom 59 passed, 12 failed, *nil* expelled and *nil* absent.

Of the successful candidates two obtained Honours in Bacteriology and Pathology, and *nil* in Pharmacology.

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RESULT OF THE THIRD M.B. EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER, 1932

The number of candidates registered for the Third M.B. Examination (under the New Regulations) held in November, 1932, was 70, of whom 42 passed, 27 failed, *nil* expelled and 1 absent.

Of the successful candidates *nil* obtained Honours in Jurisprudence.

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JOGENDRANATH GHOSH'S RESEARCH PRIZE IN COMPARATIVE INDIAN LAW FOR 1932

The following subject has been selected for the Jogendranath Ghosh's Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for 1932 :—"Proprietary rights of women under the ancient Hindu Law with special reference to the changes introduced by judicial decision and British Indian Legislation."

A PROTEST.

We have received from Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids the following communication with reference to an article published in the September number of our Review, entitled "Jaina-Buddhist Influence in the Gita," contributed by Mr. Amulyachandra Sen, M.A., B.L., and are glad to publish it along with the reply received from our contributor.

To the Editor of the Calcutta Review

Sir,

On p. 343 of your Review for this year (1932), the writer of "Jaina-Buddhist Influence in the Gītā" says, that I have "recently pointed out" the probable inaccuracy of the view, that the Upaniṣads are prior to Buddha's age and marks me out as "thinking the Upaniṣads are post-Buddhistic."

These be big words to put into my mouth. They should have been accompanied by a careful reference to work, chapter and page. There is nothing of the kind. Nor can I trace that I have said them. I have subscribed to the view that the Upaniṣads are of many ages and that of the dozen or so considered as earliest, many betray an individual history. I have suggested, that *two or three* reveal changes in teaching which betray that they were teachings shortly prior to the beginning of the Sakyan movement. But nothing more. That the great majority of the minor Upaniṣads is of a later date than that beginning, is a view to support which there is no need to bring in a relatively incompetent testator as am I. Perhaps Mr. A. C. Sen will tell me (in confidence) where and how I have misled him. I have no wish to intrude further on your pages in this matter.

Chipstead, Surrey

Yours faithfully,

Oct. 6, 1932

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

THE REPLY.

I must apologise to Mrs. Rhys Davids. The article in question was written many months ago and remained with the *Review* for long. I had no opportunity of going through the proofs before its publication, for in that case I would have taken steps to prevent misquotation.

My remarks were based on information obtained from a respectable publication. I had no means of verifying the statements at the time by a reference to the original, for it was not available in India. The publication which misled me remained uncontradicted and still does so. I am forwarding a cutting to the authoress so that she might deal with it effectively. I quite admit I should have been more cautious and circumspect in relying on second-hand testimony, however respectable in appearance.

Vidyabhavana, Visvabharati, AMULYACHANDRA SEN
Santiniketan
Dec. 5, 1932

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KRISHNA KUMARI GANESH PRASAD MEDAL AND PRIZE

First award to be made in 1936.

The Council of the Calcutta Mathematical Society has chosen the following subject for the thesis to the author of which a gold medal and a cash prize of Rs. 200 will be awarded in January, 1936 :—

The lives and the works of the ten Hindu Mathematicians :
Varāha-Mihira, Āryabhaṭa, Bhāskara I, Brahmagupta, Lalla,
Śrīdhara, Mahāvīra, Śrīpati, Bhāskara II and Nārāyaṇa.

The rules for the competition were published in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, Vol. 22, Nos. 2 & 3, 1930, and they are reproduced below for ready reference.

(1) A research prize and gold medal shall be instituted to be named Krishna Kumari Ganesh Prasad Prize and Medal after the name of the donor's daughter.

(2) The prize and the medal shall be awarded every fifth year to the author of the best thesis embodying the result of original research or investigation in a topic connected with the history of Hindu Mathematics before 1600 A.D.

(3) The subject of the thesis shall be prescribed by the Council of the Calcutta Mathematical Society at least two years in advance.

(4) The last day of submitting the thesis for the award in a particular year shall be the 21st March preceding that year.

(5) The prize and the medal shall be open to competition to all nationals of the world without any distinction of race, caste or creed.

(6) A board of Honorary Examiners, consisting of (i) the President of the Society, (ii) an expert in the subject nominated by the donor, or after his death, such an expert nominated by the donor's heirs, and (iii-v) three experts in the subject elected by the Council of the Society, shall be appointed as soon as possible after the last day of receiving the theses.

(7) The recommendation of the Board of Examiners shall be placed before the next annual meeting of the Society and the decision of that meeting shall be final.

(8) Every candidate shall be required to submit three copies (type-written) of his or her thesis.

(9) If in any year no thesis is received or the theses submitted be pronounced by the Board of Examiners to be not of sufficient merit, a second prize or a prize in a second subject, or a prize of enhanced value, may be awarded in a subsequent year or years as the Council of the Calcutta Mathematical Society may determine.

(10) The thesis of the successful candidate shall be printed by the Society.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1933



THE MESSAGE OF SHELLEY'S "PROMETHEUS UNBOUND"

The arts, according to Hegel, are the most effective means that man has evolved for piercing through or casting aside the non-essentials of ordinary existence and touching the vast movement of the cosmic life. Among the arts he regarded the drama as the most complete and efficient means of this process of "polarisation." By this he meant the complete drama as represented on the stage.

But there has always been a type of drama to which complete incarnation would not be life, but death. Its happenings are beyond human simulation; its significances are not those of Leicester Square or Broadway. It is enacted at the top of a Jacob's ladder "pitched between Heaven and Charing Cross" up which the would-be spectator, who must also be a participant, of the drama must climb from Charing Cross to Heaven.

This drama is the true lineal descendant of the first of dramas, that drama which (as has been recorded by the seers of old in India) was composed by the Lord of Creation, and produced by the celestial stage-manager and author of the laws of the drama, Bharata, on a stage constructed by the cosmic architect, Visvakarmā, and set in the heaven of Indra, the Lord of the sky. The drama of the tangible stage has laid upon it the duty of being the critic, interpreter and reflector of human life. The drama of the human spirit, composed by the creative impulse

of humanity, not merely by its generative fever enacted in the light of the sun, not in the shadows cast by the moon or the limelight, demands that life shall reflect and ultimately embody it.

Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound" is a drama of this order. We do not go to it for facts concerning early Greece or the Europe of 1820, but for fundamental verities that are clamped to no age, therefore current in and applicable to all ages and places; ideas and thoughts that "look before and after" towards a golden age of "what is not" but was, and will be; an age which, because humanity has set out on a circumnavigation that will bring it back to its native harbour in the realm of the spirit, is at once in the romantic past and the still more romantic future.

This attitude to "Prometheus Unbound" has not, it must be admitted, the full approval of literary criticism. So eminent a critic as Professor Edward Dowden will not, in his "Life of Shelley," permit a search for anything more specific than "fortitude, justice, love, beauty, hope, unquenched desire," a fairly formidable list of excellences, all the same. Shelley embodied these powers in the drama, and set them in action; but their outer expression, according to Dr. Dowden, is only a poetical version of the teachings of William Godwin. In Dowden's view, Shelley's representation of humanity as a chained Titan, and of evil as a power external to humanity, is "to ignore the true conditions of human existence" and "to falsify the true conception of human progress." He tells us that "Shelley's ideas are abstractions made from a one-sided and imperfect view of facts.

To sift such criticism of Shelley would leave us in a circling with much movement but little progress. Their fallacies will appear as we study the drama-poem. Meanwhile, for our encouragement, we may set against Dowden's inhibition on a search for significances in "Prometheus Unbound" the more balanced statement of Dr. C. H. Herford in his chapter on Shelley in "The Cambridge History of English Literature: "

"when he portrays the universe as at one with the moral strivings of man, he is uttering no fugitive or isolated extravagance, but the perennial faith of idealists of all ages. Under forms of thought derived from the atheist and materialist Godwin, Shelley has given, in 'Prometheus Unbound,' magnificent expression to the faith of Plato and of Christ."

Our quest is towards that faith which Shelley so augustly shared. But before essaying that positive task, it will be well to consider certain other criticisms of our time that stand in the way of a full realisation of the significance of the drama and of its author.

In a brochure on Shelley, Mr. Sydney Waterlow, M.A., says: "on the whole, 'Prometheus' has been overpraised." He is not quite sure why this should be so; "perhaps," he ventures, "because the beauty of the interspersed songs has dazzled the critics." As to why the drama does *not* qualify for overpraise he is quite explicit. Not only are the personages of "Prometheus Unbound" too transparently allegorical, but the allegory is insipid; especially tactless being the treatment of the marriage between Prometheus, the Spirit of Humanity, and Asia, the Spirit of Nature, as a romantic love affair. Mr. Waterlow thus makes four specific charges against the drama. Let us examine them.

When Ghiberti chiselled his figures on the doors of the baptistery at Florence, he did not expect that some day a critic would take objection to them on the ground that they were too transparently metallic. Yet that is what Mr. Waterlow does in objecting to the allegorical nature of "Prometheus Unbound." Shelley wrote it as an allegory. He tells us in the preface to the drama that he endeavoured to create "beautiful idealisms of moral excellence." He speaks of the "moral interest of the fable." Now a fable is usually permitted to be fabulous; and fable and allegory have one method in common: they speak of one thing and mean both it and something more. As a matter of fact, "Prometheus Unbound," is *not* too transparently allegorical

to this critic in at least two points : he is not sure as to what Demogorgon stands for in the drama, though Shelley makes him call himself "Eternity : " and he finds the second act " full of the dreams of Asia," when, in fact, the dream part of the act has seventy dream-lines by Panthea, the sister of Asia, and only twenty by Asia, and these take up but a small portion of the act.

As to the charge or insipidity made by Mr. Waterlow against the allegory of " Prometheus Unbound," it may be remarked that there are not a few lovers of poetry to whom the story is the reverse of insipid either in the general sense of having no flavour, or in the literary sense of lacking spirit. The existence of these reduces the matter to the simple proposition that it may be insipid to Mr. Waterlow. But something more detailed has to be said in rebuttal of Mr. Waterlow's charge that Shelley's delineation of the relationship between the Spirit of Humanity and the Spirit of Nature reduces it to a " romantic love affair " and a piece of literary tactlessness.

The story of " Prometheus Unbound " as Shelley develops it is certainly a love affair. The whole drama celebrates the triumph of love. But it is aeons removed in both its external grandeur and internal significance from the triviality and sentimentality that hang about the phrase a " romantic love affair " and that Mr. Waterlow attributes to the drama. When Prometheus, in the first act, speaks of

Asia! who, when my being overflowed,
Wert like a golden chalice to bright wine
Which else had sunk into the thirsty dust,

he was not weaving mere romantic phrases, but expressing in splendid imagery a relationship more exalted, yet more intimate than ordinarily experienced between man and woman. Later, Asia speaks of Prometheus as her animating spirit, as he speaks of her as his means of manifestation. These are no drawing-room compliments, but the symbolical expression, in terms of human relationships, of the mystery of the cosmic duality-in-unity, of the two aspects, life and form, of one Being

and one process. These operate in the atom as well as in the stellar sphere. They are bound together by the cohesive principle in the universe which is called love. "The air is full of marriages," says the poet in "The King's Threshold" of Yeats. Their highest expression is celebrated annually in Vedic India in the Marriage of Shiva and Parvati. They and their expression cannot be annulled by inattentive or insensitive criticism.

Another critic, E. W. Edmunds in "Shelley and his Poetry," writes: "The emotion of the romantic and revolutionary movements has, in 'Prometheus Unbound,' been caught in its most ethereal flight." This statement, standing by itself, would be true, but only half of the whole truth. The other half is that the emotional fervour of Shelley circled around the conceptions of his creative mind. The hope of the world, to Shelley, was not the dawn of emotions, but the dawn of mind ("The Revolt of Islam," V. I). He did not sing: "Emotions have gone forth..." but "Thoughts have gone forth whose powers can sleep no more" ("Islam," V. 6). Yet this critic says of the poem that it "must not be read for its story or even for its didactic meaning," and proceeds: "we do not test this drama with the intellect; those who attempt to do so will find it a meaningless rhapsody." He adds: "That does not imply that the poem has no definite meaning. Far from it. But the meaning only comes to those who are competent to hear the spirit-voices which haunt the atmosphere of all true poetry." Yet the most exquisite spirit-voices in the drama are those of the emancipated *thoughts* of humanity.

It is true, of course, that the creative artist is only concerned with external systems of thought or action to the extent that they serve his artistic purpose. But Shelley's purpose in "Prometheus Unbound" was neither artistic only, nor didactic only. His purpose was vital, the influencing of life through love. This purpose involves intelligence as well as feeling, and intelligence is orderly. But Shelley, being an original,

produced his own order : he was not produced by it. Out of his intuitive response to the reality of life he made his own world which they who possess both eyes and ears may enter for their own pleasure, despite critical notice-boards. He is a poor artist indeed who does not carry about with him his own sun and moon and seven stars, or more. And Shelley was one of the richest. And now for the meaning of the "meaningless rhapsody."

Prometheus is generally referred to as a personification of mankind. Shelley in his preface calls him "the type of the highest perfection of moral and intellectual nature, impelled by the purest and truest motives to the best and noblest ends;" a specification of excellences that falls into the triangular design of human capacities—mental, emotional, and dynamic. Prometheus is therefore humanity as it is in potentiality, not yet in realisation. "That fair being whom we spirits call man" is hidden by "foul masks" which are moulded by "ill thoughts." The getting rid of these masks is the business of life and the subject of the dramatic poem.

Asia is the inner and receptive aspect of one entity whose outer and executive aspect is Prometheus. She is, as Prometheus says, the chalice or containing vessel for the overflow of his being. He is to her, as she says, the soul or animating principle by which she lives. Neither could exist without the other. Whatever may have been Shelley's definite knowledge (and he was a great reader as well as a great thinker) of the significances which the imagination of man had gathered around these personifications of archetypal life, it is a fact that they stood for fundamental aspects of the cosmic Being and its reflection in humanity. Prometheus is the eternal being (cosmic or individual) which creates its own self-limitation, even as he became the child of Earth, and the victim of Jupiter to whom he himself had given sovereignty. Asia is the supreme receptacle of the experiences of the empirical aspect of life, and is born of the waters, as was Aphrodite, her Grecian counterpart.

They are the *atman* and *buddhi* (the essential ego and intuition) of the Orient. Asia is the embodiment of wisdom, beauty and love, the unified highest degrees of the triple endowment of humanity, mental, aesthetical and active. With her are her sisters, Panthea (all-seeing),—who acts for Asia as the higher mind of man acts for the intuition, as the co-ordinating and generalizing agent between it, and the outturned aspect of the mind, personified in Ione, to whose questions Panthea gives the replies in the colossal fourth act in which Prometheus and Asia are invisible and silent, or, rather, have become merged in nature and humanity whose many voices, chanting the amazing chants of liberation through love, are their voices, with Panthea and Ione (the dual *manas* or mind of the Orient) as their hearers.

Jupiter, the antagonist of Prometheus, has been interpreted as "the personification of human institutions." A literary historian (W. J. Long in "English Literature") writes: "Shelley's philosophy (if one may dignify a hopeless dream by such a name) was a curious aftergrowth of the French Revolution, namely that it is only the existing tyranny of State, Church and Society which keeps man from growth into perfect happiness. Shelley forgot, like many other enthusiasts, that Church and State and social laws were not imposed on man from without, but were created by himself to minister to his necessities." Mr. Long's interpretation of Shelley on this matter is echoed by a younger writer, Mr. Aldous Huxley ("Do What You Will," chapter on "Fashions in Love:"): "Get rid of priests and kings, and men will be forever good and happy; poor Shelley's faith in this palpable nonsense remained unshaken to the end." Contrary to Mr. Long, who forgot his Shelley, the poet himself (through the spirit of the Hour) says that man's guilt and pain existed only because he himself either made or permitted the circumstances which brought them about. If Prometheus and Jupiter may separately be read symbolically, it is hardly too much to claim that the relationship between

them may also be read symbolically, and that the giving of "the dominion of wide heaven" to Jupiter by Prometheus makes Prometheus the responsible origin of his own ills. And, contrary to Mr. Huxley, with the example of post-revolutionary France before him, Shelley would indeed have been blinded with excess of inner light if in his attacks on the outer manifestations of spiritual and social slavery he had mistaken the symptom for the disease. But a full understanding of Shelley's attitude makes it clear that he was at least as much concerned with pathological origins as with their effects, and that the "palpable nonsense" in the minds of the critics is a reversion of the palpable sense of Shelley's teaching that, when man has achieved goodness and happiness, external instruction and rulership will have become unnecessary.

We shall get away from the difficulties of wooden or precocious interpretation of Shelley's glorious "fable" if we take Prometheus as the figure of expanding human life on its positive side, and Jupiter as the figure of restrictive law or form. In the beginning of things, as recounted by Asia (Act 2, Scene 4) Saturn, "from whose throne Time fell, an envious shadow," withheld from the earliest inhabitants of the earth the powers and qualities of positive, active life. Prometheus, however,

Gave wisdom, which is strength, to Jupiter,
And with this law alone, 'Let man be free,'
Clothed him with the dominion of wide heaven.

In other words, Life (personified by Prometheus), finding its manifestation indefinite under the dominion of Time only, placed itself under the dominion of Law (personified by Jupiter). Had Life been fully developed at this early stage, Law would have been simply an easy channel for it to flow through. But Life was rudimentary, incoherent, inarticulate, and as such needed the defining and developing opposition of Law, as the would-be athlete needs the opposition of system and apparatus in order to gain strength. This opposition is expressed by Shelley as the tyranny of Jupiter, the wielding of the power of Law, pure and

simple, without any softening of sentiment, Law "omnipotent but friendless." Just as Prometheus is humanity in the highest sense, archetypal before the opening of the drama, fulfilled at the close of the drama, Jupiter is law in the restricted sense, inflicting on man the punishments appropriate to his offences; not arbitrary and externally imposed inflictions, but the due and natural results of ignorant error, whereby man learns wisdom in detail. And that acquisition of wisdom is accomplished through a series of reactions in the evolving life of humanity which are typified in the drama as the gifts of Prometheus. The passage recounting these is a catalogue of many things besides fire and its uses: speech, science, music—vocal and instrumental—sculpture, medicine, astronomy, travel, social organisation (Act 2, Scene 4). This is clearly a picture of the external achievements of civilisation; the gifts of a human spring which is, as Emerson says in "May-Day,"

Revealer of the inmost powers
Prometheus proffered, Jove denied.

But in the mind of the poet these were not final accomplishments. Shelley's ideal for humanity was not a mere elevation of unregenerate life through accumulations of substance and external capacity, for he believed with the Oriental sage Vasishta that the mere addition of the finite to the finite does not produce the infinite. Man's accomplishments were only "the alleviations of his state Prometheus gave to man." And for bringing these alleviations into existence, Prometheus was bound and tortured by Jupiter. This is the point at which the dramatic action of the poem begins.

We shall miss the essence of Shelley's idea if, in these dramatic antagonisms imposed upon the poet by the exigencies of speech and action, thought and feeling, we allow any sense of complete separateness between them to dull and cloud our imaginations; if we see in the sufferings of Prometheus only the vindictiveness of Jupiter, and think of the evils from which.

mankind suffered as being only evil. We have to regard these personifications and happenings as co-operative elements within a single process, animated by a single energy, moving towards a single fulfilment. This is as true of the poem as a composition in the imagination of the poet as it is of the cosmic poem of which it is an echo.

The situation, then, at the opening of the poem is, that under the provocative restriction of Law (Jupiter), humanity, impressed by its archetypal self (Prometheus), finds ways towards the achievement of the freedom that Prometheus claimed for it. But the "alleviations" of civilisation can take it no further, for its higher self (Prometheus) is shut away from participation in the arts of life. "All best things" are "confused to ill," and must remain so until the spirit of Prometheus proves itself superior to Jupiter, and breaks the tyrant's power. This is duly accomplished. The sufferings inflicted on Prometheus draw out and strengthen his wisdom and compassion; and in the destined hour, the foreknowledge of which had carried Prometheus through his tortures, Jupiter himself, dethroned by triumphant Love, acknowledges Prometheus "the monarch of the world." Law yields to Life, and Hercules, the embodiment of Power, when releasing Prometheus from the cliff, puts into a sentence the psychological significance of the drama :

Most glorious among spirits, thus doth strength
To wisdom, courage, and long-suffering love,
And thee, who art the form they animate,
Minister like a slave.

And now abideth Wisdom, Courage, Love ; but the greatest of these, in the Promethean conception of Shelley, is Love.

Fate, Time, Occasion, Chance and Change, to these
All things are subject but eternal Love,

said Demogorgon, the oracle of the Eternity. By allying himself with eternal Love, Prometheus rose above the limitations of temporal Law. By Love, in the language of India, man can

free himself from the laws of action (*Karma*). "By the accident of good fortune a man may rule the world for a time, but by virtue of love he may rule the world forever," said Laotze six centuries before Christ.

It is said by critics that Shelley was an anarchist who taught that man was superior to law, and that each man should be a law unto himself. What Shelley taught in "Prometheus Unbound" was, that Love, not man, is superior to Law, and that only when Man-in-the-highest, Man Promethean, is governed solely and completely by Love can he safely be set free from Law. "The law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ," said the Christian Apostle. Jupiter was our schoolmaster to bring us to Prometheus, says Shelley. Christ and Prometheus are names for the spirit of Love.

Bearing this in mind, it is curious to note Mr. Aldous Huxley's declaration ("Do What You Will," chapter on "Fashions in Love") that Shelley believed that "you had only to get rid of social restraints and erroneous mythology to make the Grand Passion universally chronic.....he failed to see that the Grand Passion was produced by the restraints that opposed themselves to the sexual impulse." Shelley saw quite as clearly as the critic the use of the restraints of law as provokers and intensifiers of the creative forces of life; but he did not limit the Grand Passion to sex. Love, to Shelley, is the integrating power in the universe. Sexual integration is only one of its phases, and is only justifiable when it is governed by spiritual integration. This is the clue to the falsely assumed sexual mobility of Shelley. The transfer of the focus of his human nature from Harriet Westbrook to Mary Godwin was not a transfer from body to body but from soul to soul. To the literal Puritan the distinction may not seem important. Francis Thompson went further than even the Puritan could go by observing, in his *Essay*, that Shelley left a woman "not because he was tired of her arms, but because he was tired of her soul," a shifting of personal allegiance which he attributed to "a straying, strange and

deplorable, of the spirit,"—a dogma "strange and deplorable" that would, if it could, subordinate the allegiance of the spirit to the alliances of the flesh. The law of life is meaningless unless it takes us on to wisdom which recognises the love that is in all things; and recognises also that only in the spirit of love can we express the Prometheus who is within each of us. "Love is the fulfilment of the law." It is also, in the Shelleyan conception, the law of fulfilment.

So much for the general teaching of the poem, that true freedom is unattainable while the higher powers are inoperative; and that law cannot be set aside until love is the active principle in all life's affairs. This does not, of course, mean anything so foolish as a cessation of all struggle for liberation until love has been achieved. In stating the goal, Shelley did not mistake it as the starting-point, as Francis Thompson obtusely wrote, save in the subjective sense that one's ideal subtly influences every action towards its attainment. The drama has therefore its individual as well as its cosmic and general import: or rather (to state more truly the Shelleyan view), the triumph of Prometheus, being a cosmic event, is therefore an individual event. The triumph of the Flame-bringer over the forces of Darkness not only released himself from the rock to which he was bound, but released the inner powers of humanity. The Spirits who sing the following song are the living principles of the human mind; not thoughts as such, for they are but the masks and counters of the thinker, but the vital thing at their centre, "fair spirits," the Earth calls them,

Whose homes are the dim caves of human thought,
And who inhabit, as birds wing the wind,
Its world-surrounding ether.
Our spoil is won,
Our task is done,
We are free to dive or soar or run
Beyond and around,
Or within the bound
Which clips the world with darkness round.

We'll pass the eyes
Of the starry skies,
Into the hoar deep to colonise.
Death, Chaos and night
From the sound of our flight
Shall flee like mist from a tempest's might.

And Earth, Air and Light,
And the Spirit of Might
Which drives round the stars in their fiery flight;
And Love, Thought and Breath,
The powers that quell death,
Whenever we soar shall assemble beneath.

And our singing shall build
In the void's loose field
A world for the Spirit of wisdom to wield;
We will take our plan
From the new world of man,
And our work shall be called the Promethean.

This is the chant of the released powers of the human mind, rejoicing in their newly found freedom, and anticipating its unrestricted exercise. To Shelley, in his world of the creative imagination, it is an accomplishment. To his age and to ours it is a prophecy. But it is a prophecy which those who desire its fulfilment may set about with assurance, for in the chant Shelley, the practical idealist, who declared that he would never be satisfied with anything, but would accept anything that helped towards the ideal, provides us with a sure guide to action, a method which has received the ratification of those who have attained spiritual liberation in all ages and places.

When the Spirits of the Mind set out on their adventures, they will have for their helping three "powers that quell death." Here, as elsewhere in his poetry, Shelley expresses his realisation of the triple process in evolution: mental, emotional and actional—the cognition, affectiveness and conation of the psychologists. In other expressions of the process he sees it as a triangle of capacities with its apex in the higher worlds. Here he first

figures it as a base of feeling and cognition with the apex of vitality in the external world. The figure is an epitome of his philosophy of life and its regeneration. Love is the redemptive power in the cosmos and human life. Thought, in its highest aspect as Intellectual Beauty, is to Shelley but a synonym for Love made intelligent, the power that both consecrates and liberates. The Breath of life-more-abundant blows through every crevice of his brain and heart. But in this song he invests these at present callow powers of humanity with the import of a law of life. They are not simply the normal loving, thinking and breathing of the mass of humanity. They are powers that presuppose development and discipline for the attainment of their death-quelling potency.

It cannot be said with finality that Shelley meant that either of these attainable powers, if developed to its utmost possibility, could singly confer on humanity the realisation that death, as it is commonly thought of, is as much transient and life-serving incident as any other experience. There are schools of discipline in India that teach the attainment of the Promethean experience by one or other path. But Shelley's synthetical imagination saw that Love was worthless unless carried out in thought and action; that Thought was dangerous if not softened by compassion and corrected by life; that Activity was futile without compassionate impulse and intelligent guidance. In any case, it is remarkable that he should throw into a single phrase the four Indian ways of power: *bhakti-yoga* or the discipline of devotion, *jnana-yoga* or the discipline of the mind, *hatha-yoga* or the way of bodily control, and *karma-yoga* or the path of action. These in their totality form the royal discipline *raja-yoga*, the full expression of the Will directed towards the regeneration of the complete individual, and of the chaotic world through creative action, and the construction thereby of a realm in which the Spirit of Wisdom may reign.

What that Spirit stands for in Shelley's imagination we shall better understand if we link up this Chorus in "Prometheus

Unbound " with the great chant that follows the fifty-first stanza of the fifth canto of "The Revolt of Islam." There Shelley sings of Wisdom as the Mother and Soul, the source and living principle of the manifested universe. He sees Wisdom (the cosmic intuition or *vigna* of the *Upanishads*) re-ascending the human heart and her "irresistible children" chaining both the elements and their own wills in order to swell, not their own glory but Her's. In "Prometheus Unbound" he sees the same irresistible children building a world for the habitation, not of themselves alone, though they will share it, but of their Mother, the Cosmic Wisdom. In both poems Shelley's imagination shines and glows as it contemplates in one "the light of life" and in the other the "work.....Promethean;" the transmission from the higher regions of life to the lower, of that celestial flame that brings illumination to the mind, warmth to the heart, and beauty and intelligence to action.

In these days of ours, in this "new world of man," when fresh formularies are being sought for conduct, and when youth is consciously organising itself for a larger and freer share in the world's activities, it might do worse than form a Promethean League of men and women of all ages who retain the spirit of youth; who would accept Shelley's Promethean vision of life, not as a system that cramps but as an inspiration that liberates; who would put away the sword of antagonism even in symbolical speech and ceremonial, and raise instead the torch of spiritual illumination and foresight (the *Pramantha* of Sanskrit); who would decline to follow the spurious forms of "liberation" that are merely a putting on of new chains of habit, and would enter into the true liberation that comes from daily discipline of thought, feeling, desire and action; and who would do this with the single intent of hastening the coming of the era of wisdom which the English poet saw in his exalted vision, and which the sages of India saw as the *sat-yuga*, the coming spiritual era in which Wisdom will be tested in action and Action will be controlled by Wisdom, and both will be one.

Such formularies for action as those derived from great poetry are much more likely to be of deep and lasting service than the specialised formularies of ethics or morals. The latter do not base their formularies on the intuitive vision of the whole nature and process of human life and its relationship with the universal Life. But the utterances of the highest poetry, like that of "Prometheus Unbound," come charged with the high potential of Wisdom from the immortal spirit of humanity, and are capable of application in all times and lands. Ethics and morals are adaptations of a vague idealistic utilitarianism to the vagaries of human desire and conduct. Great poetry like Shelley's utters uncompromising ideals, and demands the adaptation of human desire and conduct to them. The poetry of Shelley, the Promethean, sings to life from its four corners of creation, emotion, thought and action. It is a flame that at once vivifies, warms, illuminates and purifies.

JAMES H. COUSINS

RISE OF THE CALCUTTA MONEY MARKET IN RELATION TO PUBLIC BORROWING AND PUBLIC CREDIT ¹

(1772 to 1833.)

1. A highly developed money market is a late growth in India. During the earlier part of the British rule, the East India Company paid greater attention to the consolidation of the empire and the establishment of law, order, and security, than to the economic improvement. At the same time, the decay of the old paramount power had led to many economic complications in a continent economically divergent by nature, so that it was beyond the power of any new Government to clear up the tangled economic situation within a few generations.

In spite of these facts, from the beginning of the English rule in India, markets for money and credit, however undeveloped they might have been originally, were on the way of formation. Several miniature markets developed round about the presidency towns, which being the seats of Government were centres of revenue receipts and disbursements, resorts of the trading and investment public, and places of European capitalists in India. The first and principal market grew up in Calcutta, the capital of the Supreme Government. It progressed side by side with the process of public borrowing.

Before 1772, however, the money market in Bengal was distinct from the seat of Government. It was Murshedabad, and not Calcutta, which attracted the monetary resources of Bengal. The *Khalsa* or the Treasury office was situated there and, as a necessary consequence, public revenues flowed into and out of it. Being at the same time the capital of the Subadar

¹ This article is a summary of two chapters of my researches into the "History of the Public Debt of India."

of Bengal, it was the resort of the wealthy and the opulent: In 1772, when on the recommendation of the Committee of Circuit the *Khalsa* was removed from Murshedabad to Calcutta,¹ all sorts of revenue work became centralised therein. Calcutta grew to be the virtual market. A vast influx of people were drawn to Calcutta. The officers, traders, money-lenders, etc., were all centralised therein, with a great increase of wealth.

In this article we shall describe the growth of the Calcutta money market in its relation to public borrowing and public credit. The characteristic features of the market as they reflected upon loan operations and, conversely, the influence of the latter upon the market itself, will receive preponderating attention. The relation between the Government and the financial community in the market, and the effect of the activities of the one upon the other will form part of this investigation. The relation of the money market in its historical development to the growth of the public credit will be brought out. Rise and fall of Government credit, fluctuations in the price of public securities, and variations in the rates of interest, will form component parts of the present study. The discourse here will only be continued to the financial crisis of 1829-33, and hence, will describe the birth and childhood of the Calcutta money market.

2. The greatest disability in the early development of the money market was the lack of the commodity "money" itself. And this was the paradox. When the British came to India they found innumerable heterogeneous currencies—numbering about a thousand kinds of gold and silver coins with different standards of weights and fineness. When there were too many kinds of currencies circulating, there was almost complete lack of any

¹ On June 4, 1772, the Governor of Bengal and his Council appointed a committee, called the Committee of Circuit, for the purpose of effecting the revenue settlement of Bengal and taking such measures best calculated to the financial interest of the country. Amongst the various proposals advanced by the Committee, was one proposing that the *Khalsa* or the Treasury office should be removed from Murshedabad to Calcutta. The whole trend of the Committee's recommendation was to centralise all sorts of revenue work in Calcutta.

standard of value. Exchange economy was practically reduced to barter economy. This phenomenon prevented in many ways money from serving in its capacity as a store of value, and therefore, hindered investment, as there was little stability in value. All attempts to fix a rate of exchange at a hypothetical standard which was known as the current rupee,¹ failed to improve the situation.

This state of affairs not only served as a discouragement to investors, but also implied a difficulty for the Government to find a wide range of investment market. A very limited sphere of influence of one variety of money or of its allied varieties, signified infinitesimal individual markets of narrow limits with minimum relation between one another. This state of affairs was in part a result of lack of communication and in part an outcome of political factors.

3. When communications were undeveloped and when the limits of markets were small, the resources of the interior were not available for public investments. Though the shroffs served on occasions as the media of remittance, their high charges formed a great handicap to the investors, who were unwilling to resort to them. They demanded an excessive margin of return for acting as intermediaries for the supply of public capital and the receipt of public annuities.

From the nineties of the 18th century, new methods were being introduced for facilitating public investments and thus extending the investment market. Government treasuries throughout the interior were allowed to serve as links between the metropolitan market and the *mofussil* centres. Perhaps for the first time in 1790, the public were allowed to receive their interest from the Revenue Collectors in the "Provinces," and from the Residents at Benares and Oudh, provided three months' notice had previously been given to the officers.² Three

¹ The current rupee was a hypothetical money of account, without being represented by any currency. It bore a particular relation to such kind of currency.

² Calcutta Gazette, 29th April, 1790.

years later, some of these Collectors and Residents (of Patna, Murshedabad, and Dacca) were also authorised to receive subscriptions to public loans. While making these departures from the old practice, the Accountant General of Bengal observed that the new methods would facilitate financial intercourse with the Presidency ; since it would open to the people a safe and, at the same time, a more advantageous remittance of capital, than was usually obtainable from the shroffs who usually charged from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 or 4 per cent., in all their remittance.¹

In course of time, all the Collectors of Revenue and Residents were authorised to receive public funds, in subscription to loans floated at the capital.² In this way, so far as public borrowing was concerned, the capital market was extended from its previous narrow confines of Calcutta to the interior. But still for lack of developed channels of monetary flow and for undeveloped economic condition of the country, though there was movement of funds there was no easy and smooth mobility.

4. To describe the nature of the Calcutta money market : the agency houses and the banks associated with them formed one organ of it ; the shroffs and the allied Indian money-lenders constituted another ; the European servants of the Company supplied the third. Above all, however, the Government with its treasuries stood out as the principal factor.

The shroffs were the oldest members of the mercantile community in the country. They flourished from the days of the Mughal supremacy ; and some of the big houses were known to finance the various Governments of the country. When the English came to be established as rulers, although the relations of the shroffs with the ruling body gradually became less important, they yet helped to a certain extent in the financial operations of the new Government. Carrying on, as they did, the lucrative business of extending facilities of exchange between

¹ Bengal Public Consultations, 11th June, 1793 [MS.].

² In this connection see the notification, dated 9th August, 1798, in the Calcutta Gazette of that date.

various species of currencies and of remittance between different parts of the country, the shroffs formed one of the links—though a very defective one—between the different money markets throughout the country.

With the growth of European banking and the assumption of many of the exchange operations of the Government by the district treasuries, the importance of the shroffs still further declined. Yet in the very nature of their business, they were as susceptible as ever to the effects produced on the market by the financial operations of the Government. It is said ¹ that these indigenous bankers traded on the surplus capital of the public, their own personal wealth constituting a very small portion of their trading capital. Hence, by drawing capital from one section of the public and supplying capital to another, the shroffs fed upon the difference between the prices of “money in” and “money down.” A year of commercial prosperity became a year fruitful of interest to these dealers in money. Government loan operations, on the other hand, in those days of limited surplus capital, adversely affected these indigenous bankers. These loans generally caused a scarcity of cash in the market, and deprived them of the source of their capital. Likewise, the causes which checked the circulation of specie, checked the progress of trade. An absence of the medium of exchange caused a serious trade depression. These factors in their turn meant ruin to the shroffs. This was the reason why complaints from the shroffs at the time of many of the loan operations were frequent in the early days.

The function of the agency houses in the Indian money market has also special bearing on the subject. These houses commanded a large amount of capital arising from the savings of

¹ From the frequent petitions to the Government on occasions of crisis much of the business of the shroffs and their relation to the market can be gathered. In an address, dated 22nd May, 1826, to the Government through the hands of Messrs. John Palmer & Co., the shroffs gave an elaborate description of this subject. *Vide* enclosure to the Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 4th May, 1826 [MS.].

the Europeans. They also pooled a small amount of Indian capital offered at low interest. Their long established credit was their principal asset in drawing public capital. Their investments were principally made in what was aptly described as "profitable objects of permanent occupation,"¹ viz., in indigo and other plantations. A certain amount used to be invested in British industries elsewhere—in Singapore, Penang, Malacca, Java, Sumatra, China, Manilla, New South Wales, Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, etc. A portion of their funds was also employed in Government loans and in advances to European individuals in need of finance.

Thus along with the shroffs, the agency houses were competitors with the Government in the investment market for the surplus capital of the investing community. But unlike the shroffs, their rivalry with the Government was more keen, as the spheres of both were more limited within the European public investors. With the shroffs, the agency houses suffered from any scarcity of specie brought about by loan operations. But they were more subject than the shroffs to sudden calls upon them during these operations, as the European investors tended to withdraw their capital from the houses for investing in gilt-edged securities. This was generally at a time when the resources of the agency houses were tied up; their capital, as has been stated, used to be employed in such a way that there was very little chance of having it at call or short notice. In fact, until after the period of our investigation, when genuine banking on joint-stock principles developed, there was very little of what was called floating capital, and there was very little tendency on the part of the public to short-term investment; money at call was almost non-existent. In other words, the state of the

¹ An elaborate description of the business of the agency houses can be found in a petition to the Government of Bengal by the Calcutta Agency Houses during 1826 when a financial crisis was developing. *Vide* enclosure to the Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 4th August 1826 [MS.].

money market was very rigid. This will explain most of the financial crises of early periods in India.

5. A survey of the history of the metropolitan market in Bengal from the beginning of the English rule to the middle of the eighties of the 18th century when Warren Hastings ceased to be the Governor-General, enables us to make some definite statements.

Firstly, since 1772, a market was in the process of formation in Calcutta; but for many years it was in an embryonic state. There was very little cohesion between the various organs of the money market.

Secondly, partly due to these reasons and partly due to the nascent state of the Government, and also partly due to the unfamiliarity of the Indians with what is called public investment, there was nothing like a wide public credit. Whatever existed was mainly confined to the European inhabitants of the town. Indians had other ways of employing their money, such as purchases of landed property, loans on mortgages at usurious rates of interest, etc.¹ And how could investment be encouraged when there was no standard Government security in the market in a proper sense?—for, Government debts were contracted in various ways evidenced by no standard form or forms of paper. Whatever might have been the cause, it is evident that not only was investment market limited in area, but it was also confined to a small number of people. Hence, in that nascent state of the market, lack of public credit did not only mean a want of confidence, as the term invariably implies to-day, but it also indicated a lack of means or capital in the small circle of creditors, the fall of credit resulting from this scarcity.

Lastly, because of the economic isolation of the metropolitan market from the rest of the provinces, and because of the limitation of the investing circle within narrow bounds, the condition of the whole country did not, as a rule, coincide with

¹ See in this connection the statement of Warren Hastings on the then nature of public credit in his *Memoirs relating to the State of India*, 1787, p. 18.

the economic state of the market in which the Government appealed for loans. These statements will be fully borne out by the state of wealth in Bengal in contrast to the rate at which the Government borrowed money.

6. Before the Battle of Plassey, whatever the state of money market, the country absorbed much foreign capital in gold and silver bullion, mainly imported by the East India Company for investment. Of the total imports by the East India Company from the year 1708 to 1757, about 74 per cent. consisted of bullion.¹ After the Battle of Plassey, and particularly after the acquisition of the Dewani (1765), the revenues obtained in Bengal obviated the necessity of considerable import of bullion. While up to 1757, the annual import of bullion into India exceeded four hundred thousand pounds on the average, there was very little import of it from 1758.² The balance of trade turned against India, particularly against Bengal.³ It is needless to enter into the details of the calculations on the nature and amounts of export of wealth out of India for some time after the battle of Plassey, and the diverse causes that led to it—an enquiry already carried on by another investigator,⁴—suffice it to say, that in no way did those events influence the rates of money and the rates of interest allowed on Government loans. Eight or nine per cent. were generally the prevalent rates of interest allowed on Government loans. These seem to have been the average rates from the earliest days of the East India Company's history when it was a trading body, with minor exceptions due to local circumstances.⁵ During the administration of Warren Hastings, Macpherson, and Cornwallis, 8 per cent. was the average rate allowed for loans floated in

¹ Commons Paper, 152 of 1813.

² Commons Paper, 152 of 1813.

³ Commons Paper, 33 and 225 of 1812-13.

⁴ J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, London, 1927.

⁵ For borrowing by the East India Company during the thirties of the 17th century, see E. B. Sainsbury and W. Foster, *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the E. I. Co., 1635-1639*, Oxford, 1907, p. 24.

Bengal and payable therein. And on one occasion in 1774 and 1775, it became possible to reduce the rate to as low a level as five per cent. This supplies another instance of the lack of relation between the economic condition of the whole country, and the special circle of the members of the money market supplying capital to the Government.

7. This was the state of affairs practically up to the seventeen-eighties. But soon after, in course of the evolution of the money market, other factors appeared to modify the position. The last two decades of the eighteenth century witnessed two important formative periods of the Indian money market ; firstly, the reforms introduced into the Government securities in order to make them sufficiently attractive to command surplus capital for investment in the market, and secondly, the other economic and financial factors brought into the field.

The most important of these, the registration of Government papers, first the certificates and then the bonds ¹—the two principal kinds of Government papers—was a great step in systematising Government securities and in putting them into order. It considerably facilitated the marketability of the papers.

The second reform in this connection facilitated the negotiation of bonds and certificates in the market by issuing them in amounts of fixed and standard face values instead of in large amounts which had been the practice for so long.

These securities did not possess any fixed face value, nor were they of denominations suitable for small investors. To cite an extreme case, some of them were even issued at a *lakh* of rupees. These bonds were rarely demanded in the market and, hence, they carried very high discounts. In order to remedy the inconvenience and to encourage the investment habit, the

¹ Certificates were made registrable in 1785, and bonds in 1793. *Vide Calcutta Gazette*, 29th December 1785 ; *Bengal Public Consultations*, 4th Jan., and 10th May 1793 [MSS.].

Government of Bengal, on the recommendation of the Accountant-General, Mr. William Larkins, brought about in 1787 a uniformity in the face values of the securities. Larger securities were replaced by those of smaller amounts; they were further equalised and standardised.¹

Chronologically viewed, another important reform which came into operation was that protecting the securities from forgery. In 1790 it was arranged to prepare the promissory notes from engraved blocks, and rules were formulated for their issue. Hitherto, the practice had been to issue ordinary printed documents; frequent cases of forgery brought home to the authorities the need for reform in this direction. These notes had coupons attached, probably for the first time, in order to extend facilities for periodical interest.²

About a decade after the above reforms Government securities underwent another important change. Till 1798, the securities were short-dated. Hence, a great part of the surplus capital of the society remained unexploited, which sought long-term investment elsewhere. From that year long-term loans were systematically floated.

As during the eighties and nineties of the eighteenth century Government papers were improved in such a wise as to encourage public investment and stabilise public credit, so also other factors appeared in the Calcutta money market, either of a temporary or permanent character, which played their part in developing the market.

Various attempts were made to introduce genuine banking in order to create demand for surplus capital, foster investment habit, facilitate movement of funds, and widen the influence of money market. As late as 1773, Warren Hastings established a bank known as the General Bank for the Province of Bengal

¹ *Vide* Accountant General's Letter to the Governor-General in Council, 14th Jan., 1786; Bengal Public Consultations, 3rd Jan., 1787 [MSS.].

² *Vide* Calcutta Gazette, 22nd July, 28th July, 9th Sept., and 29th Sept., 1790; also Bengal Public Consultations, 9th June, and 30th July, 1790 [MSS.].

and Behar. Unfortunately, the bank was short-lived, and was closed after working for only twenty months (Feb., 1775).¹ Within a few years another bank, called the Bengal Bank, came into existence, which in course of time received Government patronage.² In 1786, one joint-stock bank, bearing the title of the General Bank of India, put in an appearance for the express purpose of helping Government finance. It thus filled a big gap in the Indian money market.³ With the growth of these banks in the Calcutta money market, competition ensued between them as a result of which, the market rates of interest and discount were reduced. But unfortunately the financial crisis of 1791-93 brought about the ruin of these banks (1791). While the General Bank was in course of liquidation, the public and the Government were contemplating another Central Bank managed by the State.⁴ The future of these proposals is not known ; but it is true that they did not materialise.

The second development in the Calcutta money market was the unification of currency throughout Bengal. As a result of vigorous and systematic attempts by Lord Cornwallis to unify currency, a rule was promulgated in 1793 that the 19th *sun sicca* should be the standard coin throughout Bengal.⁵

Lastly, the evolution of the money market in India was helped to a considerable extent by the establishment of the press in India, the origin of which was contemporaneous with the

¹ *Vide* Extracts of the Proceedings of the Council of Revenue held at Fort William, 13th April and 23rd April, 1773 ; Extract General Letter to Bengal, 30th March 1774 [India Office MS. Records, Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 776, pp. 205-83]. Also see P. Banerjea, *Banking in the Days of John Company*, Calcutta Review, Nov., 1927.

² The early history of the Bengal Bank is shrouded in obscurity. It existed and worked towards 1780 and 1781; some of its business notices are to be found in Hickey's Bengal Gazette of those dates. For the posterior history of the bank, see H. Sinha, *Early European Banking in India*, London, 1927.

³ For full history of this bank, see H. Sinha, *Early European Banking in India*, London, 1927.

⁴ India Office MS. Records, Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 434, pp. 549-52, 563-81; also see pp. 494-96.

⁵ For full history of the monetary reforms in India till 1793, *vide* J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, London, 1927.

eighties of the eighteenth century when these financial reforms were on foot. The birth of the Calcutta Gazette (1784), and the decision of the Government to make it—originally a private venture—a vehicle for public notification, added to the importance of these developments in the money market.

At such time and under the influence of these reforms, there seems to have been forming a real market for Government securities, though in a very crude state. For example in Hickey's Bengal Gazette, 1780-82 (so far known to be the earliest paper in Bengal), we do not find any trace of purchase and sale of Government papers, though the Gazette issued regular lists of prices current in other commodities. In the Calcutta Gazette of 1784 and 1785 (the first two years of its issue) we find only a very few instances of advertisement for the sale of Government bonds by the agency houses.¹ It was after the notification of registration that we find the prices of Bengal certificates being frequently quoted in the Gazette.

9. At this stage of the money market and at a time when there was something like marketable papers commanding purchase and sale, the following was the history of the economic condition of the market in Bengal during the last two decades of the eighteenth century.

Beginning from the closing years of Warren Hastings' administration, it is to be found that the effects of the Mysore and Mahratta wars in the south were to diminish the amount of specie in Bengal. Combined with this state of the market, the low state of the treasury and the inability to discharge debt obligations, caused a fall in Government credit. This state of affairs continued for some years during which the papers were at great discount. It is said that in November, 1785, the bonds bore a discount of 24 per cent., and yet few purchasers could be found.²

¹ For example, see Calcutta Gazette, 13th Jan., 1785.

² Letter from George Smith to Henry Dundas, 25th Nov., 1785 (India Office MS. Records, Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 434, p. 188 *et seq.*).

Macpherson's steps to discharge the debt regularly (the certificate plan),¹ raised the credit to a high level.² The plan of transferring Indian debt to England might also have added its credit.³ In September, 1787, the average rates of the discount on the Company's papers ranged between 1 and 6 per cent., according to the proximity of discharge.⁴ Though the famine of 1788 temporarily disturbed credit, it soon recovered from the shock. Towards November, 1789, the bonds were selling at a small premium in the market.⁵ "With the Mysore War and the various rumours fostered in the Calcutta money market as to the invincible powers of the enemy, which broke down the regularity in discharge of the debt, the discount on the papers in the Calcutta market rallied to 10 to 12 per cent."⁶

In 1791 a banking crisis developed in Calcutta which, causing a forced sale of the securities, added to the loss of public credit.

The victory of the Mysore War, the influx of wealth brought by it, and the regularity revived in discharging the papers, restored credit. Towards 1793, the Government of Lord Cornwallis made attempts to bring down the rates of interest in conformity with the rise in premiums. 8 per cent. and 6 per cent. promissory notes were issued in Calcutta and Madras in the place of 12 per cent. notes.⁷

¹ For the history of the certificate plan see H. H. Wilson's footnote in Mill's *History of British India*, Vol. V, Bk. VI, Ch. I; and also John Prinsep, *Proposal of a Substitute for Funding in 'Times of War*, London, 1797.

² John Prinsep, *op. cit.*

³ In 1785, a plan was promulgated to transfer Indian debt to England.

⁴ *Calcutta Gazette*, 6th Sept. and 20th Sept. 1787.

⁵ Letter to the Court of Directors, 2nd April 1789, quoted by Dundas in his Budget speech of 1790; and Letter to the Court, 8th Nov., 1789, quoted by Ross in *Cornwallis Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 461.

⁶ A letter from the chiefs of the agency houses of Calcutta, 12th March, 1792, quoted by H. Sinha, *Early European Banking*, *op. cit.*, p. 87; and Cornwallis's Letter to Dundas, 7th Feb. 1790, quoted by Ross, *Cornwallis Correspondence*, 1859, Vol. I, p. 556.

⁷ *Bengal Pub. Consns.*, 17th Jan., and 24th May, 1793 [MSS.].

The state of credit and the medium rate of interest continued in this favourable condition till 1796. A few years of prosperity, however, encouraged a "spirit of adventure," "commercial speculation," and "imprudent projects of trade beyond the real capital of the merchants." A very unusual scarcity of specie had become a matter of general complaint and distress. Money could not be borrowed by the public at a rate of 12 per cent., even with the deposit of Government paper.¹ This state of affairs was aggravated by the outstanding flow of specie from Bengal to other parts of India as financial help, and by the increasing remittance of wealth out of the country in investments. In these circumstances Government could not borrow at a lower rate than 12 per cent.² Yet public borrowing was necessary. Government borrowing, therefore, at such time aggravated the existing embarrassment of public and mercantile credit. Such embarrassment of credit continued, until in 1798 general depreciation of public securities rose on the average to 20 per cent. on the 6 per cent. papers, and 13 per cent. on the 8 per cent. papers.³ Hence in 1798, a sinking fund was established in Bengal. At the same time the terms and conditions of the loans were altered to encourage greater credit. The effect of these steps was to improve it.

10. Thus we can observe some trends at this stage of the growth of the money market ; firstly with regard to the tendency of the fluctuations of Government credit ; and secondly, with respect to the tendency of variations in the rates of interest commanded by the public loans. And these indications, however inconclusive they might have been, were probably the results of the evolution that the market and the marketable papers had undergone.

To begin,—an increasing inclination was to be found in the economic condition of the country to reflect its effects upon the

¹ Minute of Lord Wellesley (Financial), 12th June, 1798.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

metropolitan money market; and hence, in accordance with the indication of the market, greater attempts were being made by the Government to regulate the rates of interest on its loans. In other words, fluctuations of credit in the market were being looked upon by the administrators as opportunities to be well utilised. Interest on loans were not totally disconnected with the state of the market. With respect to credit, it may be observed that it was still dependent mainly on the belief of the public in the stability of the English. Whenever a serious war broke out with any Indian Chief, public credit in the market was shaken to a great extent. On this great handicap, Warren Hastings observed in 1780 that any notification to invite money might raise alarm in the minds of the public, fostering belief in the danger of the Government, the immediate effect of which apprehension would lead to a concealment of treasure out of the market.¹ This danger in public credit remained till British power was looked upon by the public as firmly consolidated; and it was a very disturbing element to public credit. Firm steps, however, taken by the Government in the direction of discharge and the seriousness in the endeavour to preserve regularity in it, mitigated the alarm in the market and assisted greatly in restoring the state of credit.

Yet it must be admitted that till the end of the 18th century, the market was very crude and what is called public credit was very susceptible. The rates of interest were very high and fluctuated between wide extremes; a capital had not accumulated with the agricultural and commercial resources of the country; the Indians had not learnt to place confidence in public securities.²

11. With the advent of the nineteenth century, the money market in India pursued its course of development. The

¹ Bengal Secret Consultations, 4th Sept. 1780 (British Museum MS. No. 28995, folios 166 *et seq.*).

² *Vide* Henry St. George Tucker, A Review of the Financial Situation of the East India Company in 1824, London, 1825, pp. 29-30.

conquests of Lord Wellesley extended British influence over wider areas ; and control over a wider range of commerce and trade brought within the scope of the market greater fields of activities. Further consolidation of powers in the rulers made it possible for still greater financial and monetary reforms to be introduced.

One important development of the money market was the appearance of a strong public bank under Government patronage and established on Government initiative. In 1806, as the first step of a long drawn deliberation from 1798, the Bank of Calcutta opened business as a provisional venture until it received a Government charter in 1908 as the Bank of Bengal, the first presidency bank in India. This bank inaugurated a new epoch in the development of money market in India. Its power of note issue marked the advent of a new system of credit capital.

This bank amply justified its creation by its success in promoting both private and public credit. The Government of Bengal expressed high satisfaction within a year of its existence as affording great accommodation to the public. In its financial despatches to the Court of Directors the advantages derived from the bank were fully borne out.¹

12. When these developments were in progress the state of public credit in the Calcutta money market was as follows.

From the year 1798, on account of some financial measures undertaken by the Government of Lord Wellesley, and perhaps with added force because of a considerable influx of treasure into Bengal,² the market recorded a gradual decline in the rates of

¹ Bengal Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 14th July 1807, 12th Feb., 1808, 30th July 1823 [MSS.] ; Bengal Financial Consultations, 15th Sept. 1822, Nos. 1-4, 31st Dec. 1822, Nos. 11-12 [MSS.] ; and so on.

² From 1795-96 to 1800-01, there was no export of bullion out of Bengal to places outside India. But the average annual import into Bengal, during 1795-96 to 1798-99, was valued at over 19 lakhs of rupees. In 1799-1800, however, the import was Rs. 117 lakhs ; in the next year it was over Rs. 87 lakhs ; *vide* Commons Paper, 390 of 1833.

It is difficult to allocate any definite cause for high or low import of bullion when

discount on Government securities, and public credit was slowly recovering. This enabled Henry St. George Tucker, the Accountant General of Bengal, to conduct some reductions in the rates of interest upon treasury bills.¹ In September 1802, the price of eight per cent. papers reached parity, after which it was on the upgrade and in May 1803 the premium bordered upon 3 per cent. There was then a turn in the other direction ; but till the beginning of 1804, a premium prevailed in the market, after which the papers did not command much above par. Till the middle of 1806 the value of the papers was below the level of parity, but the discount might be taken at $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on the average. For about a year Government credit showed a tendency to recover, though buoyancy was not very pronounced.

The following table will show the average price of the 8 per cent. papers issued from 1801.²

Years and months.	Average of buying and selling price.	Ranges of variation.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
1802 (June to Dec.) ...	Par	Rs. 1-6 disc. to 10 as. prem.
1803 (Jan. to Sept.) ...	Rs. 1-8 prem.	9 as. prem. to Rs. 2-12 prem.
1804 (Aug. 24th only) ...	Rs. 1-12 prem.	...
1805 (March to Dec.) ...	Rs. 2-3 disc.	Rs. 1-8 disc. to Rs. 2-12 disc.
1806 (Jan. to Dec.) ...	8 as. disc.	Rs. 1-6 disc. to par.
1807 (Jan. to April) ...	6 as. prem.	2 as. prem. to Rs. 1-6 prem.

trade was not free. It is all the more difficult to make any definite statement as to the effect of the bullion import on a money market like that of India where there was no free flow of capital. How much remained in active circulation in the market and how much went into the interior cannot be analysed.

¹ Kaye, *Life of Henry St. George Tucker*.

² The preceding statements have been made, and the following table has been prepared, from the monthly lists of prices of securities given in the issues of the *Asiatic Annual Register*, London, 1803, *et seq.* Unfortunately systematic figures of all the months cannot be found; and for 1804, the price current on the 24th August only has been given.

The above picture of the money market during these years conveys a very remarkable solidarity in public credit and testifies to the financial solidarity of the Government of Lord Wellesley under the able guidance of Henry St. George Tucker. At a time when British rule in India was not consolidated and was compelled to face constant outbreaks of belligerency, it could still draw a very large amount from the public and yet maintain its credit in the Calcutta market at an unprecedentedly high state.

Partly due to the establishment of the Government bank and the artificial capital created by its notes, partly due to rehabilitation of finance during the period of peace, and perhaps due also to the greater influx of treasure into Bengal in 1806-07.¹ public credit in the Calcutta market showed increasing signs of recovery from 1807. Throughout the years from 1807 to 1810 credit was on the upgrade till the price of 8 per cent. public securities attained a premium of 4 per cent.² Lord Minto, taking advantage of this favourable situation, reduced the interest of the floating debt to 8 per cent.,³ and of the funded debts at 8 per cent. to 6 per cent.

But reduction by 2 per cent., when the securities commanded a premium of 4 per cent. only, was quite unwarranted. At the same time, for certain financial reasons some terms of the debt were altered. The "optional clause," by which the creditors (who were mostly European) were given an additional advantage of demanding in England their capital at any time or their interest when due at certain fixed rates of interest, was taken away.⁴ These big changes caused a collapse of credit.

¹ The annual average import of bullion into Bengal, during the five years 1801-02 to 1805-06, was worth Sa. Rs. 68,94,792, while the import during the single year 1806-07 was valued at Sa. Rs. 1,14,87,544. The corresponding exports were practically nil. *Vide* Commons Paper, 390 of 1833.

² Based on various Financial Despatches to the Court of Directors; for example, of the following dates: 17th Dec. 1808; 28th Nov. 1809; 13th Jan. 1810 [MSS.].

³ Minute of Lord Minto, 11th Feb. 1807, as an enclosure to the Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 18th Feb. 1807 [MS.]. In 1811 the interest on the floating debt was further reduced to 6 per cent. *Vide* Financial Consn., 18th Oct. 1811 [MS.]

⁴ Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 28th May 1810, § 72; and Calcutta Gazette, 26th April 1810.

The public creditors in England ordered their agents in India to remit the capital of their investments. Hence it occasioned a "hasty sale of large amounts of securities."¹ There was a sudden transition to an "absolute scarcity of money."² The market rate of interest rose to 12 per cent. Even in this state of the market, it is strange to note, the new 6 per cent. papers stood at a small discount not exceeding 2 per cent.³ This optimism did not last long, and in the beginning of 1813 the discount rose to 10 per cent.⁴

The "optional clause" had to be renewed upon certain conditions.⁵ The sinking fund was again established⁶—the original sinking fund of 1798 being closed in 1810. There was then a temporary subsidence in the fluctuation of Government securities, and towards the middle of 1813, the discount fell to 4 or 5 per cent.⁷ But from subsequent evidence it appears that the rate did not settle then; it rose subsequently.⁸

The chronology of the whole period under review shows that sudden alteration of the terms of the loans from all aspects was unwarranted. The public did not even then view conversion with much confidence. The warlike policy of Lord Wellesley did not affect public credit to nearly the same extent as did the peace-time measures of Lord Minto.

13. The renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1813, the final abolition of the Company's monopoly of Indian

¹ Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 6th Dec. 1811 [MS.]

² Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 3rd Feb. 1812 [MS.]

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 6th Feb. 1813.

⁵ Commons Committee, 1832—II, Finance; Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 17th Aug. 1812 [MS.]; Bengal Financial Consultations, 18th Oct. 1811, Nos. 13-15 [MSS.]; Calcutta Gazette, 10th Oct. 1811.

⁶ Letter of the Accountant General, 20th Aug., 1812; Bengal Financial Consultations, 29th Aug., 1812, Nos. 16-18; Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 5th Sept., 1812, [MSS.].

⁷ Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 24th May, 1813 [MS.].

⁸ On the 1st May, 1814, the discount was $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and on the days following this rate increased further. *Vide* Enclosure to the Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 10th Sept., 1824 [MS.].

trade, brought about definite economic changes in India. In the annals of Indian money market, the year 1814 marked a big turning point, since, in that year the Act came into operation. Indian trade was opened to the English capitalists. The monopoly was for so long a barrier to the flow of capital into the country. It being abolished, brisk trade with India followed; imports and exports increased; and much foreign capital began to flow into the Indian market. Free intercourse with Great Britain brought into being many other economic factors, the influence of which cannot be overrated. From that period the money market was affected by external commerce as much as by internal trade and—political situation. The history of such a market under the new conditions and their effects upon the state of public credit proved to be very complicated.

To describe the developments of the different organs of the money market in Calcutta, we find the agency houses increased in number. While in 1792 there were only 16 agency houses in Calcutta,¹ in 1815 their number was 23, in 1820 it was 31, and in 1834 the number rose to 50. The rate of progress of the indigenous banks in Calcutta was similar. The development of a market in the metropolis attracted many of them to it. In 1792 there had been only 17 houses of *shroffs* and *poddars* in Calcutta. Within twenty-five years, their number had doubled (34 in 1815), and within the next five years their numerical strength increased to 42 (1820). Within a decade they added about fourteen to their number making a total of 56 in 1830. Together with these agency houses and shroffs, the insurance companies—which constitute another organ of the money market dealing in credit—grew in Calcutta at a slow but steady rate as compared with the rapid pace at which the former organs progressed. In

¹ This and the following statements on the number of agency houses, shroffs, and insurance offices working in Calcutta, have been compiled from the following sources :—(1) Bengal Kalendar and Almanack, Calcutta, 1792; (2) The Bengal Almanac and Directory, Calcutta, 1815-1824; (3) The Calcutta Annual Register and Directory, Calcutta, 1820-27; and (4) The Calcutta Annual Directory and Quarterly Register, Calcutta, 1829-35.

1792 we find only four companies doing business in Calcutta. The number of such companies working in 1815 was 14. In 1820 it was 15 ; and within a few years it added one more (16 in 1825). The numerical strength of insurance companies was 18 in 1830 ; and in 1834 it had grown to 20. In the sphere of banking, many mercantile banks made their appearance. Between 1814 and 1830, about half a dozen banks were established in Calcutta. From the thirties of the century many joint-stock banks came into the field.¹

Yet a few more obstacles remained to hinder further growth of the money market. Firstly, restrictions on persons going to India, imposition of limits on their movements, and exactions through licenses for residing in India and holding land in farms, still remained as impediments to trade and free entry of capital² In the second place, inland customs charged upon transit of goods from place to place, and a variety of local taxes levied upon traders and manufacturers, checked the progress of industry and hindered the free operation of capital. They stood in the way of economic uniformity and a unified money market. By clogging the beneficial operation of commerce and creating barriers between the different trade centres, these duties created a number of patches of economic units, among which flow of capital was much impeded. This state of affairs continued until the thirties and forties of the last century when the inland customs were finally abolished.³

14. Looking to the short-term influence of the free trade, a sudden change can be observed in the very first year. Among

¹ *Vide* C. N. Cooke, *Banking in India* ; B. R. Rau, *Present Day Banking in India*, Calcutta, 1930 ; *Bankers Magazine*, London, *Banking in India*, Dec. 1846, Feb., 1847, and *Banking institutions of British India*, March, April, May, 1847, and also *Banking in India*, June, Aug., 1847.

² Much evidence was recorded on this subject before the Commons and Lords Committees of 1830 to 1832. For a comprehensive history of the laws and regulations on this subject and the actual applications of them, see particularly, *Commons Committee Report*, 1832—I, Public, and the General Appendix V to the same.

³ For a full history of internal duties in Bengal see C. E. Trevelyan, *A Report upon the Inland Customs and Town Duties of the Bengal Presidency* ; Calcutta, 1834.

the new establishments founded in the Calcutta money market an active and vigorous competition ensued. At the same time the wars of the Supreme Government—causing capital to be expended in unproductive channel—combined with the activities of the mercantile community, resulted in an increased demand for money in the market. This is indicated by the rise in the Bank of Bengal rate of interest which advanced from 8 to 12 per cent.—the maximum limit allowed by law—within a year (Nov. 1814).¹ The progressive activity of trade and the high rate of interest in the market induced many individuals “to realise their securities either for the purpose of engaging in commercial adventures themselves or of obtaining a high rate of interest from those who embarked in such adventures.”² Hence the discount on the Company’s six per cent. securities rose from 7 per cent. to nearly 12 or 13 per cent. in the same year (Dec. 1814).³

The importation of bullion into Bengal nearly doubled in the year 1814-15, partly owing to the high rate of interest ruling in the market, but mainly in order to finance the increased brisk trade.⁴ Save for a short set-back in the year 1817-18, throughout the period beginning from the time of the new charter to the year 1818-19, the amount of bullion annually imported increased gradually; in the last-mentioned year the import of bullion attained its maximum for many years before or after. Though much of the treasure imported found employment in trade, yet the rate at which the inflow progressed excelled the requirements of trade. This is evidenced by the slower rate of increase of export of merchandise out of Bengal. Hence from March, 1815, money in the market became easy.

¹ These and the following statements on the Bank of Bengal rates of interest are based on tables compiled from the various Financial Despatches in manuscripts.

² Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 15th Oct., 1814, §17[MS.].

³ These and the following statements on the price of securities are based on tables compiled from the various Financial Despatches in manuscripts.

⁴ *Vide infra.*

The Bank of Bengal rate turned downwards, and up till the middle of 1817 it remained at 7 per cent. As a consequence, public credit recorded a very remarkable rate of recovery. By the beginning of 1817 the securities reached parity. The rapidity of this improvement enabled Lord Hastings to raise public funds for his war finance without serious impediment to the recovery of credit.

But the year 1817-18 showed signs of nervousness. The demand for capital in the market increased temporarily. Various causes contributed to this. There was a greater demand for the export trade which was very high in that year. In the next place, the import of bullion showed a certain fall. At the same time a new loan was opened. Three other local reasons of minor importance were adduced by Mr. Sherer, the Accountant General of Bengal, in explanation of the unusual state, into a description of which we need not enter.¹

Hence, the price of public securities showed a tendency to decline. But this time a fresh operation of the sinking fund, which was again established for this particular purpose, somewhat checked the fall. Though the rate of discount was unsettled throughout the whole of 1817, it did not exceed 4 per cent. In 1818, the discount went up still higher. But in the following year the securities recovered with greater force, for reasons which had effects that lasted for a number of years. To understand those reasons we shall have to go deep into the long period influence of the first few years of free trade.

15. The following table will give a picture of the external commerce of Bengal from the year 1813 :—²

¹ Bengal Financial Consultation, 19th May 1817, No. 8[MS].

² H. H. Wilson, A Review of the External Commerce of Bengal from 1813-14 to 1827-28, Calcutta, 1830.

	Import of treasure in lakhs of sicca rupees.	Export of treasure in lakhs of sicca rupees.	Balance of import over export.	Total import of treasure and merchandise in lakhs of sa. rupees.	Total export of treasure and merchandise in lakhs of sa. rupees.	Balance of total export over total import.
1813-14	55	...	55	2,12	5,39	3,27
1814-15	1,06	2	1,06	2,61	5,61	3,00
1815-16	1,82	...	1,82	3,44	6,66	3,22
1816-17	3,82	2	3,80	5,84	5,99	1,15
1817-18	3,12	3	3,09	6,85	7,81	96
1818-19	4,65	3	4,62	7,62	7,09	53
1819-20	3,90	64	3,26	5,65	6,95	1,30
1820-21	2,21	12	2,16	4,52	6,71	2,19
1821-22	2,69	1,23	85	4,67	7,79	3,12
1822-23	1,62	52	1,10	4,30	8,71	4,41
1823-24	1,27	1,22	5	3,88	8,04	4,16
1824-25	1,18	35	83	4,04	7,75	3,71
1825-26	1,45	1	1,44	3,60	7,63	4,00
1826-27	1,23	11	1,12	3,40	6,80	3,40
1827-28	1,35	44	91	4,15	8,73	4,58

Looking over the course of the external commerce of Bengal between 1813-14 to 1818-19, as exhibited in the above table, some marked features can be observed, the cumulative effects of which influenced the money market in the years following. In these years, excepting 1818-19, the exports of Bengal on account of the Company and private merchants were gradually on the increase, which portended an active export trade. But throughout this period, the imports into Bengal of merchandise and treasure flowed in greater ratio, so much so, that in the year 1818-19, they attained a maximum nearly four times their value in 1813-14. In that year (1818-19), the imports exceeded the exports—"an occurrence quite unprecedented, it is believed, in the history of the Bengal

trade.”¹ Of the imports, bullion prevailed in an unusually high degree, the record of the last year (1818-19) being at its highest watermark; but there was very little export of bullion to counterbalance.

This state of affairs was due more to the zeal of the adventurers than to any other economic force. The imports into Bengal were pushed both beyond the demands of the country and beyond its ability to afford adequate returns. Naturally, the money market felt the effects of accumulation which, from 1819, began to be manifest. The Bank of Bengal rate for loans of money came down from 12 per cent. (Feb. 1, 1819) to 6 per cent. (May 15, 1819). The discount on public securities dropped from over 7 per cent. (Jan. 1819) to a negligible rate (4 as. per cent. on the 1st June, 1819).

16. The history of the Indian money market from this time, when peace was restored by Lord Hastings, till the outbreak of the Burmese War, was unusually favourable. Though the state of the market in India offered little to attract precious metal from outside, and hence the importation of treasure continued to decline, and though the total import and export of Bengal were on the wane, yet the accumulated effects of the previous years combined to make money easy. From these and other associated causes as well as the cessation of all heavy public expenditure by the re-establishment of tranquillity in India, money became exceedingly plentiful in Calcutta.

These circumstances caused rates for money to fall. By the middle of 1820, the rate of interest demanded by the Bank of Bengal on its loans of money was reduced to 4 per cent. With minor and temporary variations the Bank of Bengal rates of interest were, on an average, as follows :

1818-19	11·5 per cent.	1821-22	4·2 per cent.
1819-20	6·2 „	1822-23	5·5 „
1820-21	4·1 „	1823-24	3·9 „

¹ H. H. Wilson, *op. cit.*

For the greater part of 1824, the rate maintained a constant percentage at $3\frac{1}{2}$, and on some occasions it rallied to 3 per cent. These rates prove an unusually easy price of money.

Looking to the rate of advance in public credit, a phenomenal progress is noticeable. In March, 1820, the 6 per cent. papers were at a premium. In the next year they were selling at a favourable margin of $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (April, 1821)—a rate of premium previously unimaginable, in the financial circle. By the end of 1821 the premium attained 20 per cent. and in April 1822, it reached another record by exceeding 22 per cent.

At this time in 1821 and 1822, the terms of the Government securities were further altered. Two kinds of papers, with definite but completely different stipulations, were in the market—the remittable and the non-remittable. The interest and capital of the former were payable, under certain conditions both in England as well as in India; while those of the latter were payable in Bengal only. On account of the high facilities afforded by the former and the favourable terms attached to them, such securities commanded very favourable demand. From 1821 the two kinds of papers showed a tendency to command diverging rates on account of the new change. Gradually the price quotations of the remittable papers ranged very high above the level of the non-remittable papers, excepting on few occasions when one temporarily rallied close to the price level of the other.

Taking advantage of the favourable credit of the public securities, a conversion operation was effected in 1823, when the rates of interest on non-remittable papers were reduced to 5 per cent. The operation gave a temporary shock to their credit, and precipitated a fall of their premium from 14 to about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (February, 1823). They soon recovered from the shock and hardly three or four months passed before they showed their popularity by maintaining a premium of 16 or 17 per cent. (May and June)—which was certainly abnormal. Until the Burmese War broke out (March, 1824), the non-remittable papers progressed steadily on an average premium of 12 per cent. The

history of these papers showed for the first time the success of conversion operation in India without impairing credit to a substantial degree. It also proved the advance and solidarity of public credit in the Indian market, attained after a chequered history of so many years only by the opening of free trade with India.

17. The Burmese War altered the situation in the Indian money market. The low rates of interest prevailing for so many years did not encourage any importation of bullion and was in fact instrumental in causing greater amount of treasure to be withdrawn from India. But more than the external commerce, the market was changed by internal factors occasioned by the war time financial operations. When hostilities with the Burmese commenced, the Supreme Government of Bengal came into the market for public fund—not impelled solely by military financial necessity, but also urged by ordinary financial assistance to provinces subordinate to Bengal, and compelled by an unexpected reduction of revenue due to a failure of rains in Bombay, Delhi, and Central India.¹ Fortunately, the favourable state of the market helped to make the first 4 per cent. loan, opened in September, 1824, yield a very high amount of return. About 76 lakhs of rupees were drawn from the market without producing any distinct effect on it.² When, however, more than a crore and a half of rupees was subscribed, the market steadily moved towards an unfavourable state, and the loan had to be closed in 1825 (May), and was replaced by another loan on higher terms.³ The new 5 per cent. loan was kept open over a long period; between September 1824 and August 1826, Rs. 4,18,35,000 were drawn from the market as cash subscription.⁴

¹ Bengal Financial Consultation, 13th August, 1824; and Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 31st December, 1824, §§ 1-6 [MSS.].

² Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 31st December, 1824, § 14 [MS.].

³ Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 4th August, 1825, § 18 [MS.].

⁴ *Ibid.*

The whole of this amount with further additional subscriptions and a still larger amount received on account of revenue, were all withdrawn from the capital market of Bengal. They were spent far away in the fields—"unproductively without bringing in any return," to express the matter in the words of the Accountant General of Bengal—from which there was little hope of any portion of it returning back.

These economic forces had their necessary, though unpleasant, repercussions on the market. It is no wonder, therefore, that from a great abundance of capital there ensued a sudden and unexpected shortage. Interest in the money market moved quickly upwards. The Bank of Bengal rate of interest appreciated from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (September 1824) to 10 per cent. (March 1826). The charge demanded by the private merchants was considerably higher.¹ The 5 per cent. securities in the market dropped from a premium of 13 or 14 per cent. current towards the close of 1823, to parity by the middle of 1825—a movement which was followed by a further decline below parity.

This sudden transition of affairs tended to impair the foundation of public credit, and "threatened to throw the operations of the mercantile community into most serious embarrassments."² As the capital of these firms was employed in "objects of permanent occupation" and not in a floating form, they were vainly seeking for capital in the market. In an application to the Government dated the 22nd May, 1826, through Messrs John Palmer & Co. as an organ, the shroffs of Calcutta lodged a complaint and solicited Government aid. In another petition to the Government of Bengal to come to their rescue, dated the 24th May, 1826, five English mercantile houses observed; "In fact, the money market has been so drained that

¹ Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 4th August, 1825 [MS.]. In the paragraph 19 of this despatch it has been stated that the interest demanded by the "respectable houses" was 12 per cent. In a petition to the Government the agency houses of Calcutta alleged that in August, 1826, the interest in the bazar rose from 6 and 7 per cent. to 15 to 18, and sometimes even to 24 per cent.

² Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 4th August, 1826 [MS.].

it is no longer possible to raise large sums upon any terms. All commercial operations are paralysed. Goods known to be in demand are unsaleable for want of cash.”¹

On the whole, it appears from what is said above that the state of the market was on the verge of a crisis. In a financial despatch to the Court of Directors the Government of Bengal admitted the fact that the financial operation of the Government, however necessary and unavoidable it might have been, was to a considerable extent responsible for it. It was observed : “..... the large subscriptions to the 5 per cent. loan combined with other circumstances caused a great scarcity of specie in the market and threatened to throw the operations of the mercantile community into the most serious state of embarrassments.”²

18. The history of the Indian money market in the years that followed, between 1826 and 1833, reveals one of the most severe crises through which the commercial and the banking system of the country had ever passed,—the full swing of the one that set forth from some months back. Many houses, both Indian and European, closed business with liabilities ranging over many millions of pounds sterling. Most of the principal firms like those of John Palmer & Co., Alexander & Co., and Mackintosh & Co., came down during 1830-33, when the crisis passed through the most critical phase.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the Government loan operations were the only cause of the calamity. The loans were only one out of many contributing factors. And indeed as the Government admitted a share of the responsibility, the authorities came forward with beneficial financial aid at regular intervals. Various causes were ascribed to the events that led to the crisis. It is not the aim of this paper to give full description

¹ *Ibid*, enclosure.

² *Ibid*. Also see the note by the Acting Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 9th March, 1827, in the Financial Despatch to the Court, 19th April, 1827, [MS.].

of all the features of the crisis, and to criticise the cause or causes from which it developed; nor is it possible to do so in a short compass. They can be briefly summarised, however, as the influence of the season, sudden change from long drought to violent rains and consequent failure of the indigo crop (1826),¹ the reaction of the crisis in England (1825-26) which affected firms connected with London and which lowered the prices of all articles of export, stagnation of business there and locking up of capital sent to England in goods,² the fraudulent business conducted by one of the houses already bankrupt (Messrs. Mercer & Co.),³ speculation, "overtrading, improvident enterprise, extravagant miscalculation, and excessive expense in living."⁴ These were all held to be the immediate cause of the distress. Combination of banking with trade, locking up of banking capital in permanent investments,⁵ inelastic issue of Bank of Bengal notes,⁶ were all pointed out to be the defects inherent in the system of the money market which indirectly aggravated and added to the calamity.

19. The crisis raging in the commercial circle following closely upon the Burmese War, had a favourable repercussion upon Government credit as opposed to the serious depression of mercantile credit.

With the failure of the mercantile firms, demand for capital in the market diminished. At the same time a certain amount of capital was dislodged from investment. The Bank of Bengal rate of interest, therefore, came down from 10 per cent., the height attained in the first quarter of 1826. With temporary fluctuations in its downward trend, in consonance with the

¹ Note by the Acting Secretary, *op. cit.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ The Times, 2nd Oct., 1833.

⁵ This cause was repeatedly admitted by the merchants in their several petitions to the Government recorded in the Financial Consultations and the Financial Despatches of the contemporary years.

⁶ Financial Despatch to the Court of Directors, 11th Jan., 1827 [MS.].

influence of seasonal and local conditions, the rate of interest was very low from the middle of 1827. The average rates of interest between 1826 and 1834 were as under :—

Years.	Average percentage.	Ranges of variation.
1826-27	7·4	10 to 7
1827-28	5·6	8 to 5
1828-29	6·0	7 to 5
1829-30	6·0	7 to 5
1830-31	5·6	6 to 5
1831-32	4·5	5 to 4
1832-33	5·0	5 only
1833-34	4·9	5 to 4

With these rates for money in the Bank of Bengal, the state of demand for Government securities was also favourable. As a necessary consequence of depression of mercantile confidence, capitalists increased their demands for safer investments; and they found the Government papers more secure. In his note of the 9th March 1827,¹ Mr. Princep, as acting Secretary to the Government of Bengal, observed that even at that state of panic the credit of the Government alone had not suffered.

True though it was that the Government credit did not suffer to any extent, yet it is to be admitted that Government papers did not command that extraordinary premium prevalent during the first few years of the decade. The downward movement of the 5 per cent. papers away from parity, observed at the close of 1825, was checked. From the beginning of 1826 to the middle of 1828, the paper fluctuated slightly over and below par, and premium, however small it might have been, was the rule rather than discount. From the closing months of 1828 till

after the lapse of the first half of 1830, the five per cent. securities preserved a remarkably steady price, though they carried a discount of a few annas. From the close of 1830 the 5 per cent. papers attained parity. Henceforward, their market quotations were very firm; they were always carrying premiums of 3, 4 or 5 per cent. At these times some 4 per cent. loans were experimented upon; one remaining open between July 1828 and April 1831, and the other between June 1831 and October 1835. The former was not looked upon with favour, while the latter preserved a firm tone, the discount being always of a few annas only.

20. Taking a comprehensive view of the gradual development of the Calcutta money market, we find that it owed its birth solely to the English. Its development was concomitant with the increasing importance of Calcutta as the centre of administrative capital of the British in India. Its progress was parallel to the spread and consolidation of the British supremacy over increasingly wider range.

The influence of the English administration on the growth of the Calcutta money market, was not merely a passive one. It was, on the other hand, one well designed. The rulers sucked the market, nursed it, and protected it from all attacks. Their creation of several central banks, their patronage of all credit institutions, their currency and other financial policies, their reforms in the technique of borrowing, were all destined to play important parts in fostering the growth of the market. The motive force behind was to create a capital market to feed the needy finance of the Government. But while in the infancy of the market, its growth into full size was stunted by the British commercial policy in the East, an overhaul of this policy infused vigour into its young life—to serve the end of the rulers with greater force.

The history of the Calcutta money market since the commencement of the 19th century showed a remarkable growth of public credit. There were no extreme movements of its course

such as were witnessed by the late 18th century—movements which often destroyed the confidence of the investors at a time when confidence was in its early formative stages, very sensitive and vulnerable. As a contrast to such a course of credit current in the previous century, the ups and downs of credit in the new century were slow and gradual. While pessimism was the general state of investment psychology in the former period, there were many signs of optimism in the latter. And during the critical days since the Burmese War, when the market was in its acid test, Government credit proved its conspicuous solidarity.

The annals of the rates of interest at which the public funds attracted capital also tell a similar tale. The rates of money came down from its margin of statutory limit (12 per cent.) to the level of 3 or 4 per cent.—rates which were on a par with those prevalent in any other markets of the world.

To conclude, the Calcutta money market had passed the first phase of its life, its childhood, and was stepping into its manhood, full of life and vigour. An unprecedented economic chasm separated its new life from the previous. The experience thus acquired imparted valuable assistance in its reorganisation hereafter.

P. DATTA

KARMA

That night when first I met you...

Karma, remember the thrill ?

When I swore that I'd never forget you

'Neath the tree on that silent hill ;

The air was all heavy with gold from the moon,

The breeze bore the fragments of some happy tune,

O Karma, the thrill of that night...do you miss

The touch of my hands—the warmth of my kiss?

The days are, oh ! so dreary

Now that we are apart,

Nothing is there to cheer me

But the sound of your voice in my heart ;

Ah ! when I meet you Dear, after a while

There'll not be a tear in your eye—but a smile !

Only the press of my lips in your hair,

But just for that only—what would I dare ?

That night when first I met you...

Karma, my heart is in pain,

At no time do I forget you

Longing to see you again !

But at last when we meet again ! never to part,

The joy of that hour will erase years' smart,

I will be thankful, and still keep in view

The night when Love guided my footsteps to you !

LELAND J. BERRY

NEW COTTON GOODS TARIFF

Indian cotton mill industry has received further protection in order to save it from Japanese competition which became a serious menace because of the depreciation of Japanese yen. This fresh protection is given as a result of the recommendations of the Tariff Board to which the question of investigation into the grant of additional protection was referred by the Government in response to an application received by them from the Indian cotton textile industry.

The terms of reference of the Tariff Board were :

‘To report whether cotton piece goods, not of British manufacture, are being imported into British India at such a price as is likely to render ineffective the protection intended to be afforded by the duty imposed on such articles under Part VII of the second Schedule of the Indian Tariff Act of 1894, by the Cotton Textile Industry Protection Act of 1930 to similar articles manufactured in India and if so, to consider—

(a) to what extent the duty on cotton piece goods, not of British manufacture, should be increased and whether in respect of all cotton piece goods not of British manufacture or in respect of cotton piece goods, plain grey only, or of cotton piece goods others only ;

(b) whether the duty should be increased generally or in respect of such articles when imported from or manufactured in any country or countries specified, and

(c) for what period any additional protection found to be required should be given, and to make recommendations.’

Effect of Exchange Depreciation.

The Report of the Tariff Board maintains that improved methods of manufacture and reduction in costs are somewhat

responsible for the fall in prices. This question required detailed enquiry and, therefore, it was considered expedient, having in view the terms of reference, to restrict the enquiry to fall in prices caused by exchange depreciation and its effect upon Indian piece goods. The Report after dealing with Japanese currency has pointed out that its depreciation is caused by world-wide economic depreciation. Its effects on Japanese industries both at home and abroad and the suspension of gold standard by Britain are also discussed.

The Board has found that the only country, of those which send cotton piece goods to India, whose currency has depreciated in relation to Indian currency, is Japan and after tracing the course of the rupee-yen exchange and of the prices of imported goods into India from Japan, it has come to the conclusion that the main cause of the fall in prices of these goods has been the depreciation of the yen in relation to the rupee. This is proved, as the Board says, by two facts. Firstly, since June last, there has been a distinct upward movement in the price of cotton owing to large purchases of raw cotton by Japan. Secondly, the extent to which the precipitate fall in the value of the yen has assisted the imports of cotton piece-goods into India is proved by the large increase in the volume of such imports from Japan which took place in June last. These imports represented contracts made since February last when the fall in the value of the yen below the parity began. The Board obtained figures from the Calcutta Customs House and from the leading importers at Calcutta which indicated a further considerable drop in the quotations of forward prices for Japanese cotton piece goods.

The Board came to the conclusion that the position of the Bombay mill industry in 1931 appeared to show a marked improvement over the previous year, although the earnings were still insufficient to cover the depreciation. If, therefore,

the fall in import prices caused by the exchange depreciation was allowed to continue, there was likely to be a serious setback from such improvement as was shown by the figures of 1931. According to the report an indication of this was supplied by the fact that the number of spindles idle in Bombay at the end of June showed an increase of 15% as compared with February last and that while the number of spindles working double shift was 17% and looms 20% of the total in February, the corresponding figures for June were 7·8% and 8·6% respectively.

Serious Injury.

In arriving at its conclusions the Board gave careful consideration to the various representations made on behalf of the Japanese cotton dealers and producers and made it clear that 'though the effect of a depreciated exchange upon the prices of exported goods is always of a temporary nature it is capable, while it lasts, of inflicting serious injury on a manufacturing industry in the importing country.'

The Report explains that to establish a case justifying the use of the powers conferred on the Governor-General in Council by Section 3 (5) of the Tariff Act, it is not necessary to show that goods are being imported at prices lower than the cost of production or than the internal sale prices in the exporting country, but only that the current prices of imported goods are lower than those on which the scheme of protection for the local protected industry had been based.

The Board took into consideration the fact that the object of the Cotton Industry (Protection) Act of 1930 was not to give substantive protection to the industry, but only to preserve it until the question of substantive protection had been considered and decided. This question is now being investigated by the Tariff Board.

Board's Recommendation.

Alteration of the Tariff is not regarded by the Board as the best means of helping the industry. The Report observes, 'We desire to point out that alterations of rates of customs duties does not appear to us to be the most suitable form in which assistance may be given to an industry against the temporary and variable handicap involved in the depreciation of exchange. The general dislocation of the market entailed by a change in the rate of duty should, we think, be avoided unless it is clear that no other remedy is possible. Its consequences will be disproportionate to the duration of the evil and it is too inelastic to be adopted to the frequent variations to which the exchange rates are liable in the present case....., it appears to be particularly desirable that the additional assistance required should be provided, if possible, by other means than an alteration of Tariff rates.'

In response to the above view, the Board had suggested that the Tariff values of piecegoods imported from Japan should, for customs purposes, be estimated from time to time at the current landed cost multiplied by certain figures. They provided only for two rates of variations since frequent variations are always undesirable. They further said that when once a particular figure was adopted, it should not be altered at least for a period of three months and no new figure should be adopted until the corresponding rate of exchange had been in force for at least four weeks. The rate of exchange was to be the bank's selling rate.

Failing the acceptance of this scheme the Board proposed that the necessary additional assistance should be provided by raising the *ad valorem* duty on cotton piecegoods from 20% to 50% and that the increased rate of duty should be in force till March 31, 1933. In making this recommendation the Board stated that the need for additional protection arose owing to the depreciation of the Yen. If, therefore, the Indo-

Japanese Commercial Convention of 1904 was held to be a bar to any increase in duty on Japanese goods alone, the Board recommended that the proposed increase should apply to all cotton piecegoods, not of British manufacture.

The Board considered that this proposal was not likely to involve any very serious addition to the burden of consumers because the quantity of goods imported from countries other than the United Kingdom or Japan never reached 5% of the total imports during the last three years.

It should be noted that the Board made no recommendation in regard to the minimum specific duty on plain grey cotton piecegoods in the belief that Sec. 3 (5) of the Tariff Act conferred no power upon the Government to alter that duty because it was not higher upon articles, not of British manufacture than upon articles of British manufacture.

Government's Decision.

The Government have decided to impose the higher duty on all imported cotton piecegoods not of British manufacture in view of the fact that the Indo-Japanese Commercial Convention of 1904 does not admit of the imposition in any circumstances of a higher duty upon Japanese goods alone.

Minimum specific duty on plain grey cotton piecegoods has also been raised. According to the Government view, they have power to alter this element equally with the *ad valorem* rate in the duty with which the plain grey cotton piecegoods are chargeable for the two elements in the duty are not separable and the rate of duty as a whole applicable to all articles, not of British manufacture, is higher than the rate applicable to similar articles of British manufacture.

In view of the findings of the Board and in view of the fact that the plain grey class of piecegoods is of great importance to the Indian cotton textile industry, the Government rightly considered that any measure of protection which

excluded from its scope this class of goods would fail in its object. Therefore, they decided to increase the duty on plain grey goods also not of British manufacture to $5\frac{1}{4}$ annas per pound or 50% whichever is higher from $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas per pound or 20% *ad valorem* which was the rate of duty prior to the coming into force of the new duty. On other goods not of British manufacture the duty is raised from 20% *ad valorem* to 50% *ad valorem*. The additional duty has been exempted from surcharge.

Government's Prompt Action.

The Government took as prompt an action as could be possible under the circumstances to save the cotton textile industry from Japanese competition. The powers of the Government were strictly circumscribed and action could be taken in the case of only a few articles. This state of affairs should be soon rectified in the light of the lengthy statement which has been submitted by the Bombay Mill Owners' Association to the Government providing for legislation on the lines of the safeguarding Acts in various countries. If the Government had withheld the relief recommended by the Tariff Board they would have proved themselves incapable of protecting national interests. The increase in the *ad valorem* and specific duty affords a fair measure of protection to the industry.

Views of Indian Business Community.

The cotton interests in India, however, think that the measure of protection accorded is inadequate. They are generally of the opinion that the best course for the Government of India would have been to increase the duty on foreign piece goods by assessing the customs duty on the value of all piece goods imported at the rate of exchange current between the exporting country and India in September, 1931, soon

after England went off the gold standard. According to them it would have effectively counteracted all advantages that the foreign producer has on account of the depreciated and manipulated exchange of his country and thus 'effectively protected the Indian industry against any peaceful penetration of foreign goods here.' The Delhi Peace Goods Association are of the opinion that the present decision of the Government of India can neither afford protection to the Indian textile industry nor to the piece goods trade of the country. This is a sweeping and scathing statement. It cannot be conceived that the decision of the Government will not help the cotton industry in any way. The fact of the matter is that it will help the industry a good deal. It has to be admitted that Japan has other advantages besides the advantage of a depreciating exchange. Depreciating foreign exchanges can never do good permanently to the industries of any country and the injury to the importing country also is only temporary. Japan has got superior arrangements for purchasing raw materials and for selling her goods. She has also got more efficient labour power and these advantages cannot be called unfair advantages. Indian cotton industry, it must be admitted, has defects of organization. Rationalization has not progressed to the extent that it should and the control of the managing agents imposes a great handicap upon the industry in India and the high commission charges of the managing agents even when there have been no gross profits are additional causes of the depression in the industry specially in the Bombay Presidency. These disadvantages in organization or defects in management have been clearly brought out in the lengthy statement of the Bombay Shareholders submitted by them before the Tariff Board while supporting the case of the industry for protection. Till the Indian mill-owners put their own house in order, no scheme of protection, however high it may be, or other artificial props, will be of any permanent avail. Protection always creates vested interests which are

seldom satisfied and a cry is made for further protection. It is also the duty of the state to see to the interests of the consumers. The dissatisfaction of mill-owners, therefore, only proves the necessity of some check to higher and higher demand for protection. It has also to be remembered that the present measure is only a temporary one and the Tariff Board is investigating already into the question of substantive protection.

Preference to British Goods.

It is, however, just possible that the scheme might give a very great advantage to Great Britain in the Indian market and the Indian cotton mill industry may be jeopardised by British Competition. It is true that Britain sends finer cotton goods to India, while Japan and other countries send coarser goods wherein India finds direct competition. But India is beginning experiments in the production of finer goods where the competition remains as before. Just possible, the rise in the price of coarser goods may stimulate the demand for finer goods in which case the advantage will largely accrue to Britain for the scheme involves Imperial Preference to a large extent in favour of Britain. Further, it is possible that the rise in the price of imported non-British goods as a result of fresh protection may pass on the advantage to British manufacturers to a large extent. If this happens—and this will depend upon the extent of preference—the Indian consumer will suffer the burden of protection and preference without the ultimate advantage of lower prices which can be brought about by the development of the home industry. If this is the fear of Indian cotton interests, probably it is not unjustifiable; but as far as the measure of protection against Japanese goods is concerned, it is not insignificant although it may not be high enough to secure fat profits for mill-owners. Given improvements in organization, the measure should secure adequate protection against Japanese goods. If the

protection newly accorded against Japanese goods coupled with the overwhelming sentiment of Indians for purchasing Indian goods does not prove an adequate help to the industry, then there is something inherently wrong with the organization of the industry.

Of course, the grant of additional protection against the countries which are on a gold basis is unjustifiable because with a fall in imports from them, our exports also to them will fall *pro tanto* and this is bound to affect India's trade adversely. Though the imports from them do not exceed 5% of the total imports of cotton goods into India, it will be wrong to determine the extent of loss to India merely by the amount of imports. A fall in imports will mean a fall in exports also because imports are paid for by exports and the loss of trade will be very considerably more than appears at first sight. Indians can naturally read into this action of the Government the latter's keenness for safeguarding the Indian market for British cotton goods.

KRISHNAKUMAR SARMA

QUESTION

Oh guide, guide, oh friend
To this my journey's end,
 I doubt, I doubt, what path is right.
I think I see my home
But blinds my eye doubt-foam
 I float in air a stringless kite.

ANSWER

Oh look, oh look within
Be deaf to outward din
 Of crafty men who claim sage-might
There's thy home of joy
That nothing can ever alloy
 And ever dwell in peace, truth-bright.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE SERVICES OF THE MUSLIMS TO THE SANSKRIT LITERATURE

"Gottes ist der Orient !
Gottes ist der Occident !
Nord und Südliches Gelände,
Ruht in Friededen seiner Hände."

To the Muslims, knowledge had been like a lost property. They tried to take possession of it wherever they found it. To them it was a manifestation of God whom they should serve even at the expense of their lives. Orient and Occident, Greece and India, made no difference to them in this respect. Just as Greek learning had been patronised, preserved and re-introduced by them to modern Europe, so was the Sanskrit literature translated by them into Arabic and Persian languages and was introduced by them to the early European Orientalists.

But the Muslims, at first, had to face various almost unsurmountable difficulties in acquiring the Indian Sciences. Abú Ma'shar, a Muslim savant (d. 885) writing about a century after they had begun their study of them, has explained some of these difficulties in a passage which has been quoted by Ibnul-Qifti. He says, "The kings of India were known as philosopher kings because of their great interest in the science." "The Indians," he adds, "were considered, by all the nations of the world, as custodians of knowledge and as the very source of justice and righteousness. But India being far away from us, very few of the works of the Indians reached us. We therefore received little of their sciences and learnt of few of their savants."¹

The first Arabic translation of a Sanskrit book, the Fables of Bidpai, was therefore rendered on the basis of its Pahlawi

¹ Tarikhu'l-Hukamá, pp. 265-266.

version, about the middle of the 8th century.¹ Soon after it was established cultural contact between India and Baghdad, the centre of Islamic learning. The second Abbaside Caliph, al-Manşūr received embassies from India. Among them there were some Indian Pandits. Some of them presented to al-Manşūr some important Indian astronomical works (the Brahma Siddhanta, and the Khandakhadyaka) and helped the Muslims in translating them into Arabic language.² During the reign of al-Rashīd and al-Mámún, many Indian scholars went to Baghdad where they attained high position and also translated many Sanskrit works of which a fairly long list might be made from the Fihrist,³ the Táríkhul-Hukamá,⁴ and the Tabaqát-l-Aʿtibbá.⁵ During the period, it is said, Muslim students visited India where they studied Astronomy and Medicine. Of such students, Abul Manşūr al-Muwaffaq was the last to visit India before al-Bírúní.⁶

But the cultural contact which was thus established between India and Baghdad could not result in any lasting influence of the culture of the one on that of the other. The Indian scholars living at Baghdad were very few. The Muslim students who might have visited India during this period, were fewer still. Even these few scholars and students failed to master each other's language. This is why most of the translations of the Sanskrit works into Arabic, during this period, were rendered through the medium of Persian language, and not directly from Sanskrit, as the case was with the Greco-Arabic translations of the same period. And even such translations of the Sanskrit works did not embrace all the branches of the vast Sanskrit literature. They were limited to the works on Medicine, Mathematics, Music and stories and fables. The philosophical works of the Indians were left almost untouched. These translations also could not have been so faithful and accurate as the Greco-Arabic translations

¹ Al-Fihrist, p. 118.

² Tarikhul-Hukama, p. 270; Indika, Vol. I. Intr. p. xxxi; *ibid*, Chap. 1.

³ Pp. 270-271; 305, etc.

⁴ Pp. 266-267.

⁵ Vol. II., pp. 32-34.

⁶ Indika, Intr. pp. xxxi-ii.

were. This is apparent from the criticisms of these works by al-Biruni.

All these obstacles in the path of the progress of Indo-Islamic literature, were swept away by the repeated invasion of India by Sultan Mahmud, and by the establishment of an independent Muslim power in this country. In the horrors of these wars were hidden the elements of the Indo-Islamic literature and culture which combined the vivacity and intense activity created by Islam and the lofty vivid imagination and intense deep thought which is natural to the Indian.

The invasions of Mahmud marked a new era in the history of Indo-Islamic literature. With these invasions is associated the name of the greatest Muslim scholar in this field, *i.e.*, Abu-Rayhan Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Biruni. Coming with Mahmud to India, he spent a good deal of his life in this country where, after meeting with many difficulties, he made friends with numerous Indian scholars, studied with them their language and literature, observed minutely their customs, manners and religious observances, discussed with them their beliefs and principles, and being thus well-equipped, he wrote his epoch-making book, the Kitābul-Hind, the first comprehensive critical authoritative book dealing with the various aspects of the Indian life and literature. Over and above the Kitābul-Hind, he wrote many books and treatises on subjects connected with the Indian sciences and literature and translated many books from Sanskrit into Arabic or Persian. Not less than twenty such works are mentioned in his own list of his works, which has been published by Prof. Sachau as a part of the introduction to Al-Atharul-Baqiya. Even this list does not seem to be quite complete. Ḥājī Khalīfa has attributed to him many books which are not included in it. This may be a mistake of Ḥājī Khalīfa himself. But the recently discovered manuscript of the translation of Bacchiya Nand's book, by al-Biruni is a sure proof of the fact that either al-Bīrūnī's list of his works is incomplete or that he wrote some books after he had prepared the above-mentioned list. The credit of the discovery

of the above manuscript, is due to Maulavi Abu Muzaffar of the Mahaviddialay of Allahabad.

Al-Biruni, by his critical study and indefatigable industry, advanced a great deal the high and noble task which was begun by b. Muquffa' and Muḥammad b. Ibráhim al-Fazárí. But no single individual could make the vast and varied literature of India available for the Muslim world. In order to do this, long continuous laborious work was indispensable and also state-patronage was necessary. This was supplied by the establishment of a Muslim power in India.

Certain essential features of the Muslim kingdom in India, influenced a great deal the growth of Indo-Islamic literature and culture. The Muslim power was established in India at a time when the Arabs had lost their supremacy in the Islamic world, when the Muslims had lost a good deal of their original true Islamic spirit, and worldly gain guided their actions more often than the Truth which had been their only guide during the early Islamic era. The influence of Islamic and Indian literature and culture on each other, therefore, could not be so thorough and deep as it had been in the case of Persia and other countries; the growth of Indo-Islamic literature had not been so rapid as the growth of Greco-Islamic literature, and Persian took the place of the Arabic language for translation of the Sanskrit works.

Most of the Muslim rulers of India, however, had been patrons of learning. Ghayasul-Din and Nasirul-Din Balban had great regard for the learned men. Firoz Shah, on conquering Nagarkot, took possession of the thirteen hundred Sanskrit books which were preserved in the library of its temple and with the help of the local Pandits got some of them translated into Persian. Some of these very translations were used by the poet Izzul-Din Khalid in his long poem known as *Dalail-i-Firuz-Shahi*, in which were described the physical sciences of the Indians.¹ The kings of the Lodi dynasty did

¹ *Maathiru'l-Umara*, Vol. 2, p. 190.

not take much interest in the Sanskrit literature. Still, it was their reign that paved the way for the highest development of Indo-Islamic literature and culture which was attained during the reign of Akbar and his successors. It was during the reign of the Lodi kings that the teachings of Kabir Das and Guru Nanak and the poems of Khusraw and of Malik Muhammad of Jais remarkably manifested the influence of Islam and of Hinduism on each other.

Of the Moghal kings, the first two, had been too busy with wars, conquests, and re-conquests, to turn their attention to any serious literary task. The third of them made amends for the negligence of his predecessors. This was Akbar. He played the same part in the development of Indo-Islamic literature in India as al-Rashid and al-Mamun had played in the development of Greco-Islamic literature in Baghdad. His love for Hindu literature knew no bounds. His interest in the Hindu system of thought was profound, his appreciation for the Hindu art was extremely liberal. In one day, he bestowed a reward of two hundred thousand rupees on Tansen the musician.¹ He made the Pandits sit near him and tell him their legendary tales. He granted special private interviews to the Yogis and discussed with them the transcendental realities;² at times he also called on them.

Apart from his great personal interest, Akbar had realised that for a contented peaceful rule in India it was necessary to create an undying spirit of toleration between the Hindus and the Muslims, which, he thought, could not be done without their study of the literature of each other. Abul-Faql, in his introduction to the translation of the Mahabharata, has expressed this idea of Akbar. He says :—

n. “ Having known that the hatred between the Hindus and the Muhammadans was excessive and that their abuse and revile of each other had gone up to the very limit, and being

¹ Maasthiru'l-Umara, Vol. 2; Muntakhabu'l-Tawarikh, Vol. 2.

² Muntakhabu'l-Tawarikh, Vol. 2, pp. 257, 324-25.

convinced that it was mainly due to their mutual ignorance of each other's literature, this far-sighted monarch decided that some of the authoritative works of each of the two communities should be translated into the language of the other so that each of the two communities instead of hating and reviling the other might try to learn the truth and might know the beauties as well as the blemishes of the other and each of them might try to better their own affairs.¹

Akbar being led by his personal inclination as well as political consideration, made up his mind to make the important Sanskrit works available for the Muslims, created a translation department, which was housed in the Diwankhana at Fatahpuri, and chose the Mahabharata as the first Indian work to be translated into Persian.² He appointed several Pandits as interpreters of the great epic, and Naqib Khan as its translator, and the work proceeded for three days. Then al-Badayuni the historian was ordered to join Naqib Khan as translator. One-eighth of the gigantic work was translated into Persian in four months' time. Then it was divided into two parts: one part was to be translated by Naqib Khan in conjunction with Haji Muhammad Sultan and the other by Mulla Sheri. Mulla Faydi was appointed as supervisor of the whole work. When one-third of the huge work was finished Haji Muhammad Sultan was ordered to do the work, and to revise the whole of the translation. Thus was finished the Persian translation of the great epic of the Hindus and it was named Razm Nameh. It was then copied, illustrated and published.³

So great was the interest of Akbar in this work that he personally took part in the explanation of the text to the translators, and at the end, he ordered each of his courtiers to make a copy of at least a part of it.⁴

¹ Buhar Library Manuscript, f. 6-b.

² Muntakhabu'l-Tawarikh, Vol. 2, pp. 319-21, 344.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

Thus, under the supreme guidance of the genius of the great emperor and the strict supervision of the great scholars of his court, with the help of the learned Pandits of the time, were translated from Sanskrit into Persian, by competent scholars like Abul-Fadl, Faydi, Naquib Khan, Haji Muhammad Sultan, Mulla Ibrahim, and Mulla Abdul-puadir Badayuni: the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the Bhagwatgita, the Atharvaveda, the Yogavashishta, the Maheshmahananda, the Harivamsa, the story of the Animals and many other works of the Hindus.

After the reign of Akbar, the mastery of the Persian language by the Hindus made the task of translation comparatively easy. The double process of interpretation and translation was no more needed. The Hindus who combined a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit with that of Persian language revised the old translations and also made new ones. Girdhar Das translated the Ramayana, afresh, in 1626 A.D.¹ Debi Das Kaith also claims to have translated it, independently, about the end of the 16th century;² a Hindu friend of Dara Shikoh made a fresh translation of the Jogavashishta.

No Persian version of the Vedas, however, was generally available before the middle of the 17th century. The Persian translation of the Atharvaveda, rendered under Akbar, was so bad that it was entirely forgotten just after it was completed. It was the Sufi prince Dara Shikoh, who had initiated the Persian translation of many Sanskrit works, that took up this great task also. He collected the Pandits of Benares and with their help translated the Vedas into Persian and completed the work in 1657. The translation of the Sanskrit books into Persian was however continued till the 19th century.

¹ Rens., Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. I, p. 54.

² *Ibid*, p. 56.

Ahlwardt's Catalogue of Staat-Bibliothek, Berlin.

Simultaneously with translation of the Sanskrit works into Persian, the process of assimilation of the Hindu ideas in Islamic literature also continued. The Naldaman of Fayḍi, the story of Ram and Sita by Masih Beg, the Miratul-Makhluqat of Abul-Rahman Chishti, the Tuhfatul-Hind of Mirza Fakhrul Din are only a few of the works of this type.

Of these books the Tuhfatul-Hind was written during the reign of Alamgir, for the use of his grandson, prince Jahandar Shah, at the instance of his tutor Kukaltash Khan. It deals exclusively with Hindu culture. It is divided into seven parts :—

- | | | |
|----|----------|------------------------------|
| a. | Preface, | on the Hindu script. |
| b. | Chap. 1 | „ Prosody. |
| c. | Chap. 2 | „ Rhyme. |
| d. | Chap. 3 | „ Figures of Speech. |
| e. | Chap. 4 | „ Theory of Love. |
| f. | Chap. 5 | „ Hindu System of Music. |
| g. | Chap. 6 | „ Theory of Sexual Pleasure. |
| h. | Chap. 7 | „ Theory of Physiognomy. |

The above description of the composition of the Tuhfatul-Hind and of its contents throws tremendous light on the attitude of the Muslim rulers of this country towards its culture. Alamgir who is said to have been the most intolerant Muslim ruler of India at least tolerated that his young grandson might learn some of the Indian Sciences, and for this purpose was composed a book at the request of the tutor of the young prince.

It is this general interest of the Muslim royalties of India since the time of Akbar that can best explain the profound sympathy, admiration and love of Dara Shikoh for the culture of India in general and for Indian philosophy and mysticism in particular. The part taken by him in connection with the translation of the Upanishads into Persian which is known as Sirr-i-Akbar and the revision of many translations which were translated from Sanskrit into Persian before him and the composition of the Majmaul-Bahrayn which has been edited by an able and

clever scholar, Mr. Mahfuzal-Haq, and in which the author has tried to reconcile the main teachings of Islam with those of the original pure Hinduism, all show the great love of Dara for the culture and learning of India and the tendency of the Muslim rulers of India towards the Hindu thought. Of course there were some Muslim scholars in the courts of some of the Muslim rulers of this country, who had a dislike for its culture. Abdul-Qadir, the author of the *Muntakhabul-Tawarikh* in which he indulges in objectionable remarks against the Hindus and their literature, is an outstanding example of this class of the narrow-minded Maulavies. But certainly among the Muslim divines also there were some that were not only sympathetic towards the general culture of this country, but were also free from prejudice against the religious practices of the Hindus and faced the wrath of the rulers in defending them. It is said that Sikandar, the son of Bahlol of the Lodi Dynasty, hearing of the religious respect which the Hindus had for a tank at Thanesar, inquired from the Muslim divines the injunction of Islam about it. "It is not permissible to demolish an old temple. It is not incumbent upon you to forbid bathing in the tank, which is in practice since old days," was the reply. The prince putting his fingers on the dagger, turned towards the Maulavi and said, "You are taking side with the unbelievers." "I am telling you the injunction of the Koran; I have no fear in speaking the truth," replied the fearless Maulavi, and the prince was satisfied.¹

These Arabic and Persian translations of the Sanskrit works in addition to being a source of information for the Muslims with regard to Indian Sciences, created a taste for them among the early modern European orientalists. Their knowledge of appreciation of the beauties of the Sanskrit literature began with the study of these translations or with their rendering in a European language. The early translation of the *Kalila* and

¹ *Maathir-i-Rahimi*, Part I, p. 475.

Dimna into Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, Slavonic, Turkish, German, English, Danish, Dutch and French languages, were based on its Arabic rendering by Ibnul-Marquffa. Of its original Sanskrit no notice had been taken by the European scholars before the end of the 18th century. As a matter of fact almost all the Indian fables and tales which found place in the European literature before the last century had passed through their Arabic or Persian translations as suggested by Prof. Horowitz in his masterly article on the Influence of the Arabic Literature on the European Belles Lettres, published in one of the early issues of the *Islamic Culture*.¹

The first appreciation of Indian philosophy by a great European philosopher, also, was based on the study of the Latin rendering of one of these translations of the Sanskrit works. Schopenhauer who remarked that "In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads" had studied neither their Sanskrit original nor their translation based on their original text, but the Latin rendering, by Auquetil Du Perron, of the Persian translation of the Upanishads, with which is associated the name of Dara Shikoh, the brother of Alamgir. The knowledge of Indian Sciences which had reached Europe about the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great, had been buried in oblivion and forgotten. It would be difficult to find any reference to it in the medieval European literature.

The Arabic literature, as is well known, played a very important part in the renaissance of Greek learning in Europe. In reviving the critical study of the vast and varied Sanskrit literature in Europe also, the Arabic and Persian literature did not play a less important rôle. In fact the Muslims, through their Arabic and Persian literature, had introduced to Europe the wisdom of the world so far as it had been available to themselves.

¹ Brownes Lit. His. Pers., Vol. 2, p. 350.

In doing this they had done only their duty by following the precept of their Master, the Prophet of Islam, who had declared that a Muslim profiteth by three things : by an honest pious son who might pray for him, by knowledge'spread by him, and by making gifts the benefit of which might last long.

M. Z. SIDDIQI

PALMIERI'S SONG

(From the Operettā "Gloria Romano")

Whilst there is good wine for the drinking,
 Whilst there is a laugh for a quip
 Whilst there is a song worth the singing
 Or some happy measure to skip,
 You should never court worry or sorrow,
 You should never know anguish or care,
 Drink deep of life's joy every morrow,
 Only then can your life grow more fair !

Whilst there is a lass worth the wooing
 Who'll give you a smile for reward,
 Whilst there is a deed worth the doing
 And honour to uphold with the sword ;
 Good fellows and friends will be toasting,
 Pledging each cup to their love,
 Caring for naught what may befall their wild
boasting
 Long life to sword-cup and glove !

LELAND J. BERRY

THE RELIGION OF MAN

The ' Kamala Lectures ' of the current year is expected to be a remarkable event in the history of the Calcutta University. The greatest poet-philosopher of the world has accepted the Chair, and has chosen, with the approval of the Senate, the subject which constitutes the essence of life. The *aplas* of ancient India who built up the Sanatan dharma were poet-philosophers. Time works slowly and steadily, and what was at one time considered to be the everlasting religion of mankind has lost its cash value, and Humanity is anxiously waiting for a new religion.

Religion binds men together. It teaches men that they live in a universe, and not in a multiverse, that they have come from the same source and that they will be absorbed in the same sea, while the sea and the source are one and the same. Common experience shows that the Ganges rises in the Himalayas and falls into the Bay of Bengal. But science teaches us that the mountain is only a temporary resting place for the water which rises from the sea in the form of vapour and afterwards runs back in the form of a stream into the sea itself. Glaciers are places of short-term imprisonment for the running waters of the world. This world is like a jail where men live in thralldom for a while. They are free spirits with a glorious past and a better future. ' The Religion of Man ' teaches us that all men form one personality actually and not merely potentially.

2

All the existing religions of the world have an ancient origin. Buddhism is more than 2,500 years old. Christianity counts a little less than 2,000 years. Islam, the latest, has

experienced 1,500 years of life. I do not venture to give the age of Hinduism for good reason. It has perhaps no beginning and no end, no definite continuity of consciousness. It is all-inclusive and therefore amorphous and changeful, weak in action, dazzling in thought and imagination, and ingenious in speech and expression, enlightening to the half-enlightened, and idiotizing to the defective. Its gates are open to the highest philosophy of Humanism and to the lowest animistic intellect of primitive life.

3

The truth is that all existing religions are old and effete, while human life is progressive. Its progress during the last four hundred years has been immense. Its progress during the last one hundred and fifty years has been amazing in several directions. It is wonderful to contemplate that until the fifteenth century, though he had lived for millions of years man did not know that the earth was a round body hanging in the sky and systematically moving round the sun, that only half the world was known, and most of that half but indistinctly known. When the whole earth was discovered, it was divided into the Old World and the New World as if there were two worlds and not one. The human beings who lived in the New World were but half recognized as men, and eventually treated as beasts for the most part.

The New World now dominates the Old. The most wonderful phenomenon in the history of the world is the rapidity with which the New World has eclipsed the glories of the Old, and now stands foremost in civilization, in wealth, power and enjoyment. The Old World is now literally indebted to the New. She lives by her pleasure, and distressfully feels an oppressive inferiority complex.

4

The secrets of nature have been laid bare by science, and the old gods to whom sacrifices were made by man for the growth and promotion of life have been sent into a catacomb. Thus ignorance and darkness at the heights as well as at the bottom have been largely extinguished. We no longer feel any sympathy for the Red Indians and the dark gods, the former of whom ruled in the New World and the latter in the Old. We have replaced the former by civilized men, but have not so far, at least in a systematic form, replaced the dark gods by new ones of an acceptable colour. We have illuminated the foreground of the world, but the background remains as dark as ever.

5

It is strange that while civilization has advanced furiously fast towards perfection, religion remains in its primitive condition. We love the present, but we revere the past. The light of the present dazes most of us and they seek the safety of the penumbra. There are still men who do not blush to call themselves Buddhists, Christians, Mussalmans, or Hindus, though the religions professed by them originated and spread long before modern civilization came into existence. There are men who consider it a glory to fumble for the secrets of life by lamp-light while the world, all round, shines bright with electric light. Is religion alone to remain fixed for ever in an absolute monarchy while the freedom of democracy asserts itself in all other departments of life?

Modern civilization though glorious has proved defective in that aspect of life which lies at the centre of it. The body looks healthy, but the liver is diseased. The integrative character of civilization has developed wonderfully in the

physical and intellectual fields of life, but the spiritual aspect is not merely non-progressive but positively disintegrative. There is good digestion but bad assimilation. Distance has been annihilated by science, and commerce has been promoted by the needs of civilization with the result that all humanity are now meeting in crowds in cities and sanatoria all over the world. They shake hands with one another, pleasantly speak to one another, sell and buy valuable commodities and new discoveries of science, but their hearts rumble with clouds of the blackest colour. While they embrace one another, they suspect one another, become jealous of one another, hate one another, rob one another, stealthily if possible, openly if necessary. In one word while the aim of civilization should be to put an end to the cosmic process of life, the spirit of exploitation increases with the progress of each scheme to frustrate it. The spirit sometimes bursts out and explodes in war and disaster. Huxley said, civilization transmutes the cosmic into the ethical process of life. That is the proper function of civilization. But civilization has failed to implement it, because it has injudiciously separated itself from religion, all but divorced the latter. I may at once confidentially inform the reader that the object of 'The Religion of Man' is to reconcile civilization to religion and to reunite the couple in rejuvenated love and cheerfulness.

6

The world is passing through a crisis. Civilization which has intellectually and physically conglomerated mankind, has made them close neighbours to one another, has failed to make them love one another. On the contrary the closer the physical contact the wider grows the gulf that separates them spiritually. Every man feels like Afzal Khan and Sivaji at the same time. There is something wrong in our civilization. The world requires a new religion which will

fit it into the mould created by modern civilization. Humanity cannot segregate themselves without jeopardising their civilization. Dr. Tagore gives a sparkling description of the situation thus (p. 157):—

“The races of mankind will never again be able to go back to their citadels of high-walled exclusiveness. They are to-day exposed to one another, physically and intellectually. The shells which have so long given them full security within their individual enclosures have been broken, and by no artificial process can they be mended again. So we have to accept this fact, even though we have not yet fully adapted our minds to this changed environment of publicity, even though through it we may have to run all the risks entailed by the wider expansion of life's freedom.”

What is to be done now? The world is badly in need of a new religion to give it unity, and add to its safety and beauty by a new truth. Dr. Tagore has generously undertaken to disclose this truth in India in the vernacular language of Bengal. He has already disclosed it before a more enlightened, yet distressed audience in England in the English language. The ‘Kamala Lectures’ of 1932 will, I think, be a revised edition of the ‘Hibbert Lectures’ of 1930. But I expect it will be ampler in explanation, less encumbered with mysticism, more precise in expression, more intelligible and attractive to youthful minds and more digestible to all kinds of intellect, young and old. Not that, ‘the Religion of Man’ is lacking in any of these qualities but it is meant for a class of men who combine in themselves the power of appreciating the beauty of poetry and of penetrating into the depths of science and philosophy,—men who are at home with the problems of biology and evolution, politics, social psychology and that most fascinating type of group life which is known as national life. The ‘Kamala Lectures’ on the other hand will be addressed to young men, who may have barely heard the name of Darwin as the discoverer of

the theory that man is descended from the monkey with his tail cut at the upper end, but who know nothing of the unicellular origin of living beings, of their progress by the struggle for existence or of their further progress by putting an end to the perennial struggle, and supplying them with the surplus wealth of leisure, the essential instrument of creative work; and whose knowledge of the psycho-physical problem is of the vaguest kind, and who wonder how the loss of the tail changed the contents of the heart and brought strange compensations enabling love to usurp the throne of hate, or how the intellectual expansion of selfhood turned the individual personality of man into the grand personality of human unity.

7

In the natural order of time the 'Kamala Lectures' would have preceded the 'Hibbert Lectures.' But misfortune always dogs the footsteps of the prophet. No prophet receives his first glories in his native land. Dr. Tagore was not much thought of in his own country until the Nobel Prize was received by him. He personally complained of the shortcomings of his Indian neighbours when the latter hastened to honour him after the Swedish award. In the present case it is not impossible the Senators of the Calcutta University were roused by the chorus of European laudation of the 'Hibbert Lectures.' They ought to be thankful to Dr. Tagore for accepting the 'Kamala Chair,' broken as it is into two halves. It is uncertain however whether Dr. Tagore will find it easy to reproduce in an imperfect language thoughts which were originally formed in his mind in a more perfect language. But he is accustomed to this kind of trial. *Prabasi* has often re-incarnated in Bengali thoughts which originally found expression in the *Modern Review* or the *Vivwa-Bharati Quarterly*. We may be sure that new coinage

of words will largely enrich the Bengali language specially in the scientific parts of the book in which the origin and evolution of man are discussed in the language of biology embellished by poetry. Indeed the work is a magnificent poem, written without the restraints of verse or metre, and with the sonorous majestic freedom of stately periods, which produce a fascinating effect of beauty on the ear, the imagination, the emotions and the intellect alike. It is eminently a book to read with an athletic tongue as well as a wakeful mind, besides a seriously fixed eye. It required no mean effort to express in the sublime language of epic, ideas regarding the verminous origin of man and the evolution of mere bacilli into the finished final product of the creative spirit. The specifically religious part of the book has been helped by ideas derived from ancient Indian philosophy reinforced by modern Western thinking. The political parts reproduce the tone of Froude and Macaulay, while the scientific-philosophic part reflects the style of Huxley who as the friend of Darwin has done more to diffuse Darwinian ideas than any other person, living or dead, but who at the same time weakened them by his differentiation between cosmic and ethical evolution, which the European mind failed to appreciate, but which has enabled Dr. Tagore to build up a new religion of man, broadly based upon science, and nursed by emotional imaginativeness, the distinctive gift of the poet. For myself I may confidentially inform the reader that I have read the book not once or twice but many times without losing my interest and delight in the study of it as an aggregate of parts, though I cannot candidly say the same thing concerning the total effect of the book, regarded in its 'wholeness.'

In the circumstances noted above I believe a brief résumé of the book will be useful for the audience as well as for the reading public, whose religious cravings are not satisfied by the existing religions of the world and for whom the cash value of the commonly accepted god has been depressed in an atmosphere of science by the power which man has acquired over Nature, enabling him to turn her from a dreaded master to an obedient slave. Wherever circumstances warrant I shall not allow my admiration for the book to interfere with my freedom to scan and scrutinize it, albeit in a reverential spirit, with the best of my experience and understanding. Of course the résumé cannot follow the order of treatment adopted by the author. I shall only call attention to the fundamental features of the subject. 'The Religion of Man' is a religion intended for scientific men endowed with a poetic disposition. A religion of a parallel nature, but vastly inferior in its contents and elaboration of essence is contained in H. G. Wells' *God, the Invisible King*. In both, the accepted gods of the several existing religions are rejected, and for them are substituted—finite beings, more or less abstract in character. Dr. Tagore, it appears, was the first to conceive a religion of this kind, though the 'Hibbert Lectures' were delivered several years after the publication of "*God the Invisible King*." In the latter book there is a slight reference to Dr. Tagore's ideas regarding the kind of religion which the modern scientifico-poetic mind craves for. India did not know during these years that a new religion was embryonate in the mind of the poet. But occasional glimpses could be gained from interviews accorded to friends, like Mr. D. K. Roy, that something was effervescing in the poet's mind, waiting for distillation. 'The Religion of Man' was not a haphazard event. It must not be forgotten also that the 'Hibbert Lectures' were due to be delivered in 1928.

9

'The Religion of Man' propounds a new religion for man, and throws into the dust-bin of untruth all the existing religions of the world. The Brahmo religion came under the broomstick early in the life of the poet. It had come to him as a contagious disease, for he was born in a Brahmo family and lived and moved among Brahmos. He got rid of the bacillus of Brahmoism by severing his connection with his father's church. This is clearly indicated at pp. 109 and 110. A beggar belonging to the Baul sect of Bengal helped him in the exorcism.

The loitering religions of the world imply the existence and necessity of a being, superhuman and supernatural in origin and character, guiding and controlling the destiny of man by power, either directly exercised or indirectly manifested through precept and example. The deity presiding over the new religion has a human origin with cash value as an exemplar only. He is variously named as the "Ideal Man," "God-man," "Man-god," "Multipersonal humanity of man," "ideal of human unity," "god of human personality," "man the whole," "The supreme spirit invoked by the spirit of civilization," "The greater man in the individual man," "man the eternal," "man the divine" and so on and so forth.

The ideal man is the man to be imitated as exemplar. The god-man and man-god mean in effect the same thing. He has the looks of a man with the brain and heart of a god. He is a man evolving into a god, not a god degenerating into a man.

10

Dr. Tagore is a humanist, a pragmatist, an empiricist, paradoxically but deeply touched by the power of imagination to which he is inclined to give a higher place than to the

intellect, in the make-up of man, as endowed with a greater value for practical life which is fundamentally emotional in character, and only secondarily helped by reason. The primacy of the emotions is gradually coming to be recognized in cultivated minds and Dr. Tagore speaks with no uncertain voice when he says (p. 130): "Reality in all its manifestations reveals itself in the emotional and imaginative background of our mind. We know it, not because we can think of it, but because we directly feel it." He is a humanist in both its cardinal aspects. His religion is opposed to devotion to god, as commonly understood in theology and current philosophy. It is opposed to treacherous nationalism, which entering into life as a uniting social force turns in adult life into a strong disintegrative power, defiantly standing out as an impediment to the evolution of the collective personality of man. He takes no part in the present national movement of India because it is ultimately destructive of humanism, of the unity of humanity, the ultimate ideal of man. He is a man first, and an Indian next. If he has sometimes taken part in politics he has done so rather to check undue enthusiasm in the cause of nationalism. His object has been to create love rather than to excite hate, to unite Indians rather than to separate them from the Englishmen. He has never encouraged boycott though he has sometimes forgetfully supported Swadeshi. By his humanism he is opposed to self-containedness and self-sufficiency. A world-market, a world-university, a world-society, a world-philosophy and a world-religion constitute the essence of his thought, speech and action, of desires, purposes and aims of his life itself. The pity is he has been born at a wrong place and time.

11

The use of the words "god-man" and "man-god" is regrettable in a work which rejects god as the unknowable,

inscrutable central power which has very little time to devote to provincial concerns. Man's universe forms an infinitesimal fraction of the total universe. God has conceded full autonomy to it and naturally feels the delight of freedom from the oppressive consciousness of further personal responsibility. He has in a manner proclaimed to man that he has nothing to fear from him and nothing further to expect from him. The use of his name as an adjunct to man is misleading, and injurious to the doctrine of Humanism, which regards man as the maker of his own destiny, and excludes god as devoid of cash value for him. It is for men to elect the President of their universe and to build up a White House for his residence in their imagination. I cannot say whether it is a defect or a merit of their religion that it provincialises humanity, for if on the one hand it places man above the limits of nationalism and sectionalism of all kinds, it removes him from contact with the imperial, universal interests of man. The pragmatic pluralistic idea of multiverseness is dimly visible in the religion. But the words 'universe' and 'multiverse' have not yet attained definiteness of denotation. Man has local interests, provincial interests and imperial interests. 'The Religion of Man' unduly excludes local and imperial interests from the cognizance of man and ties him tightly and emphatically to provincial interests. Here nationalism represents local interests and imperialism represents the interests of god's universe, while the humanism of 'the Religion of Man' represents the interests of "man's universe."

12

The relation between god and man-god is described in a spirit of reconciliation blended with the spirit of compromise as follows: "The nebulous idea of the divine essence condensed in my consciousness into a human realization. It is definite (infinite?) and finite at the same time,

the eternal person manifested in all persons. It may be one of the numerous manifestations of god, the one in which is comprehended Man and his Universe. But we can never know or imagine him as revealed in any other inconceivable universe so long as we remain human beings" (p. 155).

In the above passage mark the words "it may be." They introduce an element of uncertainty which mars the value of the relationship. Prophets never allow their revelations to hang upon uncertainties. But a prophet of the 20th century living in the mixed atmosphere of pure science and diabolical doubt has to be more careful and less dogmatic in his expositions than a prophet of the 1st century or of the 7th. Mysticism, unconscious obfuscation, even unmistakable confusion must be taken for granted as far as possible, and not too severely scrutinized by the audience, who must listen with a spirit of reverence, adequately insured against the spirit of the scoffer, which is making religion progressively impossible. Dr. Tagore's is a sincere though feeble effort to rescue the world from the abyss of irreligion into which it is being rapidly driven by an oppressive atmosphere of unbelief and materialism. I call it a feeble attempt because the prophet is not free from diffidence, and speaks from the human platform with the mixed voice of emotion, imagination and reason. He speaks humanly. He does not speak divinely. He does not speak with brutal self-confidence. He is not merely a poet but a philosopher and prophet; he is also a man of science. They are not good bed-fellows; but religion has only one bed for them, and they have to be reconciled to one another before they are lulled to sleep. The difficulties which the author had to encounter are patent, and nobody can deny him the credit, even the glory, of having come out of the ordeal without sword-marks on his back, though there are some on the front.

13

It is quite possible that previous to his conversion to humanism Dr. Tagore was unaware that in ordinary theology god is not merely the king of kings but also the supreme preceptor and exemplar of humanity. This appears from the following passage at page 165 :—

“ And therefore whatever character our theology may ascribe to him in reality he (god) is the infinite ideal of man towards whom men move in their collective growth, with whom they seek their union of love as individuals, in whom they find their ideal of father, friend and beloved.”

‘The Religion of Man’ lays stress on the collective growth of humanity, not on the salvation of the individual man in looking upon the god-man as the exemplar of mankind, whereas ordinary theology more or less completely ignores the collective growth of humanity, and lays stress on the salvation of the individual soul in looking upon god as the exemplar of mankind. The god of theology is an ideal family man. The man-god of humanism is an ideal citizen of the world-state. The demon-god of modern civilization is an ideal citizen of the nation-state. The man-god stands between the god of theology and the demon-god of the nation-state.

. Indian philosophy has a more definite and expansive idea about god as exemplar. “Tat-twam Asi,” “Soham” and “Paramahansa” imply the ultimate potentiality of the individual man, not of the collective personality of humanity. These sayings have a higher power of inspiration because they are pregnant with a directness for purposes of realization which

is lacking in the Religion of Man, which imposes a more complex and complicated burden on shortlived mortal man for his final smoky salvation. To determine what is good for humanity in its "corporate wholeness" and to love it is certainly not less difficult than to know god and to love him.

14

The only religion of pre-modern time with which Dr. Tagore has sympathy is Buddhism, which regards god the creator as a mere superfluity for the practical life of man. He says (p. 70):—

"When somebody asked Buddha about the original cause of existence, he sternly said that such questioning was futile and irrelevant. Did he not mean that it went beyond the human sphere as our goal, that though such a question might legitimately be asked in the religion of cosmic philosophy or science, it had nothing to do with man's dharma, man's inner nature, the ultimate truth of man?"

15

Humanism is opposed to divinism on the one hand and to nationalism on the other. 'The Religion of Man' seems to be animated more by opposition to nationalism than by the sense of the superfluity of god. Nationalism is another name for racialism or tribalism. It calls upon all nationalists to give up their own religion of nationalism and to accept the doctrine of humanism for their guidance in the practical concerns of life. At page 162 we read, "The god of humanity (the ideal man) has arrived at the gates of the ruined temple of the tribe. Though

he has not yet found his altar I ask the man of simple faith wherever they may be in the world to bring their offering of sacrifice to him, and to believe that it is far better to be wise and worshipful than to be clever and supercilious. I ask them to claim the right of manhood to be friends of men, and not the right of a particular proud race or nation which may boast of the fatal quality of being rulers of man. We should know for certain that such rulers will no longer be tolerated in the New World, as it basks in the open sunlight of mind and breathes life's free air." Nationalism develops into imperialism, and the passage quoted above particularly alludes to imperialistic nationalism, like the nationalism of the British race. It required great courage for a member of a subject race to face an audience of the ruling race with a seditious message visualising prospects of a most damnatory nature, and warning them to repent.

16

The spirit of civilization is the creator of the god-man as the spirit of creation is the creator of man. By ethical evolution man means his growth into the god-man,—the growth of the unipersonal average man into the multipersonal ideal man. Civilization is the vulgar name for this evolution. This is the essence of Dr. Tagore's views. He says (p. 126): "The animal in the savage has been transformed into higher stages in the civilized man, in other words, he has attained a truer consonance with man the divine." The fundamental function of the god-man or man the divine is to bring about complete unity for all humanity. Multipersonal humanity is one of his names. But what is the actual situation? The difference between what is and what ought to be has been forcefully exposed in a passage of classic importance, which I shall presently reproduce. Civilization is uniting mankind physically and intellectually. It has created a world-market and

a world-university, but it has failed to create a world-spirituality. On the contrary it carries in its bosom germs of world disruption. It has developed racial and national egotism and created all manner of normal perversity which are bound ultimately to prove destructive to humanity. Instead of creating the god-man it has created the diabolical man. The process has been going on with acceleration down to the present time of advanced civilization. The author strongly regrets the situation as follows (p. 159) :—

“Hitherto the cultivation of intense race egotism is the one thing that has found its fullest scope at this meeting of men. In no period of human history has there been such an epidemic of moral perversity, such a universal churning up of jealousy, greed, hatred and mutual suspicion. Every people weak or strong is constantly indulging in a violent dream of rendering itself thoroughly hurtful to others. In this galloping competition of hurtfulness, on the slope of a bottomless pit, no nation dares to stop or slow down. A scarlet fever with a raging temperature has attacked the entire body of mankind, and political passion has taken the place of creative personality in all departments of life.”

It will be useful to tell the reader that the heading of the chapter in which this passage occurs is “The Meeting.” It means the commercial meeting of men, facilitated by the inventions of science, specially in the transport department. The spirit of self-interest and that of exploitation are the promoters of the meeting. They are promoters of refined savagery, not of true civilization.

The appeal to the emotions is a weakness in the poet's heart. It makes him run into mysticism. The present spiritual situation in the spiritual world is universally acknowledged to be distressful. But is the situation the result of a steady evolution or a sudden drastic deflection from the line of advance? Both the ways of interpretation are indicated in the passage almost with equal emphasis. In

the first case the fundamental principle of the promised evolution is violently contradicted. We read at page 14:—"Before the chapter ended Man appeared and turned the course of evolution from an indefinite march of physical aggrandisement to a freedom of a more subtle perfection. This has made possible his progress to become unlimited and has enabled him to realise the boundless in his power." Again at page 15 we read:—"His multicellular body is born and it dies; his multipersonal humanity is immortal. In this ideal of unity he realises the eternal in his life and the boundless in his love." At page 47 the author writes:—"For centuries his evolution has been the evolution of a consciousness that tries to be liberated from the bounds of individual separateness to comprehend in its relationship a wholeness which may be named man." Again:—"Physical evolution sought for efficiency in a perfect communication with the physical world; the evolution of man's consciousness sought for truth in perfect harmony with the world-personality."

The present disastrous moral and political situation of the world violently contradicts this idea of evolution as opposed to that of biological evolution by exploitation. The only possible way out of this contradiction is to affirm that the present situation of the world represents a sudden pathological attack, issuing from internal or external forces. The words "epidemic" and "scarlet fever" seem to point to this interpretation. But no diagnosis of the disease has been attempted. On the other hand the first sentence, "Hitherto the cultivation of intense race egotism, etc.," points to the conclusion that it is in the nature of modern civilization to foster moral perversities, specially, jealousy, greed, hatred and mutual suspicion. The question loudly and urgently calls for further explanation and clarification, without which the religion of man remains open to serious criticism in its very fundamental principle. The "background of emotional.

imagination " may be a safe hiding-place for subjective reality, but reality has no value for the world at large, if the intellect does not invade the foreground and knock the door afar. Life behind the screen may be beautiful and attractive, but devoid of truth. It is this screen which made Dr. Tagore disgusted with his father's god and church. The same screen ought not to be allowed to hide the truth in the new religion of man. It is to be hoped that supplementary enlightenment will come through the 'Kamala Lectures.'

The mysterious transformation of the everlasting cosmic process into the glorious ethical process discovered by Huxley, has not been accepted by the civilized world for good and sufficient reason. The latter believes in no love but self-love, no interest but self-interest. Its altruism is a refined form of egoism. Its self-sacrifice and disinterested work are names for enlightened self-interest. Exploitation has not been abandoned, but delicately refined. The general belief in cultivated minds in the West is that the existing disastrous situation is the result of inadequate refinement of exploitation and defective enlightenment of self-interest. There is no question of love or hate. Both the civilization and the present disaster are intellectual phenomena with which ethics has nothing to do. The sole question before the civilized world is how to enlighten self-interest, how to refine exploitation to the point of making it invisible.

Is it unreasonable to suspect that Dr. Tagore discovered the heart of the new religion in the 'Romanes Lecture' of 1883 in which Huxley tried to knock down Darwin at the very point where his theory of evolution promised to exhibit the greatest value for human civilization? Why the cruel spirit of life should suddenly jump into the sea of love has been convincingly explained neither by Huxley nor by Dr. Tagore: Man has attained boundless power. He will never realise the boundless in love.

Indeed the movements, after many thousand years of civilization, hardly warrant the belief that the cosmic process can ever be transformed into an unmixed ethical process. Jealousy, greed, hate, malice and mutual suspicion do not belong to the latter process.

Dr. Tagore's own personal experiences sometimes perturb him so violently that he is compelled to appeal over the head of the man-god to the god of theology for relief. In the article headed '*Prasna*' in the Magh number of the *Prabasi* he says : "*Bhagawan*, you have sent prophet after prophet to tell mankind to forgive and to love." The man-god is not an absentee god. He lives personally among men, even in their heart. He has nothing to do with an ambassador.

The god-man seems to have died within the heart of man, assassinated by devil-man, who encourages jealousy, greed, hate, malice and mutual suspicion among men, also non-co-operation, civil disobedience, boycott, picketing and even assassination of the innocent and helpless. He concludes the articles thus : "Have you forgiven and loved the devil-man and the legion who have poisoned your breath and extinguished your light ?"

17

Dr. Tagore is not the only person in the civilized world who regrets the present deplorable condition of humanity and its civilization. Man in his evolution seeks to realise, first, "the boundless in his power," and, secondly, "the boundless in his love" (pp. 14 and 15). The first realization has been going on with leaps and bounds during the last few centuries, while the second realization is lamentably lagging behind, whereas for the perfection of man they ought to have advanced in parallel lines, and with equal pace. Power is intellectual and love is spiritual. Science has given power to man. Religion is intended to give him love. "When the Bishop of Ripon," says Dr. Radhakrishnan (p. 8,

“Kalki),” “suggested a scientific holiday for a short period of time he meant to warn us that while science is progressing pretty fast, furnishing us with new inventions, man the user of them is not refining himself at an equal rate.” Very recently Sir Alfred Ewing, the President of the British Association, in a learned discourse on the Engineer’s outlook, showing the vast and rapid progress in man’s power over Nature, concluded as follows: “Man was ethically unprepared for so great a bounty. In the slow evolution of morals he is still unfit for the tremendous responsibility it involves. The command of Nature has been put into his hands before he knows how to command himself.” Blessings have been showered on mortals, but they habitually turn them to evil. The present condition of man may be briefly described as wickedness endowed with power, or as the legion of the devil reinforced by science. The psychology of man is badly in need of a re-adjustment which no amount of “curbing or stressing” can accomplish. Man has been civilized and barbarized at the same time, and chaos has come.

18

Man, as shown by Dr. Tagore, is savagely self-seeking. Love and self-interest are not good companions. Self-love is the foundation on which love of neighbour rests, however much we may try to think to the contrary. The God of the Bible rested it in that way. The history of civilization shows that love of neighbour is indulged in where it is calculated to promote self-interest. Disinterested love of service is an unknown quantity in human relations. Even the mother’s love originates, and develops as self-love during the period of gestation, and continues with growing weakness for a number of years, that is, until the separateness of the child is fully realized by her. Love of neighbour implies an expansion of selfhood. The partial realization of the self in

others is rendered possible by the foresight of self-interest. Dr. Tagore at page 49 says :—" We have our greatest delight when we realize ourselves in others, and this is the definition of love."

This realization of self in others manifests itself in patriotism or nationalism as its final limit of expansion. Hegel and Mazzini were of this opinion. The misfortunes of the Great War followed by trade depression have awakened in some cultivated minds the idea of a greater expansion of selfhood. It is a desperate idea in the sense that it has arisen out of despair. Civilization is expecting a catastrophe. The desire of rescuing it lies at the bottom of the idea. The optimism which nurses it has its origin in deep pessimism, and is therefore extremely feeble and uncertain. Dr. Tagore wants to give selfhood as wide an expansion as humanity. This expansion might have been possible in earlier days, when power was weak and more or less unequally distributed. Experience shows that the greater the power of the nation the weaker becomes the desire for the expansion of selfhood. India is not an expansion of British selfhood. It only concentrates that selfhood. The present political troubles of India owe their origin to the inadequate progress of the enlightenment of self-interest in the British nation. There is no question of increasing hate or decreasing love.

19

The most serious obstacle in the way of the expansion of selfhood to the limits of humanity lies in the fact that it leaves no scope for hate. Love is jejune without hate. It dries up in a sterilized atmosphere of hatelessness. If we had economic relations with the people of Mars the position might be more hopeful. But it will be a long time before the power of science can connect the two planets in that way.

20

Another obstacle is the growing population of the world. The present population is nineteen hundred millions, and it seems too large for any person to realize himself in them either jointly or severally. To love so many people individually is, of course, impossible. They must be loved in groups, if at all. What kind of grouping is the most advantageous for the purpose of loving humanity in its wholeness? I think the national grouping ought to be the best. But it has proved so far to be the worst. Nationalism breeds more hatred towards foreigners than love for the members of one's own groups. Communalism breeds hatred among different groups in the same nation. It is when danger faces one nation from another that communal disputes are forgotten. They are merely kept in abeyance, not ended for good. A war between two nations thus supports the solidarity of each of them. The abolition of foreign war would disrupt every nation into atoms. The general tendency of civilization is thus to send humanity back to primitive conditions. It is war, strife and hatred that keep up the solidarity of each nation, and of all nations, that is of humanity taken separately in groups. A joint humanity, at all events, cannot stand permanently any more than a joint family. Bickerings and bitternesses make love superficial. On the whole it seems a regrouping of humanity will be necessary to facilitate the expansion of selfhood. But it seems also that at the end there will be two groups, not one, mutually hateful and hurtful. That seems to be the ultimate limit of the expansion of selfhood. It is easier to conceive two humanities separately united, than one complete unbroken humanity. These will be much wider than national unities.

21

Nationalism does not require that two nations should permanently prove mutually hurtful. One nation may be temporarily bound in love with another when common danger is expected from a third. A group of nations may thus be united in love against another. It is possible to conceive half the nations of the world bound in love for the purpose of hurting the other half. The bond of union cannot extend further than this. He who hates most loves most, feels most the value of life. This is true also of national personalities. Hating is necessary for loving. Hurtfulness is a necessary condition of beneficence. Self-love lies at the root of amity and enmity in relation to neighbours. The entire history of the evolution of life shows that man is a crass self-seeker. The God of the Bible and his son Christ knew that self-love is supreme in the heart of man when they tried to inculcate love for neighbour. Self-love seeks self-preservation above all things else. It may commit murder when self-preservation is in danger. The relation between egoism and altruism presents a complicated problem for civilized life. It is more an intellectual problem than an ethical one. The cultivated mind of Europe regards it almost exclusively as an intellectual problem. The Eastern mind believes in the power of love and morality. The partial unification of humanity, as a question of politics, is exercising the highest intellects in Eur-America. In India Dr. Tagore has treated it as a problem of religion and morality. While we complain that civilization has not made men sufficiently moral, the most advanced people are dissatisfied with it because it has not made man sufficiently intelligent to deal with the present situation. Various schemes are being put forward, it being taken for granted that self-interest must be respected as a divine principle of the existence of life. The object is to add the light of pre-vision to self-interest, and not to weaken the sentiment. We in India think that a change of heart is

able to bring bliss to mankind. The truth is that the heart has never changed. It is immutable. But the intellect is subject to evolution. In its evolution lies the future of man. The intellect of man has shown great progress in its action upon Nature. It has not been sufficiently cultivated in its relation with neighbour. Humanists or universalists in the West believe that all men may be made equally happy by the manipulations of the intellect. But this too seems to be an error. Inequality is the law of life in every department of it. The world is passing through a crisis. If it recovers it will be through the sharpening of the intellect, not by the change of heart, the change of the primeval principle of self-love and self-preservation and self-promotion; and recovery will not mean equality of freedom, happiness or power.

22

Dr. Tagore seems to have accepted without due scrutiny Huxley's theory that civilization kills the biological evolution, propounded by his friend Darwin as effected by the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest, and starts a new evolution in the psychology of man. Huxley's idea was that as civilization advances this struggle for existence shows proportionate relaxation. The struggle for existence is a wide term. Existence for the rich man is different from the existence for the poor man. The latter can live upon starvation wages, the former requires a thousand pounds a year. Besides the struggle for existence has now developed into the struggle for power. Man wishes not only to exist in the present and to ensure existence for an indefinite future, but to ensure a higher kind of existence for himself while conceding bare existence or a lower style of existence to his neighbours. In short he seeks for power to overpower. He struggles for power and not merely for existence. The struggle for power among individuals gives rise to communalism. When this struggle is

carried on by nations it is called nationalism. Internationalism is invoked to regulate wild nationalism. Its success so far has been insignificant. The League of Nations is a sickly unpromising infant. The struggle for existence among the nations is hardening, as well as the struggle for power.

23

I have indicated that 'the Religion of Man' is a poem dealing with a subject that refuses to lend itself to poetic treatment. Mysticism permeates it and surrounds it. But it is possible to gather that in the opinion of the author the struggle for existence has either ceased or has lost its justification for further continuance by the fact that the surplus of leisure has enabled man to control Nature to that extent that it can be made to yield sufficient food, clothing and other necessities for the support of life, and that if people still fight and tear one another it is because they are morally perverse and have transformed the struggle for existence into a struggle for power, which is quite unjustifiable. Where Darwin stopped Nietzsche has come in, and the consequence is that the man-god is not allowed to find his altar. The expansion of selfhood to national dimensions has added tremendously to the fierceness of the struggle. This struggle has disturbed cultivated minds all over the world. In India Dr. Tagore standing at the apex of modern culture has devoted himself heart and soul to the problem from a new angle of vision. He thinks that his success depends on his ability to convince the world that the idea of "Humanity is not an abstraction, subjective in character, but that it has a concrete objectiveness though men can never see it from outside, for they are one with it." The poet's mind legitimately craves for idolatry. It is not satisfied with mere abstraction. It wants a concrete personality to worship, to love, to fear and to revere. But the

general culture of the world is disgusted with it. It is disgusted with untruth. The utmost that can be said is that Humanity is born as an abstraction, and is transformed into concrete objectiveness by the ingenious nursing of imagination and bottle-feeding. Hydrogen may be powerful as a gas but it lacks beauty until it is crystallised.

24

'The Religion of Man' is in essence Humanism with idealism superadded. The god-man is the ideal man, the exemplar of Humanity, taken individually as an aggregate as well as collectively as a corporate whole. Its morality is different from the morality of ordinary religion. The latter morality has very little to do with the wholeness of man. It is not humanistic morality, but humanitarian, or mere superstition which leads nowhere. In humanistic morality the final product is what counts. The methods by which that finality is reached are not matters of much concern. Eugenics necessarily gets blended with ethics, which develops a mechanical aspect as in the refinement of steel out of pig iron. There are several stages in the process of refinement, and the greater the speed with which one stage follows another the higher is the value of the method. The cost of refinement also enters into the calculation of value. The object is to refine ordinary men into god-men, and the more quickly the result is achieved the better for humanity.

The law of heredity must be manipulated with skill. Infirm and defective women must be positively sterilized. Motherhood must be endowed. Women must submit to an examination to determine their qualification for motherhood. The law of population must be sedulously kept in view. If the actual population falls short of the optimum, special encouragement must be given to maternity. If it exceeds the optimum special modes of discouragement must be introduced.

Eugenic morality is not a novelty in the world. The families which have taken advantage of it in the selection of matches for marriage shine in the world. In a multi-formed and multi-coloured race, the most enlightened and thriving families tend to become uniformed and unicoloured. Intellectual progress is also insured by eugenic methods. Eugenically developed families realize the ideal man more quickly than the average family.

The mass production of beauty and intellectuality requires collective eugenic action. The Aryans of India in the early days introduced mass production with partial effect. They replaced aboriginal blood by the Aryan variety by methods which the White men living among Red Indians used with better effect in America in a subsequent age. Their methods are sometimes stigmatized by normal puritans as cruel and inhuman. But the result has more than justified the means. Their methods were humanistic, while the puritans can think of nothing but humanitarian methods. The distinction between the humanist and the humanitarianist is stupendous. The latter has no idealism. His love is untouched by reason. He is almost exclusively emotional. At his death he leaves the world where he found it at his birth.

Wholesale massacre is justified by humanism, only in the absence of higher eugenic knowledge, as well as knowledge of birth-control. Birth-control is a better method than encouragement to death when an excess population has to be dealt with. It may be considered as almost certain that if the ancient Aryans of India or the White Europeans in America in the 16th-19th centuries had sufficient knowledge of science, they would have preferred to chemically sterilize the black women of India and the Red women of America instead of killing off their husbands.

Ideal humanity must be unilingual and uniracial. That is a matter of plain experience. Love cannot grow among polyglots and in plurality of race. America is great because

it is unilingual and uniracial at the present day. It was not so three centuries ago. The production of unilinguality and uniraciality is a biological problem, involving the elimination of the inferior languages and the weaker races by chemical sterilization of women. Mere war and massacre cannot accomplish this end.

25

The morality of the idealist humanist is deeply touched by reason. In all activities he has to give preference to the collective interest of humanity : and where there is conflict between the interest of the whole of humanity and that of a part he is under the stern necessity of rejecting the latter. Interest includes present need and future good ; and future good extends up to the extreme limits of the perspective open to knowledge. Knowledge is progressive on the whole, but the knowledge of one individual is different in quality and quantity from that of another. What is moral for one person may be immoral for another. What is moral for one stage of civilization may be immoral for another. What is true for one is false for another. What is useful for one is useless for another. Judgment is always open to risk of error. In short, morality for the idealist humanist is an indeterminate quantity. This by itself turns morality into a farce. The humanist, otherwise called the pragmatist, is not only a utilitarian but a dangerous hedonist. The useful is good and the good is true. Useful for whom ? The law of self-love is inviolable. And the ordinary pragmatist considers that to be good and true which is useful for himself for the moment being. The idealist humanist has more lofty ideas. The upshot of this discussion is that the idealist humanist labours under a confused system of morality, and his moorings in the heart of the god-man are uncertain and weak. It is no wonder

that Dr. Tagore while insisting with all the urgency and earnestness at his command on the necessity of approaching and realising the god-man has nowhere attempted to envisage his moral character. This failure turns the religion preached by him into a mere fiction. He has been compelled by internal necessity to acknowledge that his religion is a poet's religion, a mere dreamer's religion, a religion existing in imagination only.

26

Nobody perhaps will regret the criticism on the Charka cult more than the critic himself. This cult, it was said, was not based upon truth, and any religion which is not based upon truth is bound to fail. The religion of man has no better chance of success for precisely the same reason. But the Charka cult was criticised several years ago. In the meantime it is possible truth has made a long jump from a permanently fixed star and turned itself into an irregularly roving comet. Divine truth has been transmuted into mere pragmatic truth. What is true for a poet is not true for a prosaic, practical man. This truth in the final analysis is the truth on which the new religion of man is founded.

27

The nearest approach to a definition of morality is given at page 69. I give *in extenso* the relevant portions of the passage : "Our union with a Being whose activity is worldwide and who dwells in the heart of humanity cannot be a passive one. In order to be united with him we have to divest our work of selfishness, and become Vishvakarma, the world-worker, we must work for all. When I use the words 'for all,' I do not mean for a countless number of individuals. All work that is good, however small in extent, is universal in character. Such work makes for realization of Vishvakarma the world-worker who works for all."

Here the god-man is identified with Vishvakarma, the ideal creative worker for philosophers, and the god specifically selected by craftsmen for worship. Smiths, carpenters and potters are his devotees in a special sense. It is good work to make a pen-knife or a fish-knife. But a pen-knife may be used for stabbing a neighbour, and a fish-knife may be used to kill a wife. To that extent the making of a pen-knife or a fish-knife is bad work. In early days Vishvakarma used to make bows and arrows. He is now the managing director of armament factories all over the civilized world. But this is not the chief point which lays the passage quoted above open to serious criticism. The definition of good work places a dangerous limitation on the moral activities of man. Many activities which are ordinarily regarded as highly meritorious are thrown into the category of vicious work. Indiscriminate alms-giving, general relief of distress in flood, tornado and earthquake are open to casuistic criticism. The character of those who receive relief ought to be scrutinised. Are they given to anti-social habits? Are they disturbers of law and order? Is the country overpopulated? These and a thousand other questions must be answered by the humanitarianist who opens an appeal for funds to give relief. The humanists cannot tolerate the humanitarianist without severe scrutiny of his doings. Does a man who marries and brings up a large family do more service to humanity than one who lives single and only talks of population? Is it good work to use contraceptives? Is it good for a stout and strong man capable of bringing to the world promising children to abstain from sexual intercourse? Is monogamy a good institution? Is self-government conceded to a weak people a good thing for humanity? Are high tariffs good? Is equality of armaments or complete disarmament a good thing for humanity? Is it a good thing to fight for socialism or communism? Are labour-strikes good? Are non-co-operation and civil disobedience calculated to facilitate the realization of man the divine, who

resides in our heart? Good work and bad work are indistinguishable. The idealist humanist must pass his life in philosophising. He may have a highly contemplative life. He cannot have an active life. The "Religion of Man" is likely to create huge heads supported on weak limbs. It is calculated to paralyze humanity.

28

Dr. Tagore was born as a poet. He has lived as a poet-philosopher. He will probably die as a philosopher-prophet. A poet's aim is to stir the emotions. A philosopher works on the intellect. A prophet rouses the imagination. 'The Religion of Man' combines in a copious fashion all the three functions. The emotions, the imagination and the intellect all receive exquisite excitation.

The god of the religion lives in luminous imagination. He lives as a concrete personality. He lives as an imaginative reality, as a sensible object, but not yet as a living personality. His body has been built out of the straw and mud of human imperfections. But life has not been breathed into it yet. The ideal man must be not merely a visible, imaginable or conceivable man, but a living man, an active man, an ideal man not merely in being but also in doing. But so far in the history of man the ideal man has shown no light, no activity, no imitability. His cash value as god-man is an unknown quantity. This is obvious from the expression (p. 162): "The god of humanity has not yet found his altar." He is, so to say, god *de jure*, not god *de facto*. Men of simple faith, needles and molycoddles, have been asked to bring their offering or sacrifices to him in the hope that he will find his altar one day, and in the belief that it is far better to be wise and worshipful by anticipation than to be clever and supercilious. The association between wisdom and simplicity of faith is rather far-fetched. In this age of science, doubt and democracy &

god must exhibit the power of compelling belief instead of depending upon simplicity of faith. The ultimate aim of the god-man is to replace the race of men by a race of god-men. The god-man must be a very complex man.

29

The ideal man is undefinable, invisible, inscrutable. He must prove himself if he is to be worshipped. The author has wisely refrained from defining the ideal man. He has given him a lot of names each of which is undefinable. The only definition that has been attempted is that he is 'boundless in power,' and 'boundless in love.' Power and love do not exhaust the qualities of man. Besides, power and love are not fond of each other. Power means power to overpower; and to overpower the beloved makes love ludicrous. Love touched by reason is love enslaved by self-interest; and love unguided and uncontrolled by reason rots into poison. The loving man is a good man in being, but is generally a bad man in doing. Vishvakarma is a very good man in being; but he has proved to be a very bad man in doing. Love of neighbour does not exist in this world as a rule. The most powerful love is the love of power, which enfeebles the power of love. Krishna is the only person who combined boundless love with boundless power. By his love he kept 64,000 young women attached to him. By his power he extinguished 18 million able-bodied men, and virtually left India dead. But the love was shown in youth, and the power was shown in adult life.

The superman of Nietzsche had power only and no love. He is thus intelligible. He is disgusted by love and disinterested service and self-sacrifice and other inanities. He has thus gathered the most powerful congregation among statesmen, military men, business men, and all sorts of men. The

ideal man has no chance against the power of the superman. For his heart is filled with painful love, his spirit is the spirit of self-sacrifice and all his good work consists of disinterested service. His good work after all is not work intended for the benefit of all humanity, for he excepts himself from the benefit. The ideal man makes himself miserable in order to make the rest of mankind happy. Those who try to realize him necessarily make themselves unhappy. Their object is not happiness but the complete evolution of manhood in humanity. In a letter addressed to a friend and published in the *Bhadra* number of *Prabasi*, Dr. Tagore gives expression to the following painful sentiments :—"Realization of the ideal man is sought not for personal delight but for the complete evolution of manhood in man. It was this ideal man that one day pulled me out of the narrow circle of the self-interested pursuit of literature to the field of work at Santiniketan. Did I follow him for the purpose of enjoying his company, of enjoying happiness? Nobody will ever realize the excruciating pain I have suffered on the way during the last thirty years. It is by this distressful adventure that I have united myself with the ideal man." Mention of this disinterested adventure has been also made in 'The Religion of Man.' It is a redeeming feature in this kind of pain that it finds relief in elegant expression. It is different from the kind of pain which is caused by misfortune and which finds expression only to disgust those who listen. It is worth mentioning that there is not much to distinguish between pleasure and pain. "We often ask for pain mistaking it for pleasure and the god-man within us gives us pleasure and calls it pain" (a fambus record in gramophone). The letter in the *Prabasi* is in Bengali. I have tried my best to translate it literally.

After all this nobody will have the heart to say that the ideal man will dethrone the superman one day. The man of love has no chance with the man of power. Disinterested service has no chance against service inspired by self-interest.

Self-sacrifice is sheer poison. The god-man must either give up his power or his love. He cannot retain both. Dr. Tagore really admires him for love and not for power. Indeed his power, if he has any, has no value. For his want of power he has failed to preserve the world of humanity from the power of the devil-man.

K. C. SEN

INDIAN SCRIPT PALAEONTOLOGY

In 1928 at the suggestion of Sir John Marshall, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar urged me to take up by way of a thesis an enquiry into the pre-Aryan elements in Hindu Culture with particular reference to the newly discovered Indus Civilisation.

At the very beginning Dr. Bhandarkar impressed upon me the fact that if anything holds the master-key to the understanding of the Indus Civilisation, it is the seals which have been found in plethoric abundance both at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

At that time the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was the only place here where there was a complete album of the photographs of the Indus Valley seals. At the request of Dr. Bhandarkar, Mr. Van Manen, the kind-hearted Secretary of the Institution, gave me access to them and I commenced my study there. With the help of these photographs I prepared a complete chart of all the signs appearing on the seals.

While studying the seals, I chanced upon a series of four or five pictographic signs of Easter Island, illustrated on page 36 of the first volume of Harmsworth's Universal History. I noticed certain resemblances between them and the Indus Valley signs, but in the absence of any other data I could not push my studies further on the subject. I soon diverted my attention to the main subject of my enquiry.

My interest in the origin of the Indus Valley script, however, was re-kindled when early in October this year I received a letter from a friend of mine in London, informing me that on September 16, the famous scholar and explorer, Professor Paul Pelliot, made a communication to the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres of Paris to the effect that a.

Hungarian savant named M. Guillaume Hevesy had discovered instances of striking resemblances between the Indus Valley and the Easter Island scripts.

Origin of the Brahmi Script.

The importance of this discovery will be realised when we consider the bearing of the Indus Valley script on the development of the ancient Indian Brahmi alphabet, from which most of the modern scripts of North India are derived. The origin of Brahmi had for a long time been a matter of controversy. Three schools of scholars held three sets of widely different views. Prinsep, ascribing a European origin to it, supposed that Greek alphabet was the parent of Brahmi. He was supported by Otfried Müller and Senart. A Semitic origin of Brahmi was first broached by Sir William Jones as early as 1806. He had among his followers such well-known names as Deecke, Isaac Taylor, Weber and Bühler. There were, however, scholars who dissented from both these theories. Lassen, for instance, conjectured that Brahmi had its origin in India itself. Edward Thomas held the same view but he connected Brahmi with the Dravidian races of India. This theory of the indigenous origin of the Brahmi was also supported by Dowson and Sir Alexander Cunningham. The latter scholar most emphatically maintained that Brahmi was derived from a method of primitive Indian picture writing as represented by the Indus Valley script.

The European and Semitic origins of the Brahmi are no longer countenanced to-day. Modern studies have led to the general acceptance of the theory of the indigenous origin of the Brahmi. The first scholar who seriously sought to prove this theory was Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who some fourteen years ago wrote a paper in which he adduced Vedic and other evidences in support of this theory. Some twelve years ago Mr. K. P.

Jayaswal also championed the theory of the Indian origin of the Brahmi in the pages of the J.B.O.R.S., in which he expressed his conviction of the futility of deriving the Brahmi from the Semitic alphabet. This view has lately been endorsed by Mr. Langdon in his paper on the seals discovered from the chalcolithic sites of Mohenjo-daro in the Indus Valley. He is of opinion that Brahmi could not have been derived from the Semitic alphabet. Says he, for instance, "The syllabic alphabet of North India, Brahmi, is most probably a survival of the early pictographic system of the Indus Valley." Though Mr. Langdon is convinced of the development of the Brahmi from the Indus Valley script, yet he could not state his conviction categorically in view of the absence of any intermediate links between the Indus Valley script and the first appearance of the Brahmi centuries later. Mr. Jayaswal, however, assures us that the discovery in July last of the cave inscription at Vikramkhole in Sambalpur by Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandey, has stepped in to fill this breach. According to Mr. Jayaswal the characters in the inscription belong to a period intervening between the script of Mohenjo-daro and Brahmi. Some letters still retain their original or secondary Mohenjo-daro forms and some have already assumed the Brahmi or the proto-Brahmi forms. This inscription conclusively proves the origin of Brahmi to be Indian.

Origin of Easter Island Script.

The fact of the origin of Brahmi from the Indus Valley script leads us straight to the crux of our problem. We irresistibly ask, from which source is the Indus script itself derived? Hitherto, Indus script has been found to possess affiliation with two kinds of scripts: Primitive Sumerian and Easter Island scripts. In a previous article contributed to this journal I have shown that the Sumerian culture was imported

into Mesopotamia from India. Sumerian script was, therefore, derived from India. But how can we explain the affiliation of the Indus Valley script with the Easter Island script ?

Indo-Polynesian Cultural Relation.

Easter Island is the most easterly and most isolated outpost of the Polynesian race. It is situated in $27^{\circ} 10' S.$ Latitude and $109^{\circ} 26' W.$ Longitude, about 2,000 miles from the coast of Chile and 1,100 miles from Pitcairn. At first sight it really seems very difficult to account for the resemblances of the Indus Valley script with the script found in such a distant place as this far-off Polynesian island. We cannot, of course, dismiss these resemblances as merely accidental, for out of a number of 288 pictographs discovered in the Indus Valley striking resemblances have been noticed in the case of 130.

The researches of a host of eminent scholars shed clear light on this obscure point of our enquiry. They have proved the racial, cultural and linguistic community of the pre-Aryan Indians and the Polynesians. Thus Pater Schmidt proved the existence of a linguistic family in which were included not only the Munda languages, Nicobarese, Khasi and Mon-Khmer group, but also various Melanesian, Polynesian, Micronesian and Indonesian languages. The most westerly member of this family of dialects is the Kanwari in the valley of the Sutlej, spoken at the confluence of the Sutlej and the Spiti. On the basis of certain important analogies Przyluski has established the affiliation of this family with the ancient Sumerian. It may be mentioned here, in passing, that M. Rivet has a theory which supposes the Sumerians as the transmitters of cultural traits between Oceania and Eur-Africa. In this connection the researches of Dr. Panchanan Mitra are very illuminating. He has studied Polynesian cultures in

situ, and has found numerous cultural parallels between India and Polynesia. Lastly, eminent anthropologists have shown the wide distribution of a proto-Australoid racial strain in the whole of the region between India and Polynesia.

The consensus of opinion is that these Indo-Polynesian racial, cultural, and linguistic traits travelled from India eastwards. We can, therefore, naturally infer that in the wake of these migrations, the Indian script found its way to Easter Island. It only remains to establish the intermediate links, and I may suggest that our University will do well to encourage at least one of its students to undertake this line of research. May I also suggest that an enquiry into the scripts in use among the various pre-Dravidian peoples of India is also an urgent desideratum? I think that will shed further light on the Indo-Polynesian script palaeontology.

ATUL KRISHNA SUR

TO LIGHT

1

In the hazy twilight of the early morn
Thou glidest quietly into my lonely bed,
And with thy golden hairs touchest my heavy lids
And bringest me back to life with the dawn of day.

I look full into thy rosy face
And at thy sacred feet droop again
In that ease of laziness and delight,
That sweetens the soul with thy honeyed beams.

Brighter and Lovelier and Heavenlier still,
At thy glorious approach the world is alive,
And awake in joy to welcome thee
That bringest the thrill of life into the soul.

N. N. CHANDRA

ON UNTOUCHABILITY

A few days ago it was reported, no doubt truthfully, that at a meeting held in favour of abolishing *untouchability* at Nagercoil in Travancore a seven-year old girl mounted the table and poured forth a fervent appeal to the electrified audience to forget that there ever was a custom by which large numbers of their fellow-beings and fellow-believers were shut out from the temples of their gods. It was an emotional appeal on an emotional issue for emotional justice, and coming from an unsophisticated child unsupported by argument or eloquence, it naturally made a profound effect, so that many that had come to scoff at the cause remained to commit 'reunion' scenes with their despised co-religionists.

Years ago I went to a temple-feast and we were many hundreds squatted on the floor in the inner enclosure and eating the sumptuous fare from plantain-leaves. A hungry predatory army of crows hung overhead excitedly and now and then, suddenly, handfuls and single individuals of them swooped down on the fragrant meal and flew away with the prizes of their courage. We were eating dangerously at that feast! In the outer enclosure were many hungry street-dogs looking piteously at us as we came out one after another from the plentiful feast so interestingly heightened by enterprising birds. At the outer gates of the temple were many 'unbelievers in Hindu gods' waiting for some possible 'crumbs' when the feast was over and done. About two hundred yards away from the outer temple-walls were seen a large number of '*unapproachable*' Hindus praying to the deity *more fervently* than some of us ever prayed, perhaps because unlike us it was not given to them to come nearer and pray.

And I thought, and many among us that had enjoyed the feast, no doubt, must have thought likewise, that the

crow might plunder the temple-meal and cast its excrement on it and the dog might look at it in outraged desire and the Muslim and the Christian and the Jew might beg for it at the temple-gate and laugh at the 'heathen' deity in their minds, but some of them yonder that held the temple and its god in the same faith and reverence as ourselves must on no account so much as dream of coming nearer than where they stood.

To-day a great wave of religious equality is sweeping through the immense multiform Hindu community and if reason and justice will have the victory that equality is bound to be realized before many days are past. Baroda and Kashmir have opened the gates of their temples to the outcastes. Maharajas and Zamindars are rushing forth with generous donations to correct a primary basis of Hindu unity. The movement is gathering strength from hour to hour, and the representatives of the traditional orthodox sentiment, who are more numerous and more sensitive in Tamil-land and Malabar than, probably, in any other part of India, are justifiably alarmed. They are justifiably alarmed at this descending dissolution of things cherished by them through the centuries, at this surging tide of individualism and 'equality for unequals,' and they often lament in the anguish of their hearts that these new manners bode no good to the land.

The preservation of religious purity through religious segregation and exclusion is one of the most intimate traditions in South India, and although the end seems no longer preserved the means stand undiminished and command its customary honours from a vital section of the community. For it is idle to contend that our priests and pundits are extinguishers of light and enemies of progress, unanimated by patriotism or affection for their brethren. In the higher qualities of human nature and aspiration the reformer may have little to boast of that the pundit or priest does not really possess.

Nanda the Pariah, the epic events of whose life are recited alike by the orthodox and the *untouchable* reverently, did not win his case by its intrinsic justness but by his faith, fervour and feeling. Traditions generally are their own justification and like grey hairs must generally be respected. There is a natural instinct to stand up for imperilled traditions and a certain dignity in doing so, for when we suffer in defence of a tradition we do not generally seem to fight for our own hands. And this question of traditional caste-disabilities is beset with powerful living sentiments. Scriptural authority invoked by either side must avail little. Arguments lose their virtue in the face of the heart's impulses. Appeals rebound ineffectively from deaf ears. Threatening kindles the greater resistance, and were 'the consummation devoutly desired' wrung from unwilling hearts and hands there is a smoking trail of dissatisfaction and resentment raised up behind that takes the grace from the end achieved. Better were it that a fiat goes forth like an act of God, ordering the desired change, for then both fear and duty will be deprived of their lingering scruples. It is in this respect that Kashmir and Baroda have so strikingly scored off the half-blown democracy of British India. Perhaps, Mysore and Travancore may follow suit presently, and if they do, being in some respects, Travancore particularly, the most sacerdotal subdivisions of India, the greater part of the battle will have been won. It is easier to change an age-long sentiment by a swift act than by a slow cautious process.

But where such a course is inevitable owing to established circumstances, it is necessary that presumptions or assumptions are not hastily pressed into service by either side. An airy nothing is this *untouchability*, a nightmare in a dream and its danger lies in its utter unsubstantiality. When it is forgotten, little will have been gained and we will wonder how on earth it was necessary for a great man of the age to begin to lay down his life to set us moving to forget it. But if it

continues, like the nightmare it is, it will work like hysteria in the public life of this land and prevent it from going onward. Bad dreams are the worst enemies of both individual and national life.

And the movement for the removal of *untouchability* is a movement for toleration. It is strange that the Hindus who through the changing ages have practised toleration as a national virtue have got to-day to struggle with such intense endeavour to re-affirm their most outstanding quality. But it is the spirit and sense of toleration that win the battle for toleration.

N. K. VENKATESWARAN

AMONG THE NEW BOOKS

For sheer simplicity and beauty of style the story of Markus, the lone Norwegian fisherman, as portrayed by Gabriel Scott, is supreme. First published in the Norwegian language under the title "Kilden, eller Brevet om Fiskeren Markus" in 1918, it is now obtainable in English ("Markus, the Fisherman," English translation by Solvi and Richard Bateson, Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 7 s. 6 d. net).

Our interest is claimed from the very first paragraph..... "A man is born ; a speck of dust comes into the world. It lingers awhile, struggles against illness, injustice and want, then it dies and is forgotten, quietly mingling its dust with that of the earth. 'Markus' it says on the tombstone. But who was Markus ?".....and retained through a faithful chronicle of a good fisherman's life until the final chapter that details his death, and the thoughts that engaged his mind at that time. As we read we grow to love Markus for his greatheartedness and trustworthiness. His neighbours picked fun out of him, and publicly ridiculed him, but never once did he become hasty in speech or action. "After all," reasoned Markus, "it is all a part of life, and the beauties of life easily outweigh the evils." There are some remarkably fine paragraphs in this book dealing with fishing, in which we learn of the habits of the lobster, wrasse and eel, to mention but three of the many sea-creatures that are spoken of in its pages. If you want a really good rip-snorting tale of opium-ridden Chinatown, Walter C. Brown will more than satisfy you with his latest book "Laughing Death" (Messrs. J. B. Lippincott Company, London, 8 s. 6 d. net). It is packed full of thrills and intricate problems, and to give a brief

description of the story I cannot do better than quote the publisher's cover-note ! "Tozzi, the gangster, was knifed, and in his room Detective-Sergeant Harper found a peacock feather—and quantities of opium. And there was raw opium under the finger nails and a peacock-feather thrust in the shirt of the Chinaman they dragged from the river, his face twisted into a travesty of laughter, his hands and feet horribly contorted. Had he died the Laughing Death ? Was the Greek Cosoupolis, king of the city's underworld, running the opium ring—or had the dreaded Quong returned ? The trail of hideous torture led to the mysterious dens of Chinatown, and ended in a desperate fight in the crooked cellars and underground passages of Paradise Court ! Conversation is a fine art. And an expert conversationalist—a man who hold our imagination and rigid attention without verging on boredom—is a very much envied man. Grenville Kleiser, who has written a whole host of works on social education, has produced an attractive volume for the use of the man or woman who desires an intensely thorough training in the uses of conversation. If you don't believe that conversation is a neglected art read "How to improve your Conversation" (Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York and London, 8s. 6d. net). Kleiser deplors the widespread use of senseless slang and meaningless phrases, which owe their world-wide growth largely to the talkie films. What to say, when to say it, how to say it, is the one main objective of this splendid book. We gain a good idea of the author's viewpoint in Chapter 1—Conversation is one of the most precious of the arts. Without it no man can really know his fellows ; but because we have grown too busy or too lazy or too self-conscious we have substituted for the polished speech of our forefathers a meaningless jargon, consisting of not more than some hundreds of words, in which a few overworked phrases and epithets are made to do duty for all occasions. We talk, we chatter, we gabble but we do not converse.

Mussolini is probably the best known, and the least understood, statesman in the world to-day. So I must tender my best thanks to Sir Charles Petrie, Kt., M.A., F.R.Hist.S., for his most illuminating volume on Mussolini and his life-work. "Mussolini," volume number three in the *Makers of the Modern Age Series* (Holme Press, London, 5 s. net) is an account of the man who has created the power, prestige and prosperity of Italy. From his birth in July, 1883, at Varano di Costa, the son of poor parents, the reader may follow the trials, privations, progress and triumphs of this most remarkable of all modern statesmen. This book is an exhaustive survey of Fascism as applied to modern conditions in Italy, its birth, growth and reception is little short of amazing. Mussolini must indeed be a proud man to-day when he surveys the result of his schemes for the prosperity and well-being of his country. Ironically enough, Mussolini was, at one time, exiled in Switzerland, and forbidden under grave penalties to enter Italy! The name of Cecil Rhodes is linked forever with that of South Africa, and the title Rhodesia was, of course, founded on his name. But what of the man who so vitally helped Rhodes in his most strenuous days Alfred Beit? Why is so little heard of him? Well partly because he was of his own nature retiring, and partly because he died so long ago as 1906, unwept, unhon'rd and unsung. Alfred Beit was a German-born financier, and more than any one else he helped Rhodes to secure Rhodesia. He was probably the most munificent donor of his period in the cause of education, and in this respect for the past twenty-eight years each succeeding generation in South Africa, Hamburg and Oxford has reaped the harvest of his donations. Moreover than this as an important and influential financier he exercised a definite influence both in Imperial and International affairs. Seymour Fort, C.B.E., has presented us with a brilliant study of the man and his work in "Alfred Beit" (Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 44, Essex Street, W.C. 2, 8 s. 6 d.

net), which contains an admirable foreword from the pen of no less a man than Lieut.-General and Right Hon. J. C. Smuts, C.H., K.C., whose name, of course has long been identified with that of South Africa. Apart from his one time great political significance, Beit's greatest trait appears to have been his grants, bequests and scholarships. Many thousands of people to-day are benefiting from his wise foresight and unbounded generosity.

It may come as a surprise to many to learn that Buddhism thrived in Britain many centuries ago. Indisputable evidence of this is brought to light in Mr. Donald A. Mackenzie's "Buddhism in Pre-Christian Britain" (Messrs. Blackie & Son, Ltd., Glasgow, London and Bombay, 10 s. 6 d. net). Commencing with the subject of the early Celts this book goes on to prove that the Celtic god Cernunnos, who survives in Shakespeare as "Herne the Hunter," is no other than Virupaksha—a Hindu-Buddhist god of the West. The book abounds with illustrations of stone carvings, images, reproductions of paintings, etc., all showing to some extent their various associations with Western Buddhism. The compilation of this volume has meant a great deal of research on the author's part, as the amount of footnotes will prove.

Now we come to a book on educative methods that everyone ought to read, for it heralds the dawn of a new era in education. "The Triumph of the Dalton Plan" written jointly by C. W. Kimmins, M.A., and Belle Rennie (Messrs. Ivor Nicholson & Watson, London, 6 s. net) records the progress of the adoption of individual work in schools. Among the more progressive educationalists there are naturally very diverse opinions held and expressed with regard to such matters as the ideal curriculum for children at different ages, the best method of presenting the material of instruction, the necessity of maintaining a vivid interest in the subjects taught and so on. There are, however, many points on which there is absolute agreement among the various types of

educators. It is now generally admitted that rigid class teaching in which a teacher has to deal with a large number of children, with a wide range of educational achievement among its members, can never be wholly successful. For, not only is there the obvious difficulty of the differences in educational achievement of the members of the group, but there is still the greater factor of an equally wide range in the native ability of the children as revealed by the intelligence tests. The natural and only solution to the problem is individual or sectional teaching. This book describes the experiments made in this direction, and very interesting reading it makes too. There is little doubt that this Dalton Plan of sectional teaching will shortly be adopted by all educationalists the world over.

Most of us are familiar with Tennyson's beautiful poetry, his vision is so grand, the poems of the adventures of Arthur and the Holy Grail being probably the finest of their kind. Mr. F. L. Lucas has brought out a new anthology of this poet's work; "Alfred Lord Tennyson" (Cambridge University Press, 5 s. net) which, although it contains much that previous anthologies have contained, is further enhanced by the addition of two or three hitherto unpublished poems—"Lisette," "Milton's Mulberry;" and "How thought you that this thing could captivate?" being chief among them. This is a book to add to your collection of anthologies; you cannot fail to extract enjoyment from it.

Lastly, those of you who like deep reading, will be well advised to tackle Mr. Francis J. Mott's "Law Emerges" (Creed Publishing Co., 5 Creed Lane, E. C. 4, 5 s. net). In the following lines you get its broad outlines and text:—All bodies are conceived, born, brought to maturity and finally killed and dispersed in accordance with what would appear to be a law of life. This applies, according to highly accredited authorities, to everything, from a slug to the universe, and thus of a

necessity applies alike to the body of a man and to the social bodies into which he congregates.

It has now been discovered that this process is not quite so obvious as might at first appear. The conclusion reached is that there is no essential connection between the birth and death processes as interpreted and experienced by the mind of man and the actual cosmic necessity for putting off the Old and putting on the New, which is an essential part of that process of Becoming which characterizes the life of the Universe. In other words, the birth and death processes may operate in other ways, *viz.*, painfully or painlessly.

The painful method and static method is that which men have accepted as normal. It involves the disintegration of one organism and its succession by the other. The painless, positive and dynamic method is that whereby the birth and death processes are brought together and, as it were, cancelled out without involving the death of the organism and its replacement by another.

Mr. F. J. Mott's book attempts to set forth the fact that the emergence of this law into the experience of humanity began with the experience of Israel which, by linking inspiration with tradition, demonstrated in degree conscious evolution and survival by the perpetuation of its own social body. His book also explores the natural evolution of this idea and its reinstatement in the present day.

The reader who objects that this is high above the heads of the average man and woman, and moreover, does not answer the pressing needs of the moment, can be simply answered. The answer is that there is not a single need of to-day in any field of human experience that does not arise solely from the failure of men to evolve their societies and to prevent their social bodies from living without purpose and thereby batten on society.

The birth and death pains of men and their societies, along with the hideous mummery of its embalmed corpses of

outworn organisations, account for all our woes. Moreover, the failure of established religion to perceive and overcome this error is the failure of humanity to the present day. Mr. Mott's book will not provide you with light reading; every sentence, paragraph and chapter makes you think—and think deeply too—but is a work of brilliant outlines, and will no doubt meet the success it richly deserves.

LLELAND J. BERRY

BECAUSE OF LOVE AND YOU

My wandering feet have strayed
Down the white road to your lattice small,
Some wild tune you have played
Leaps from my throat to lure and call.
Come, Queen of Hindustan, here is a man
Who hath need of your love,
Peep, peep, down from above!

Because of Love and You,
I come from the South,
For a smile from your eyes
And a kiss from your mouth!
In my strong arms you'll lie
Life shall be divine,
I, to love and to cherish you
You to be mine—just mine!

LELAND J. BERRY

Reviews

The Man who went on Business. By Norman Tiptaft. Tiptaft Ltd., Birmingham, 1932.

Mr. Tiptaft toured round the world in quest of orders as a British business man and recorded what struck him as wrong in various walks of life. His experiences are divided in 21 chapters, and written in a strong, homely style: "This book contains no fairy stories, no far-fetched ideas. The scenes are what I have seen. The inferences are my own. The suggestion what I think needed." Against this attitude no one can reasonably complain. Nine of the chapters deal with India; is that so because India is the greatest consumer of British goods in spite of Congress boycott? His deep-rooted conviction, that India is not fit for home rule or *swaraj*, finds expression in many a page. One example will suffice: "These ignorant idealists in Parliament and elsewhere who, even as I write, suggest multiplying the voting power of the average illiterate Indian twenty or thirty-fold, are entirely and disastrously wrong.....Under existing circumstances, the democratic method simply means governing it badly in the interests of none" (p. 39). "Another opinion" by one whom he calls Mr. Surenam Dass represents the opposite view,— "Here people are black or brown or yellow, but they feel as much as white people. They are as intelligent as white people. Their civilisation" ... (p. 43) what follows may be hauled up before a British court of justice on a charge of sedition, and we refrain therefore from quoting it *in extenso* but the only retort from the writer was: "If I were you, I should thank God that the British Government is as tolerant as it is," and then driving off in his car! The writer refers to "Mother India" on p. 50, with evident approval. He returns to the present Indian situation. Since the action of Congress and Gandhi has become definitely treasonable, people have been put in gaol and charged by the police with lathis, and on some few occasions it has been necessary to shoot." But what has been a matter of criminal omission is, he thinks, the works of propaganda, and unless the market is captured and captured by sound business methods which include "advertising" or propaganda, it is impossible to retain full hold on India and the world.

Though we do disagree in matters of opinion, we must praise the author's transparent honesty of belief and expression, and his style is very simple ; no mist of theorising obscures the view either of the writer or the reader. His last three chapters are full of suggestions that have come in due course to a practical man of business touring through the world for the capture of its market. " It's " and " your's " jar on the ears, though they come from a genuine Englishman, a real " home " product.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

" Tuberculosis of the Lungs " hy S. L. Piplani :—

From a study of the book it would appear that Mr. Piplani is himself a victim of Tuberculosis. In his search for light on the subject the author has read widely but has not been able to acquire a clear idea of the subject. The opening chapters of his book on Physiology are extremely painful reading and will make matters more confounded to people who have not a thorough knowledge of the subject. The chapter on " Symptoms " may be of some value to the lay people and warn them to be on the look-out for some of them. The chapter on " Diagnosis " is of no value to the physician and of little help to the sufferer for whom the book is primarily meant. The chapters on " Treatment " contain a large volume of useful information, but the author would have done well if he had not attempted to determine the relative values of different lines of treatment. This is a field of extreme and bitter controversy and prominent medical men who have devoted their whole lives to the study of the subject are extremely careful when expressing their opinions. Finally I would bring it to the notice of the author that there is no want of good literature on the subject in English and with his poor command of the language he will not be able to improve on any of them. It would be far better for him if he would write in his vernacular and choose such subjects as he is qualified to deal with.

A. CHATTERJI

Theory and Practice of Commerce and Business Organisation, by J. C. Mitra, F.S.S., F.R.E.S., Professor, Vidyasagar College, 1932. Price Rs. 4/, pp. 744.

Sir R. N. Mookherjee in his interesting foreword rightly terms this book as an "omnibus work" for it succinctly covers the entire field

which a student of commercial theory, practice and organisation ought to be acquainted with. His long experience has enabled the author to state the salient features of the subject in remarkably lucid and interesting manner. The fundamental rudiments of the subject are referred to in the important field of office organisation, industrial organisation, commercial organisation, import and export trade organisation, business organisation, banking, stock exchange and foreign exchange work and commercial law with reference to insolvency and liquidation. Negotiable credit instruments, insurance advertisement, and secretariat work are also dealt with in the treatise. The valuable supplement gives a bird's-eye view of the chief items of export and import trade of the country. The glossary of commercial and economic terms undoubtedly heightens the value of the exposition. The abbreviations of commercial terms are not forgotten altogether. An extensive bibliography and select references at the end of each chapter would undoubtedly have been helpful to the enquiring reader who might attempt to probe deep into the subject. The questionnaire at the end of each chapter affords an unfailing stimulus to the diligent reader and would doubtless serve the purpose of a text-book meant for College students. A greater number of commercial documents would have better illustrated the commercial practice of this country. We heartily commend this book to students, businessmen and lawyers.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

"The Ottawa Agreement," by D. Ghosh, M.A. (Cantab.), Reader in Economics, University of Bombay. Bombay Book Depot, Girgaum, Bombay, 1932, pp. 76. Price Rs. 1 8 as.

Apart from clearly showing that the Ottawa agreement does not lead to freer international commerce, Prof. Ghosh points out that in spirit as well as substance the Ottawa agreement differs from the multilateral commercial conventions which are an important desideratum at present for increasing the value as well as the volume of the trade of the entire world.

. After tracing the historical outline of the Imperial Preference idea he succeeds in establishing the statement that the present-day Imperial Preference move is a by-product of the recent tariff changes of the United Kingdom. Having become a 'high-tariff country' the United Kingdom had no other recourse than to grant Preference to Empire countries. The anxiety to retain the Empire markets for the British manufacturer gave scope for no other alternative scheme than the Imperial Preference idea.

Apart from indirectly achieving Imperial unity as a by-product the idea of economic consolidation of the Empire resources actuated the sponsors of this new move.

Outlining briefly the differences between Protection and Preference the author proposes to strike a balance-sheet of the net gains and losses in the present as well as the near future so as to enable the reader to understand whether the Preferential arrangement is justifiable or not.

In Part II of his brilliant study he succeeds in convincing the reader that Indian exports do not stand to gain materially from British Preference. Analysing exports into characteristic groups he arrives at the conclusion that in Group I to which $\frac{2}{3}$ of our exports belong India cannot hope to gain materially from British Preference. Preference ought to have arisen in case of exports belonging to Group II while those belonging to Group III would have to compete with Colonial and Dominion Products within the British market. The natural result of British Imperial Preference will lead to a loss of India's export trade in neutral markets through increased competition and reduced purchase on retaliation by foreign countries. A neutral market which is expanding at a fast rate would thus be lost. He instances the loss of the Australian market in the case of Indian tea (p. 48). He proves effectively that Britain's capacity to absorb more of our export trade might not after all be existing in which case this new idea and dose of Imperial Preference will not materially aid our export trade situation (p. 46).

The main burden of his thesis is the increased cost which the Indian consumer has to bear in case of Preference to British imports into India for it is almost certain that British prices will seldom be as low as foreign prices though the quality of the product is the same. As mass production is also not likely to be developed in many of the British industrial lines it is not likely that there would be any direct benefit to British industrial situation itself out of this move of Imperial Preference. The net gain to Indian exports from preference will be smaller than the net loss on our imports both to-day and in the future. Hence India stands to lose by the total rejection of the Ottawa Agreement in the present form. A more discriminating preference is needed in the trade agreement and it ought to be confined to Group II of our exports and imports.

We heartily commend this brochure to all readers who wish to understand the economic implications of the Ottawa Agreement. A copy of the *proposed* agreement is included in the Appendix. We advise the author to lower the cost-price a little so as to place it within the reach of students.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

“ Woman Labour in India,” by Rajani Kanta Das, M.Sc., Ph.D., International Labour Office, Geneva, 1931, pp. 72.

Those who have read of Dr. Das's works on Labour movement in India will undoubtedly welcome the publication of the interesting monograph dealing with woman labour in India. It is quite up to the high standard of his previous writings. It is gratifying to note that Dr. Das has collected his information from the material gathered by the I. L. Office and from other inaccessible sources to the average reader. So the monograph contains a great deal of hitherto unavailable statistical material and will be useful as a standard work of reference on the subject.

The present monograph deals with the position of woman labour in large-scale industries such as plantations, factories and mines, for nothing definite is known of their position, work and life in the unorganised industries of the country such as agriculture and domestic service.

Nextly he outlines historically the application of legislative measures in different directions to protect the interests of woman labour. Each of the branches in industry is taken in turn and the position of woman labour with special reference to conditions of employment, health and safety, hours of labour, efficiency of labour, wages and income, standard of living, welfare work and social conditions is stated clearly.

The most valuable part of the monograph consists in the outlining of different suggestions for the elevation of the political, social and industrial status of women. That Indian women should become “ good mothers, intelligent citizens and responsible members of society ” should be the objective of all social reformers. The social policy of the state should be guided on these lines. For enabling them to produce their fullest expression in all walks of life the Government of India ought to equalise the social, political and industrial opportunities by inaugurating such measures as free and compulsory primary education, creation of new industrial opportunities for women by regulating working conditions, the abolition of child marriage, the purdah system and the caste system with a view to giving opportunities for development of both body and mind and the formation of character and individuality.

At the time of framing new constitutional framework of the Government it is incumbent on the part of the framers to remember this angle of vision for the static and backward condition of India is specially created by the inferior status and economic position and unequal rights and privileges enjoyed by women. National wealth can be augmented only when women contribute their fullest.

Nothing is more important than the extending of the scope of labour legislation so as to cope more effectively than at present with insanitary conditions, fatal accidents, long hours, low wages, and sweating of women labour which sometimes prevail in some industrial centres of India. Thanks to the International Labour Office there has been some improvement in this direction but a higher standard is needed in the direction of their working and living conditions in the organised factories. The lowering of the hours of work from 60 to 54 at least in the perennial factories, the fixing of a minimum wage, the ensuring of prompt and regular payment of wages and the extension of the provisions of social insurance require immediate attention and now that the civic consciousness of women has been roused there is bound to be marked improvement in all directions, *viz.*, living and working conditions of women labour and an improved social policy on the part of the state with reference to women's rights, privileges and obligations.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

"Men, Myths and Movements in German Literature"—"a volume of historical and critical papers," by William Rose, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1931 (10 s. net), is a scholarly work by the Reader in German in the University of London who is now an acknowledged authority in England on German literature. The volume before us "offers the fruits of research," as the Preface quietly informs us, "extending over a period of eight years" and the fruits are, indeed, worth all the intelligent industry that has gone to their maturing. It consists of ten highly edifying and ably written essays on subjects like the mediaeval beast epic, Dr. Faustus, Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, Munchausen, Goethe's "Werther," the romantic symbol of the Blue Flower as used by Novalis, and modern German literature in its three aspects since 1913, "the year of the centenary celebration of the War of Liberation." To each of the first two essays is attached a short bibliography which is valuable and there is "a select bibliography of books" at the end "which deal with German literature since 1914."

A real service is thus done to students of German literature by this laudable attempt of the writer to present together in a single volume literary essays which were separately published (some as

Introductions to volumes in the Broadway Translations series) and remained hitherto scattered in different places.

The first essay is an important study of folk-lore and starts with a critical estimate of three important theories regarding the origin of the beast saga, ascribed to a wide-spread Indo-German tradition, to monastic writings and to folk-lore origin. Distinction is drawn also between Beast Fable, more or less international in character, and Beast Epics bearing marks of the country producing them. Then follow instructive and useful summaries of some of the best known works in beast literature as it flourished specially in France and Germany and the influence of the "branches," or collection of stories, of the *Roman de Renard* is carefully traced. These compositions of the *Trouvères* are distinguished from the Latin Beast Epics of monks or priests. The parts played by the oldest Latin Epic *Ecbasis captivi* and *Ysengrimus* are also clearly indicated. Subsequent popularity of the Beast Stories is supposed to be due to a Flemish epic which largely contributed to the fame of *Reynard* as it has developed since the Middle Ages.

The essay on Faust which is a valuable contribution contains four parts in the first of which the historical person behind the legend is shown to have a long history. The author has in a scholarly manner shown that it may be traced from 1507 to 1576 in various records and the contemporary references enable him to establish that if the real name of the personage was Georg it may have been replaced by Johann. In the other parts we have from him equally important accounts of (1) the German Faust Book showing how there was a development of the legend from historical fact and how a literary form was given to the legend and how the various threads of stories may be traced to different sources, (2) Faust in England and (3) the Faust Drama in Germany. Many obscure points have been successfully tackled in these discourses on the historical Doctor Faust and the conclusions reached are really helpful to the students of the Faust literature.

In the Baron Munchausen essay the question of the authorship is first settled, a short account of the Baron's life is given, the value of Professor Rudolph Erich Raspe's work based on the Munchausen stories properly estimated and the important suggestion made that the Baron did not so much invent his anecdotes as "he drew upon memories of what he had heard or read." An attempt is also made to indicate where most of the stories appear in one form or another.

The essay on the historical background of "Werther" is a remarkable piece of elaborate research in which is carefully discussed "the various incidents in Goethe's life which contributed to the shaping of the work." Goethe's life at Wetzlar, his relation with Kestner and Lotte, the unhappy fate of Karl Wilhelm Jerusalem, Goethe's idyllic relation with Frau von La Roche's daughter, Maximiliane, who was married to Brentano—all forming parts of *Werther*—are briefly but adequately dealt with to indicate the wonderful blending of truth and fiction in that famous work. The result is a revelation in the story of *Werther* of "a combination of three different elements" which are clearly elucidated. The paper next touches on "the causes of the morbid mood" then prevalent in Germany, Wertherism being only "one aspect" of "what is known in Germany as *Weltschmerz*." A very illuminating quotation from the writer's "From Goethe to Byron" on the definition of *Weltschmerz* is appropriately made (at page 143-44).

Goethe's attitude to the Jews forms the subject of one of the essays—in which the conclusion drawn from a mass of details is that it was, on the whole, one of dislike to that race, of intolerance if not of hostility and that it "was typical of his attitude to his oppressed countrymen in general, but he failed to soar beyond prejudices.

In the Novalis paper the author examines "the extent to which dream encroached upon reality in the life of one of the Romanticists." Unaffected materially by the French Revolution and even the German *Sturm und Drang* and continuing the sentimental tradition, Novalis made his famous Blue Flower "the symbol of the unattainable, of the object of that vague longing which cannot be satisfied, or even defined, because its roots are in the unconscious." His love for Sophie verges on a form of Mary-worship "with an erotico-mystical exaltation." Religion, Death and Love form for him a mystic trinity.

The three essays on contemporary German literature, dealing with Expressionism, the German drama from 1914 to 1927 and the Spirit of Revolt in German literature from 1914 to 1930, are very interesting and present in clear outline by means of an acute analysis of individual writers of note and their works the main tendencies of to-day. There is a good deal of overlapping in the first two papers but that was unavoidable. The background of this literature is furnished by the attitude of the rising generation to the War and the Revolution that followed it. There was in Germany a sudden "upheaval of the national soul which explains the ecstatic, mystic, even apocalyptic nature of much of the literature produced between 1917 and 1921." "The Expressionists sought to visualise the

eternal " by way of a protest against materialism which made poetry approximate as closely as possible to life. Characters in this new literature tend to type-distinctions, tendency to concentration is carried to excess, socialistic hostility to the bourgeois is over-emphasized, revolt against large-town modern civilisation is pronounced and disillusion resulting from the materialism of industrial life leads to pessimism. Even the attitude to women is changed, the relation of man to woman is becoming less emotional and more intellectual giving to love a subordinate place in sex relation. The narrower conception of nationality yields place to a broader one of new humanity. Father-son conflict and that between the higher and the lower self are the staple themes of the dramas. Literature became fundamentally idealistic once more, there was an intense longing for a new world order and a revaluation of traditional ethics. Art became intuitive. Our author carefully brings out these aspects by a rapid survey of the writings of Kaiser, Werfel, Unruh, Toller, Mann, Hasenclever, Viebig and a number of workmen poets. There is a reference too made to post-Expressionist " New Objectivity " which came into existence after 1924. "Expressionism," according to this writer's estimate, " has left an indelible mark on German literature " and " its deepened consciousness of the ultimate significance of problems which previous generations had treated with less searching insight, will render necessary a revaluation of the literature of, at any rate, the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth."

J. G. B.

" **A History of Fire and Flame**," by Dr. Oliver C. de C. Ellis, published for the Poetry Lovers' Fellowship by Messrs Simpkin, Marshall Ltd., London, 1932 (15s. nett), is a really wonderful book and one of the outstanding publications of the year. It has a brief but suggestive Preface written by Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie who rightly says—" Fact and feeling, knowledge and imagination—Dr. Ellis has written the history of them all: for all equally unite in man's experience of Fire."

Dr. Ellis in writing this " great Historie " has with equal success devised an incredible, nay romantic, tale full of fascinating interest. In the dedication to Richard Vernon Wheeler the author observes that he has attempted " to trace the development of a few ideas " and that his " book should stand or fall by the resulting map of this voyage of exploration." His ambition is " to offer a stereoscopic view to readers

who have been too thoroughly habituated either to the single lens of 'Science' or to the single eye of the 'Arts.' This ambition has been singularly fulfilled. The details, for all his modesty, in being fully illustrative have also become encyclopaedic and as a result the not-
"feasible" is wholly achieved here. Dr. Ellis is remarkably loyal both to the genius of research and to that of the poetic imagination. The whole idea of a history of the thoughts of all the ages connected with the subject is courageously conceived and the execution is as lucid as it is brilliant. Fire is treated in a volume of 377 pages containing 252 sections or paragraphs arranged in 11 chapters with appropriate headings. The illustrations and the exhaustive index enhance the value of the volume considerably and there is also a supplementary bibliographical list.

The abundance of material is so bewildering that we find it difficult to attempt a summary. Dr. Ellis has practically ransacked the literature of the whole world in making this grand contribution to what is more than a chemical history, for, here facts, fables and fancies jostle with one another amicably. We are frequently reminded of Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy" and Sir Thomas Browne's "Religio Medici."

In tracing the history of fire from hazy antiquity full of fables and myths through the intermediate stages of astrologers and alchemists to the days of modern scientific research and investigation he has also traced the civilising influence of fire and flame on the entire history of humanity and his digressions are as entertaining as those of Browne, rich as both these fascinating writers are in out of the way facts and attractive odds and ends of folklore. And the whole mass of valuable information is beautifully moulded into a fine literary form in which poetry forms with science a rich blend irresistible in its charm. Every branch of learning is here made to contribute its quota and Dr. Ellis lends the fluency of a lucid style and the accuracy of scientific touch to the fascinating narration. All the wonders of man's discoveries are harmoniously combined with his fancies and the myths and fables and anecdotes he has associated with fire, and the reader stands face to face with the beauty and mystery of life itself. The results of scientific experiment are illuminated with flashes of poetic fancy making the volume unique in its complexity calculated to powerfully appeal to a very wide circle of readers. Dr. Ellis carries us back to the beginnings of human progress. Philosophy, science, history, mythology and theology are all suitably laid under contribution by the writer's all-embracing imagination and he brings to bear on this varied wealth the power of lucid interpretation. How freely we are made
to range with him at ease over this varied world of facts and fables and

enjoy the beauty of a literary performance in which scientific accuracy is enlivened by poetic suggestiveness ! Though the foundation of the whole book is laid deep in science, philosophical speculations, fanciful theories, wild conjectures, beliefs, happy guesses at truth, myths, fables, fancies, magic, superstition—all find their appropriate place in this unique work. We are sure this entertaining volume will be read and re-read.

J. G. B.

Ourselves

THE MOUAT MEDAL

A Mouat medal has been awarded to Mr. Adharchandra Das, M.A., on the result of research work done by him during the third year's term of his P. R. Studentship in Literary subjects for 1928.

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THE MAHENDRANATH RAY PRIZE AND MEDAL FOR 1932

The Mahendranath Ray Prize and Medal of full value for the year 1932 will be awarded to each of the following candidates :—

Name.	Subject.
(1) Dr. Rohinimohan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.	“ The Evolution of Indian Industries.”
(2) Dr. Manomohan Ray, M.Sc., Ph.D.	“ Foreign Investment in British India.”

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THE KEDARNATH BANERJEE GOLD MEDAL FOR 1932

The Kedarnath Banerjee Gold Medal for the year 1932 will be awarded to the following candidates, each being awarded a gold medal of half the value of the medal :—

- (1) Jogeschandra Saha—University Law College.
- (2) Haridas Ghosh—University Law College.

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THE MAHARAJA SIR J. M. TAGORE GOLD AND SILVER
MEDALS FOR 1931

The Maharaja Sir J. M. Tagore Gold and Silver Medals for the year 1931 will be awarded as follows :—

- (1) Amiyakrishna Chaudhury—University Law College (Gold Medal)
- (2) Mrinalkumar Ghosh—University Law College (Silver Medal)

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SIR C. V. RAMAN TAKES LEAVE.

The Syndicate have recommended to the Senate that Sir C. V. Raman, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D. LL.D., D.L., F.R.S., N.L., Palit Professor of Physics, be granted leave for the period from 1st April, 1933, to 31st May, 1934, and the Professor be permitted to accept his appointment as Director of Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1933



SOME PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL¹

I must at the outset thank you most sincerely for the great honour you have done me in electing me to preside over the present session of your Conference. I am all the more sensible of the distinction you have conferred on me by reason of the fact that your past Presidents include distinguished scholars and administrators, some of whom have justly acquired a worldwide reputation. I lack their learning, their wisdom and their experience, although I venture to claim that I share equally with them an anxiety for the welfare of this great province and a readiness to devote myself to the cause of its future educational expansion.

Problems arising out of the present educational system of our country present such diversity and complexity that I cannot possibly venture to deal with all of them in the course of my address. I accordingly propose to refer only to some of the urgent questions which have recently been before us, and particularly to the almost universal dissatisfaction with our present educational system. Most of the unsatisfactory features of under-graduate and post-graduate education have their origin in a defective system of secondary education. And though this is a conference of representatives of teachers

¹ Speech delivered by Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister at Law, M.L.C., as President of the All-Bengal University and College Teachers' Conference at Albert Hall, Calcutta, on 22nd February, 1933.

in the university and its affiliated colleges, I shall be forgiven if I first take up the New Matriculation Regulations which have been recently passed by the Senate. The future of university education depends vitally on the reorganisation of secondary education and to my mind a reference to these regulations is not only justified but also necessary. You will have noticed that they aim at several reforms of a comprehensive character. In the first place, our mother-tongue is to be recognised as the medium of instruction and examination in all subjects other than English,—a change which is long overdue and which is justly regarded as of far-reaching significance. In the second place, the present list of subjects has been revised in important directions so as to render the entire course more up-to-date, useful and practical. History and Geography are to be made compulsory and Elementary Science is, for the present, included in the list of optional subjects with the proviso that it will be made compulsory after five years. In the third place, certain new subjects, such as Domestic Science and Music, which are specially suitable for girls, have been added to the list. They are of course in addition to the subjects which are open to all. The educational needs of boys and girls are not exactly the same and the University must provide for the special requirements of the latter. In the fourth place, there is provision for imparting instruction in a number of “practical” subjects which may to a certain extent be expected to meet the demands of vocational education. I am under no illusion that the introduction of these subjects will immediately solve the burning problem of unemployment among educated youths. But I do feel that the reorganised courses of study, now made varied and practical, will stimulate our students to mental effort and will help to make them more earnest and self-reliant. The regulations are fraught with great possibilities and although there may be difference of opinion as regards the details here and there, I believe there is general agreement that the scheme is on the whole sound and will prove beneficial. You will remember that

these changes were formulated by the University nearly eleven years ago and we are anxious that there should not be any further delay in giving effect to them. They are now before Government and we trust will soon receive sanction and begin to operate in the near future. I hope and trust the University will not remain satisfied with merely recognising the Vernacular as the medium for the Matriculation Examination but will proceed to take the necessary steps with a view to make it the vehicle of instruction and examination for all, including the highest examinations of the University and thus give our national language its rightful place in the scheme of University studies.

The question of girls' education is assuming considerable importance and magnitude. It is not perhaps generally known that the number of girls appearing at the Matriculation Examination is steadily increasing. In 1920, only 116 girls appeared at the Matriculation Examination, in 1926 the number was 183 and in 1932 it rose to 670. This is, no doubt, a welcome sign. It is true that many of these girls bring their educational career to an end at the Matriculation stage. Still, quite a large number of them join the University and study in some of our affiliated colleges. The question of making proper arrangements for their study and recreation has therefore to be very carefully considered. I have no desire to cast any reflection on the authorities of the only affiliated college for girls maintained out of the public funds. The fact however remains that a large number of guardians prefer their wards to be educated in non-Government institutions. A special responsibility, therefore, rests with the authorities of these colleges. I would ask you to consider the question of future arrangements for imparting instruction to girls in our affiliated colleges, particularly the question of co-education, and also to suggest, if you think it proper, any changes in the courses of study so as to make them suitable in every way for girls.

One of the questions now before the University is with regard to the congestion of students in our Calcutta colleges.

It appears that the number of students in mofussil colleges is decreasing rapidly and also that some institutions in Calcutta have on their rolls a disproportionately large number of students. Apart from the fact that too large a roll strength makes it difficult for the college authorities to properly look after the individual needs of the students, there is another aspect of the matter which requires our serious consideration. Calcutta has its attractions and, it must be admitted, its temptations. It will certainly be better if immature boys who generally matriculate at the age of 15 or 16 prosecute their studies at least for the Intermediate Examination in institutions near their homes and continue to remain as far as possible under the protecting influence of their parents and guardians. This perhaps is one of the reasons why the University has encouraged the establishment of small Intermediate colleges outside Calcutta. Unfortunately, however, a majority of mofussil colleges are not in a prosperous condition. I do not think it necessary to discuss the question in detail at this stage but I would ask you seriously to consider if it is possible or desirable to check the congestion of students in Calcutta, and if so, it is our duty to indicate the lines on which the University should proceed in the matter.

While dwelling on this topic, I would also like to refer to the possibility of securing greater contact between the colleges, at least in Calcutta. Much may be gained if we can work out a scheme which would make it possible for students reading in different colleges to attend lectures on selected subjects in particular institutions which enjoy special facilities for teaching them. This may with advantage be done with regard to certain Honours subjects. Every college need not necessarily arrange for Honours teaching in all subjects. Such inter-collegiate arrangements will not only benefit students but will also lead to a better understanding among the colleges themselves, a better utilisation of existing resources and may ultimately result in economy. We should also consider whether we should not request the University to permit its professors and lecturers to deliver

special courses of lectures for the benefit of the students reading in our affiliated colleges. Many college teachers work as part-time lecturers in the Post-Graduate Department. There is no reason why Post-Graduate teachers also should not co-operate and impart instruction in special subjects to students of affiliated colleges.

I would next refer to another question which has for some time past assumed considerable importance and has evoked some controversy as well, I mean the question of deprovincialisation of Government Arts colleges and schools. I am glad to find that you have given this subject the special importance which it certainly deserves and propose to hold a separate meeting for its consideration to-day. I have no desire to anticipate the discussion but you will permit me to place before you certain aspects of this important question. I shall not deal with the deprovincialisation of Government schools but shall refer to Arts colleges only. There are 45 Arts colleges in Bengal; of these ten are maintained by Government and thirty-five are non-Government institutions. Roughly speaking, about 3,500 students are on the rolls of these ten Government colleges, while more than 17,000 students are reading in the other 35 non-Government colleges. Government spend more than 11 lacs of rupees annually for the maintenance of these ten colleges and provide grants-in-aid to 20 non-Government colleges to the extent of about Rs. 2,60,000 only. It is admitted that there is room for radical improvements in our affiliated colleges. It is further acknowledged that improvements on any wide scale are not possible without financial assistance. It is also conceded that the finances of the province being what they are, it may not be possible for Government to spend more on education than what they are doing at present. Even if some money is available, it is more than probable it will be required for Primary education. It might have been a different matter if Government had unlimited funds at their disposal, but things being what they are, what

justification can there be for Government for spending 11 lacs of rupees for 3,500 students to the comparative neglect of the interests of the great bulk of the Bengali students reading in non-Government colleges ? The interest taken by Government in non-Government colleges has been amply proved by their decision to suspend the non-recurring grant of Rs. 1,29,000, distributed for many years through the University. I am fully aware that if the policy of deprovincialisation is accepted, the period of transition will be one of considerable difficulty. Existing contracts must be observed. Further, deprovincialisation does not necessarily mean abolition of Government colleges, but it involves their being handed over to non-official bodies and their administration in accordance with a system of grants-in-aid. The savings in the first few years may not be considerable but the policy of deprovincialisation must be accepted and a beginning made immediately.

There is one aspect of the matter on which I would lay great stress. We must demand that the money released must be spent on the improvement of collegiate education. To put it plainly, we do not want the introduction of a scheme of deprovincialisation, followed by a reduction of State expenditure and the absorption of the available surplus in the departments of Police and Jails. If that be the result of our efforts for deprovincialisation, I would much rather leave the Government colleges as they are and wait with what patience I may for better days to come.

It is not possible for me in the course of this address to examine in detail the arguments usually urged against deprovincialisation. But I cannot help referring to one objection which is raised whenever this question comes up for discussion. It is stated that generally in non-Government colleges discipline suffers and that political and extra-academic considerations usually play a large part in the actual administration of the institutions. I am not desirous of entering into the rather delicate comparison of Government colleges with non-

Government colleges. But I refuse to believe that Government colleges have proved ideal places for maintenance of discipline and that non-Government colleges have proved the reverse. If discipline be interpreted as meaning that the patriotic feelings and sentiments of the youths of the province have to be trampled under foot, if discipline means the threat of mass punishment of students for the alleged guilt of a few, or their drastic punishment if boys do not always behave in strict and rigid conformity with the old and musty departmental rules which were framed to meet the requirements of a remote by-gone period, if discipline means that boys are to be brought into their class rooms by the show of police force, then I would say that Government colleges are superior to non-Government colleges. But if discipline implies firmness accompanied by a sympathetic understanding and a tactful handling of difficult and delicate situations, if discipline is to be broad-based on obedience, spontaneously evoked more by personal respect and affection than by mere frigid authority, then I would refuse to place Government colleges in a position of superiority. I claim to know the inner working of many educational institutions both belonging to Government and outside their sphere of influence, and I feel no hesitation in saying that, on the whole, the authorities of non-Government colleges, although they had to pass through times of abnormal anxiety and excitement, have carried on their difficult task of administration and maintained order and regularity in a manner worthy of commendation.

Equally strongly do I feel that there is no foundation for the charge that the authorities of non-Government colleges are likely to be desirous of regulating their policy by political or extra-academic considerations. On the other hand, we may legitimately point towards the tendency on the part of Government to introduce openly and flagrantly extra-academic considerations in the matter of making appointments in Government institutions. We consider it deplorable that religion or community,

and not merit, should be the deciding factor in making appointments to the teaching staff. We feel that the policy of de-provincialisation, if followed with adequate safeguards, will make education free from the cross-currents and under-currents of political and communal intrigue and place the institutions under the control of autonomous Governing Bodies whose sole aim would be to promote academic interests.

You will permit me to make a suggestion or two for carrying out some improvements in certain branches of activity of your Association. I would invite you to consider for a moment whether the magazine of your Association which is making its influence felt in educational circles, cannot extend its sphere of influence and make itself a more powerful organ for the spread of culture throughout the land. The promoters of the magazine have only to exert themselves a little in order to utilise to the fullest extent the vast intellectual resources at the disposal of the Association. A powerful press is a very potent influence both for good and evil and the Association can most effectively further its interests by extending and strengthening its activities in this direction.

I would further request the members of your Association to direct their attention to another field of activity which does not seem to have attracted much notice up to the present. Physical education, games and sports, have been relegated to a minor position and though the prevailing agitation for improving the national physique has caught the imagination of the students, it does not seem to have found any corresponding response from our teachers as a body. I would ask the teachers of colleges to guide this growing movement for improving physical education. Apart from its obvious and manifold advantages, it presents to them a unique opportunity for strengthening their hold on the affection and respect of the student community.

Before I bring my address to a close, I would like to say a few words on the general question of remodelling the present

system of education. I have no desire to review historically the different stages through which the present system has passed. I fully recognise some of the great benefits which it has conferred on the people of this province. Even under this system, we have had many eminent personalities who in various fields of activity have shed undying lustre on their names and have served the best interests of their motherland. Western education has helped to rouse our political consciousness, has to a large extent unified the scattered elements spread throughout this vast country, and has had remarkable effects on our national awakening. No one can forget the inestimable value of these contributions. Leaving aside these generalisations, when we come to the immediate present, we are faced with a situation which appears to be almost baffling in character. The fact remains that the present system of education has now come to what practically amounts to a stage of collapse. The people of the province have from the beginning displayed a unique eagerness to take advantage of the educational facilities which were open to them and Bengal has witnessed a remarkable growth of secondary and collegiate education. But what do we find to be the present state of affairs ? The average student whom we are producing is not equipped to fight the battle of life and the question of unemployment amongst the educated middle-class population of Bengal is becoming more and more acute. The time has long passed by when we could console ourselves by quoting the cheap platitude that a great centre of learning should not apply itself to the solution of the " bread problem " and that its motto should be " education for education's sake." I do not mean to suggest that a University can directly make itself responsible on any large scale for finding employment for its alumni. But it has certainly an obligation to impart instruction to the youths of the country on lines which will not only keep alive in them their zeal for knowledge and truth but also make them manly and useful citizens, well-equipped to earn a decent living by means of some

honest trade or profession. The present system of education does not generally fulfil these conditions and the time has come when the entire system has to be overhauled and given a predominantly practical turn. I have no sympathy with those who suggest that the remedy lies in simply reducing the number of educational institutions and curtailing the facilities now open to our youths. That is a policy of destruction, a negative policy which can only be worthy of reactionaries who are no genuine friends of our country. To my mind the remedy lies not only in re-organising the present scheme of studies but also in the establishment of new types of institutions which would provide adequate training in technical, commercial, agricultural and allied subjects immediately after the Matriculation stage. This would give the thousands of boys who pass through our hands every year a chance of choosing their careers, instead of being compelled to follow one type of education, which is predominantly literary and is practically the only avenue now open to them.

It is conceivable that many existing institutions may suitably re-organise their activities and provide for necessary instruction in one or more of such vocational subjects. One of the drawbacks of the present system is too much rigidity and standardisation by rules and regulations. I would certainly welcome the possibility of some institutions developing themselves according to their own light and providing for instruction of a specialised character. They cannot obviously do it single-handed ; financial assistance must be rendered to them and they must be encouraged to move on generally approved lines in accordance with a well-thought-out scheme. There must also be closer relationship between the University and practical business-men in whose hands lies the control of established trades and industries, for that alone will prevent us from making our teaching too theoretical. The University is at present considering a proposal for the establishment of small institutions where agricultural education, both theoretical and practical, will

be imparted to a select number of students. We do hope that some acceptable scheme may be formulated and carried into effect in the near future.

The problem of future reorganisation of the educational system is one of vast complexity and magnitude. It will require the united action of Government, the University and the Colleges and must ultimately depend on public support. I would ask you to give this matter your most careful consideration and, if possible, to make some constructive proposals. In view of the present financial depression, it may not be feasible for us to launch upon too ambitious a scheme but it may be worth our while if we can make even a small beginning.

I do not intend to conclude this address with a note of despondency. However discouraging the present may appear, we must on no account lose our faith in the future. Believe me when I say that your share in bringing our present struggles for solving our immediate problems to a speedy and successful termination will be considerable. But you must proceed on right lines with that boldness of vision, which should always characterise persons who take upon themselves the sacred task of moulding the character of the rising generation. Though the teachers of this country have not yet been given their rightful place in society and though some of the facilities for work and service to which they are entitled by virtue of their profession and self-sacrifice are even now being denied to them, it will yet have to be acknowledged that they continue to exercise tremendous influence over the destinies of the future citizens of the country. I would appeal to you to examine with the utmost care all problems of educational reconstruction, some only of which have just been outlined by me and to lay down principles which should guide our future activities. I would again appeal to you to realise the vastness of the responsibilities that rest on your shoulders. It is for you to educate public opinion on right lines, to advise the University and Government in solving the complex educational problems

of the day, such as—the adjustment of the needs of Primary, Secondary and University education; the conflicting claims of literary and vocational education; the co-ordination of various courses of study; the removal of the evils of the examination system; the building up of corporate life in our colleges; State-aid and Government control over educational institutions; the reconstitution of University bodies; the maintenance of a proper standard of teaching and examination and the improvement of the conditions of service of teachers. It is for you to give concrete shape to the measures that may be agreed upon after mature deliberation and to carry them out with steadfast loyalty and devotion to the sacred cause of Education. It is also for you not only to inculcate in the minds of youths the passion for knowledge and truth and the spirit of reverence, but also to foster in them that love of their motherland—that real patriotism—which impels one to sacrifice everything for the good of one's country. I look forward to the day when our teachers will be regarded as leaders of society not only in realms of thought but also in fields of action; when the nation will look up to them for initiative and guidance in its different spheres of activity. That day, I fervently hope, is not far distant; and in the meantime it may be expected that no efforts will be lacking on your part to rise to that eminent position to which you may legitimately aspire by virtue of your noble and sacred vocation.

THEORIES OF ILLUSION IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

The explanation of errors of perception has been a perplexing question for all philosophy. The question is this: How are we to explain the false perception of silver in a shell? Is it due to the object itself? Or, is it due to our subjective attitude towards the object? According to the Nyāya, while valid knowledge (pramā) is objective in the sense of being grounded in the object itself (arthajanya), all error is subjective in so far as it is due to the introduction of a certain foreign character into the object by the knowing subject (adhyāropa). In the case of the mirage, for example, there is nothing wrong in the object. "The object all the while remains what it actually is. In regard to the flickering rays of the sun, when there arises the cognition of water, there is no error in the object: it is not that the rays are not rays, nor that the flickering is not flickering; the error lies in the cognition: as it is the cognition which instead of appearing as the cognition of the flickering rays, appears as the cognition of water, i.e., as the cognition of a thing as something which it is not."¹ From this it follows that there is no error in the simple apprehension (alocana) of the object. The object as given in indeterminate (nirvikalpaka) perception consists of a number of actually present flickering rays of the sun. But on account of certain defects in the sense-organ and the influence of association and memory, the given datum is misinterpreted as water in the determinate (savikalpaka) perception of it. Hence the error lies not in the indeterminate perception of the given but in the determinate perception of it as worked up and modified by some representative elements.²

¹ Vārttika, 1-1-2; 1-1-4. Vide also Nyāya-Bhāṣya, 1-1-4, 4-2-35, 4-2-37.

² Tātparya, 1-1-4.

The modern school of the Nyāya shows great ingenuity to explain the perceptual character of illusory experience. That in illusion there is the attribution (āropa) of a false character to a perceived fact is no doubt true¹ But the questions that arise here are : How do we come to ascribe the false character? How again does this false character appear as something actually perceived in illusion? The Nyāya rightly points out that an illusory experience is a single perception. It is not, as Prabhākara thinks, a complex of perception and recollection with their distinction blurred by obscuration of memory. Thus when we have the illusion of silver in a shell, we no doubt attribute silverness to the shell which is not its proper locus. But at the same time it is equally doubtless that the silver is somehow perceived and not merely remembered in illusion. This has been very well pointed out in a recent article by A. C. Ewing when he observes : “ The difficulty in the case of perception is not the mere fact of error, but the demand that we should hold both that what we immediately perceive is numerically identical with a physical object or a part of such an object and yet that it is quite different.”² To explain illusion, therefore, we have to explain its perceptual character, instead of trying to explain it away.

Taking the illusion of silver in a shell as an illustration, the Nyāya account comes to this. There is first the contact of sense with something present before it. Owing to some defects, the sense apprehends such general features of the thing as its brightness, etc., but fails to discern its peculiar and distinctive features. But the general features being associated with some other thing (here silver) recall the images or ideas of the peculiar properties of that other thing. Through such recollection there is a sort of contact (jñānalakṣaṇāsannikarṣa) between sense and that other thing (*i.e.*, silver). Hence there is an actual

¹ Vide Tarkabhāṣā, p. 29, Vārttika, p. 24.

² Mind, April, 1930, p. 149.

perception of silver in the illusion.¹ The perceived silver is then referred to the locus (*idam*) or the something which is present before and perceived by sense. Hence in the illusion there is perception of both the 'this' and the 'silver,' although in different ways. So far there seems to be nothing wrong. The error comes in and the illusion arises when the silver that is perceived elsewhere is referred as a predicate to the 'this' as its subject. It is this determinate knowledge of the 'this' as qualified by 'silverness' (*viśiṣṭajñānam*) that can account for a man's efforts to gain possession of the illusory object. In recognition (*pratyabhijñā*), in which we say 'this is that man I saw yesterday,' we see how certain presentative and representative elements combine to make up one single perception.² Any ordinary valid perception also illustrates how a given *sensum* combines with associated ideas to make up one percept. But while in these, the combination has its objective counterpart, in illusion the relation between the perceived 'this' and 'silver' is not objectively real. It is contradicted and sublated either by a subsequent experience that corrects the illusory experience of silver and shows it to be false or by the experience of disappointment which ensues when we take possession of it. In the first case the cognition of silver is shorn of its objective (*viśayāpahāra*), and in the second case we are put in possession, not of the silver, but of the shell (*phalāpahāra*).³ Hence the error of perception lies not in the presentations concerned in the perception but in the determination of one presentation by another given through association and memory (*jātyasaṃskārat*). And since this determination results in a judgment of the object as something other than what it is, the Nyāya theory of error is called 'anyathākhyāti' or 'viparitākhyāti.' According to it, an erroneous cognition is presentational in character and has some

¹ Nyāyamañjarī, pp. 180-85.

² Tattvacintāmaṇi, Pratyakṣakhaṇḍa, Sec. on anyathākhyāti, esp. pp. 477, 484-523 ff.
Cf. "Mamataṇḍīyajāyatvāt jātyasaṃskārācca sāk-śātkāntvamevobhayatra," *ibid*, p. 525.

³ Nyāyamañjarī, p. 186; Tattvacintāmaṇi, p. 522 f.

basis in facts. But the facts being misplaced and misrelated, error becomes a false apprehension of the real.

The above view of 'anyathākhyāti' is common to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. It has been accepted in the main by Kumārila, Rāmānuja and the Jainas.¹ But the Bauddha, the Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā and Advaita Vedānta systems oppose the Nyāya view and propose different theories. Hence the Naiyāikas proceed to repudiate the other theories of error. According to the Yogācāras, there is no extra-mental reality and things are only thoughts or ideas. Reality is a stream of cognitions bifurcated into a subjective and an objective series. Error consists in an illegitimate process of projection of subjective ideas as objective and extra-mental facts. All cognition of objects thus objectifies the subjective and is therefore erroneous. This view is called 'ātmakhyāti' or 'jñānākārakhyāti,' since it insists on the sole reality of ideas and looks upon all objects as cognitions wrongly taken for external things.

This theory, however, the Naiyāyikas object, fails to account for the facts of the case. On the theory of the subjective idealism of the Yogācāras, there is no difference between knowledge, and the subject and object of knowledge, everything being an idea only. Hence the cognition of silver should appear, not in the form of 'this is silver,' but 'I am silver,' which, however, is not the case. Then, if everything be an idea we do now know how to account for the difference between an idea and its corresponding percept. Finally, the Nyāya view, that error is the cognition of an object as what it is not, really includes the Yogācāra theory that in error the subjective is taken for the objective and is so cognised as what it is not.²

The Mādhyamika school of Bauddha philosophy negates all existence. It holds the 'asatkhyāti' view that error consists in the manifestation of the non-existent as existent. The

¹ Vide Nyāyakandalī, p. 178 f.; Sāstradīpikā, p. 58; Śrībhāṣya 1-1-1. Tattvārtha-Sūtra, I, 31-32.

² Tātparya, p. 85 f.; Nyāyamāñjarī, p. 178, 546 f.

cognition of silver in the shell is erroneous because it manifests the non-existent silver as existent, and we become conscious of this when our first cognition of silver is contradicted by the subsequent cognition of shell. Against this it has been urged by the Naiyāyika that the illusion of silver is not entirely baseless ; it cannot arise out of nothing. What is absolutely non-existent cannot produce even the wrong cognition of silver. The illusion of silver is due to something in the nature of the shell. It occurs generally in connection with a shell and the like, but not indifferently with everything. Even if error is cognition of the non-existent as existent, it is the cognition of a thing as what it is not. Hence we have in it a case of ' anyathākhyāti ' which thus includes the ' asatkhyāti ' of the Mādhyamika. In truth, however, the utterly non-existent cannot be the object of any knowledge whatsoever. ¹

The Advaita Vedānta puts forward the view of ' anirvacanīyākhyāti.' This does not differ so widely from the Nyāya ' anyathākhyāti ' as it may appear at first sight. While the two views agree so far as the nature and mechanism of illusory perception are concerned, there is difference in one essential point. According to ' anirvacanīyākhyāti,' there is in the illusion of silver a contact of the defective sense-organ with the glittering shell and then a mental modification answering to the form of ' this object.' Now through the operation of nescience (avidyā), as aided by the past impressions of silver, revived by ' this object's ' similarity to it, there is the production of some inexplicable silver which lasts so long as the illusion lasts. It is neither real nor unreal, nor both real and unreal, but indefinable and indeterminable. Hence in the illusion of silver there is an actual cognition of silver. The illusion is presentative in its character so far as it is connected with some silver actually present to consciousness. But while, according to the Nyāya, this presentation of silver is due to association and memory

¹ Tātparya, p. 86 f. ; Nyāyamañjarī, pp. 176 f., 545-46.

(jātyasaṁskārāt), to the Advaitavādin, it is due to the production of the 'cognised silver' for the time being. To this the Naiyāyikas object that if the silver is actually produced, there would be no illusion but a valid perception. If it be said that the silver is supernatural (alaukika) and is erroneously cognised as natural (laukika), we have in it just a case of 'anyathākhyāti.' If not, a supernatural indefinable silver cannot account for our efforts to obtain it.¹

The Prabhākara school of the Mīmāṃsā differs from all others and advocates the view of 'akhyāti' or 'vivekākhyāti.' According to it, error consists simply in the want of discrimination between percept and image, or between direct apprehension and memory. It is a sort of confused memory (smṛtipramoṣa). In the case of the illusion of silver in the shell what happens is that there is first the direct perception of an object with the attribute of brightness, etc. Then through association by similarity the perceived bright object revives the image of silver. Hence the state of cognition has the dual character of percept and image, of something seen and something remembered. On account of certain abnormal conditions the two things are not kept distinct but are allowed to fuse or coalesce, and we have the resulting cognition of silver referred to the piece of shell. When the illusion is corrected, there is no sublation of the silver but only an explicit recognition of the presentative and representative factors of the wrong cognition. The distinction between the two being cognised, there remains no confusion as to the fact of silver being only remembered and not to perceived.²

To this theory the Naiyāyika objects that it fails to account for the presentative character of illusion. So long as we are

¹ Tātparya, pp. 85-87; Nyāyamañjarī, p. 197 f.; cf. Śrībhāṣya, 1-1-1; Nyāyakandalī, p. 178 f. *Vide also* Vedānta-Paribhāṣā, Ch. I.

² *Vide* Jhā, Prābhākara School of Purvamīmāṃsā, pp. 28-32, Sadholal, Lectures on Nyāya, Ch. III.

under the illusion we have a consciousness of the silver as something present and perceived, and not as what was perceived before and is now only remembered. Further, there can be no activity to secure the silver unless there is a positive and determinate cognition of it. Non-discrimination, as mere absence of knowledge, cannot be the ground of such actions as are generally connected with an illusory experience. Hence the illusion must be a single determinate cognition of an object. All this comes out in our subsequent judgment of the illusion as it stands corrected and negated. It is in the form : " What I had seen is not silver," and not " What I had remembered is not silver." This obviously shows that the illusion of silver is an error of perception and not of memory. Finally, even on the akhyāti theory it must be admitted that in error there is a cognition of the object as what it is not. This will mean that akhyāti is but a form of ' anyathākhyāti.' Hence the Naiyāyikas conclude that anyathākhyāti is the most satisfactory theory of error. It gives us all that the other theories require, but is not vitiated by their faults.¹

Among the theories of perceptual error or illusion as explained above that of the Nyāya seems to be more acceptable than any other. For the Bauddha idealist error consists in the objective appearance of subjective ideas. But this cannot explain the distinction between true and false perception. In both the object of knowledge is not really other than knowledge or an idea, although it may appear to be so. Hence both must be equally wrong. Further, there being nothing but ideas, one idea may be mistaken for another, but not for that which is no idea at all, *i.e.*, for an extra-mental object. Perceptual errors cannot, therefore, be explained on the theory of subjective idealism of the Yogācāra or the Berkleyian type. " For," as Ewing says, " even in error we are concerned not with our ideas but

¹ Tātparyā, p. 87 f., Nyāyamafijarī, pp. 179-83; Tattvacintāmaṇi, Sec. on anyathākhyāti, pp. 448 f., 484-86, cf. Nyāyakandalī, p. 180 f. Siddhāntamuktāvalī p. 136.

with external reality.....error is not a mere dwelling on our ideas but an unsuccessful cognising of objects.”¹

The Mīmāṃsakas treat error as the subjective appearance of an object. In it an idea or image of the mind is referred to a given object so as to become one with it. This explanation of perceptual error was once generally accepted in European philosophy. According to most of the Western systems, in the illusory perception a real object is modified by subjective factors supplied by the mind through association, memory, emotion, etc. Among modern thinkers, Lossky holds that ‘falsity is the subjective appearance of the object, since foreign elements can be introduced into the object only by the knowing subject.’² Bosanquet only puts the matter in objective terms when he says that ‘in falsehood something actual pretends to be something else, or, like a false coin, has not the significance which it claims.’³ But while this may be accepted as a general definition of error, it does not explain how in perceptual error certain subjective factors, ideas or images, are actually felt as perceived out there in space. It cannot be said that we do not really perceive the illusory object but only imagine that we do perceive it. Why should we doubt the verdict of experience here if we do not doubt it elsewhere? And experience clearly tells us that we do perceive the illusory object.

To explain the perceptual character of illusory experience the Advaita Vedānta supposes the temporary production of certain positive entities of an indeterminate order (*anirvacanīyā-prātibhāsikī sattā*). These are neither real nor unreal, but actual facts. The illusory silver is not real, because it is contradicted by a closer experience. It is not unreal, because it is perceived as an actual fact so long as the illusion lasts. Hence it is an appearance which is undeterminable as real or unreal, and is ultimately due to *avidyā* or ignorance. But how igno-

¹ Mind, April, 1930, pp. 138-39.

² Lossky, *The Intuitive Basis of Knowledge*, pp. 227f., 267f.

³ Bosanquet, *Logic*, VI, pp. 67, 70.

rance can produce a positive entity and then make us perceive it as an existent fact is left unexplained. Further, as Alexander has pointed out, 'error does not give us a new and more shadowy being than the spatio-temporal reality, but is the world of determinate being misread.'¹

According to the Nyāya, illusion is a misplaced fact. All the factors of an illusory perception are real and perceived facts, but they are brought into a wrong relation. In the illusory perception of silver, for example, we have an actual perception of a certain locus and some silver, both as real facts. The error arises because the silver perceived at a different time and place, is related to the time and place occupied by the perceived locus, namely, the shell. Modern neo-realism gives a similar explanation of perceptual error. According to it, 'error consists in wrongly combining the elements of reality.' "Everything which is illusory in the illusion does actually exist in correspondence with the mental activity through which it is revealed; but the personal character of the activity dislocates the real object from its place in things, and refers it to a context to which it does not belong. So when I fancy a horse's body, and complete it with a man's head, the head exists in reality, but not upon a horse's body."² As Alexander also says: "Some of our objects are illusory; they are real so far as they are perspectives of space-time, but they contain an element introduced by our personality, and do not belong where they seem to belong."³ This however does not explain how illusory objects can be perceived at the time and place, to which they do not belong. How can we perceive here and now something which exists elsewhere? Montague tries to explain this by some distortion of the real object in producing its effect on the brain. He thinks that the so-called sensory illusions result from certain physical or peripherally physiological distortions of the real object underlying

¹ Alexander, *Space, Time and Deity*, Vol. I, p. 202.

² *Essays in Critical Realism*, pp. 135-36.

³ *Space, Time and Deity*, Vol. II, p. 249.

them.¹ This means that illusory perceptions depend on certain objective and real conditions in the same way in which true perceptions are so conditioned. Holt goes further than this and establishes the objectivity of error. He thinks that all errors are cases of contradiction or contrariety. The perception of silver is illusory because it is contradicted by the experience of the same object as shell and not silver. But neither the experience of shell nor that of silver is subjective. Both of the contradictory experiences are objective, since the real object itself has contradictory characters. Holt says that "the case of hallucinations is paralleled by such cases as that of mirrored space, wherein sundry mirrored objects occupy the same spatial positions as are occupied by other 'real' objects situated behind the mirror." Hence we are to say that the error consists in entertaining mutually contradictory propositions, of which one may be preferable, but none subjective, because the world is full of such contradictory propositions.² On this view, however, the distinction between truth and error becomes insignificant. The same thing may, with equal truth, be called a shell or silver. The Nyāya does not go so far as to say that contradictory characters belong to the same thing or that contradictory propositions are equally objective. It is not the case that the same real has the contrary characters of shellness and silverness. It has really one character, namely, shellness. But the silver is also a perceived fact. Hence the crucial question is: how can the silver, which exists elsewhere, be perceived here and now? The Nyāya explains this by *jñānalakṣanāpratyāsatti*, by which the silver is presented through our previous knowledge of it. Hence there is a *jñānalakṣanā* perception of the silver. Among Western Psychologists Wundt, Ward and Stout admit the reality of the Naiyāyika's *jñānalakṣana* perception. To distinguish it from ordinary perceptions, they propose to call it "complica-

¹ The New Realism, pp. 288-92.

² *Ibid*, pp. 369-70.

tion." Wundt explains complication as a simultaneous association between sensations or perceptions of different senses as parts of a single percept. The sight of sugar gives us a direct knowledge of its sweetness as a part of the visual presentation. Ward illustrates complication by the sight of a polished armour, which instantly reinstates all that we retain of former sensations of its hardness, smoothness and coldness. Stout also thinks that there is such a thing as "impressional association" in certain perceptions. Thus the visual appearance may, by its preformed connection with tactual experience, be modified in a peculiar way, so as to be the vehicle of percepts for which it would otherwise be incompetent. "Ice looks cold, because we have felt it to be cold. If it had always been warm to touch, it might have looked warm. Yet its cold look is not a suggested *idea*; it is something which is presented as if included in the visual appearance as an integral part of it." Similarly, the Naiyāyikas hold that the sensation of a particular bright colour calls up, by its previous association, the impression of silver and we have the perception of the silver in the shell. The silver does not appear as an idea or image of the mind, but is a content presented by the sensation of the bright colour of a particular kind. Still, the perception of the silver is illusory because the character of silverness does not really co-exist with the given sensation of bright colour. It is the presentation of the real silver in a wrong relation and therefore an illusion.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

MORNING

The Day was astir on her bed in the East,
And her Eye was still sleepy and red ;
Her splendour enwrapped in blankets of mist,
That clung to her bright golden bed.

The dew lay still glistening, the tears of the sky
It had spent the long dark night crying
But now morning had come, and with her shimmering smile
The tear drops had ceased and were drying.

The flowers all hung heavy drugged with the dew
That the mournful sad sky did weep,
But when the small sunbeams had kissed dry the tears
The flowers awoke from their sleep.

The dreams of the peasant are fading away
Some song bird's proclaiming the dawn
The cow's mellow moo and the cry of the sheep
Are sleepily greeting the morn.

The mists have all vanished and with them the dew
More golden than red is the sun
The world is awake, the peasant afield
And another day's labours begun.

R. J. N. MAHER

THE OLD AGENCY HOUSES OF CALCUTTA

The establishment of British rule in the Ganges delta and its gradual consolidation and expansion throughout the latter part of the eighteenth century were much more than a challenge to the indigenous economy of India. As the nineteenth century rolled on, the new political factors brought in their train the competition of a more highly developed form of industry from England: the increase of manufactures in Britain under the magic influence of steam, the rapidity of turnover and the comparative cheapness of machine-made goods gave a severe shock to the native crafts and industries.¹ The shock was reinforced by certain accompanying factors: the disappearance of the native courts deprived many of the industries of an active patronage; ² the rise of a new educated professional class with different tastes, and hence with a different demand, accentuated the dislocation; and, to crown all, came the protective duties in Great Britain on certain manufactures from the East and these virtually shut out from the Indian traders and craftsmen a very steady and profitable market.³

The decline of the indigenous industries and arts was thus primarily due to factors other than those of actual finance. It is debatable how far the growing weaknesses of the trade and craft-guilds intensified the decline. Undoubtedly, capital

¹ D. R. Gadgil : *Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times* (London, 1924), p. 42.

² See, for example, S. M. Hadi : *A Monograph on Dyes and Dyeing in the N. W. Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1899), "The dyeing industry in Lucknow received its greatest impetus in the reign of Wajid Ali Shah, the last King of Oudh. On certain occasions admittance to the fancy fair at Káisar Bágh was not allowed except to persons dressed in saffron-yellow garment. On other occasions the courtiers and their attendants were ordered to put on salmon-coloured dress before they could be entitled to the privilege of waiting upon His Majesty...etc." (p. 3.)

³ Cf. James Taylor : *A Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca* (Calcutta, 1840). Protective duty of 75 per cent. virtually shut out Indian Muslins from the British market (p. 364).

and finance did not directly suffer on account of their weaknesses. It is more to the point to argue that the weakening of the powers of these bodies removed a very important force that regulated trade, maintained the quality of the materials produced and generally promoted the team spirit among the craftsmen and artisans concerned.¹ The actual decline of India's industries was due to quite different factors: the decline of the guilds and similar bodies owing to the impact of Western politics and Western industrialism could only aggravate an already worsened situation—it could do nothing more than that.²

In one way, however, the question of finance had important consequences on industries. This was the changed status of the indigenous banker. Simultaneously with the cessation of his rôle as a revenue collector or a state-banker, came the loss of much of his money-changing business; and the political insecurity of the times combined with internecine disputes dealt a great blow to internal trade and commerce, out of which the indigenous shroff derived much of his profits. He also became the unfortunate victim of oppression by debtors; and so the decline of handicrafts and arts and the consequent poverty of the people compelled him to resort to more and more exacting terms for loans and advances.³

The result was that the banker of the old days had, of necessity, to degenerate into the rôle of an exacting money-lender: the general poverty of the artisans and craftsmen, the

¹ Gadgil : *op. cit.*, p. 46.

² It is very interesting to enquire into the causes of the declining power of these Indian guilds. Perhaps the same forces that caused the decline of the mediaeval guilds of England helped to bring about the decline of the Indian bodies as well. The physical impossibility of maintaining a system of apprenticeship, defects in guild procedure, intensification of particularism, pronounced cleavage between masters and men, and the general spirit of the age upholding free-trade were responsible for the death of the guild system in England. And some of these factors could be applied to the case of India as well. See Stella Kramer : *The English Craft Guilds* (New York, 1927), pp. 187, 205.

³ For details see L. C. Jain : *Indigenous Banking in India* (London, 1929), pp. 18, 23.

political insecurity of the times and the comparative dearth of his own available funds—all these combined to make his rates of interest high and his mode of advances exacting and severe.

In an indirect way the decline of the old trade and craft-guilds was an accession of strength to the independent shroffs and *mahajans*. Just as in mediaeval England the weakening of the guilds was followed by the increasing power of the middlemen, so also in India bankers and money-lenders, now relaxed from the obnoxious pressure of the community as expressed in meetings of the *panchayats* and guilds could exercise their control of loanable funds with some rigid exactitude. In the vicious circle that was set up the *mahajan* was no longer a banker, an issuer of bills or receiver of deposits, to the extent which he had been, but he became only a money-lender and pawnbroker;¹ his heavy rates of interest on advances of money coincided with the growing poverty of the people, and many industries and crafts, no longer in the old semi-monopolistic position, had to continue their operations under the greatest handicaps. Gradually, the craftsmen came to be entirely in the hands of money-lenders: and frequently it was the *mahajans* who supplied the raw materials, and the workers got nothing but bare subsistence wages.²

While the indigenous industrial system was in this melting pot, new factors were arising in the horizon of trade and industrial finance. These were the Agency Houses of the three Presidency cities (of which the Calcutta Houses were by far the most important) and the early European joint-stock banks. Of these the former dominated the mercantile and financial world in India till about the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Now, previous to the year 1814, the East India Company enjoyed, by law, a

¹ W. Hoey : A Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in N. India (Lucknow, 1880), p. 26.

² N. G. Mukerji: A Monograph on the Silk Fabrics of Bengal (Calcutta, 1903), p. 64.

monopoly of foreign trade, from the east coast of Africa to the west coast of America inclusive. As to internal trade although the company did not, for a great number of years, interfere in the local trade of the country, it meddled in the trade of staple articles and even precluded the non-official Europeans from engaging in the inland corn, salt and tobacco trades.¹ At the same time the restrictions on the residence of Europeans in India were severe and oppressive, Europeans being liable to expulsion for any offence given to the Government. Such a system greatly paralysed the efforts of independent Europeans to promote Indian trade and industries; and while it is debatable how far this was to the ultimate good of India, there is no doubt that this greatly strengthened the monopolistic position that the Company enjoyed.²

It was under this system that the great mercantile firms of Calcutta sprang up. The partners of these Houses consisted, in many instances, of the Civil, Military and Medical officers of the East India Company; these people entered them after quitting public service, attracted by the large profits that these Houses made. Now, although generally men of talent and acuteness, they were, for the most part, destitute of mercantile training and experience.³ But as long as the East India Company's monopoly lasted, the great mercantile Houses were placed under circumstances which naturally secured to them a kind of sub-monopoly. Nearly the whole European business fell into their hands; they were the agents for the planters and merchants settled in the provinces; they were bankers receiving deposits, bankers making advances for the produce of the interior, and, frequently, bankers issuing paper money. They made large

¹ Sketch of the Commercial Resources, etc., of British India, p. 63.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³ Very often the partners retiring with fortunes to Europe set up mercantile establishments in London, so that each local firm had a corresponding firm in England, not exactly in partnership, but intimately connected with it in business. *Ibid.*

advances on ships, shipments and indigo factories; and as general merchants, they not only acted as the agents of others, but speculated largely in every quarter of the world, on their own account. And, finally, by foreclosing mortgages on the ruin of speculators to whom they had made advances and on ships, houses and factories, they became, eventually and to a very great extent, ship-owners, house-owners, farmers and manufacturers.¹

As regards the capital of these Houses, the partners were often without any capital of their own at the outset; indeed, the deposits from the savings of the civil and military servants, may be said to have contributed throughout the principal funds with which their business was conducted.² These "Houses had also extensive transactions with Indians which answered the purposes of capital": they were not exactly partners in the business nor did they lend their capitals collectively but they had "*bona fide* transactions which in their nature, answered all the purposes of capital."³ In short, these firms had come to acquire a high prestige in the eyes of the Indians and enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the great moneyed people of Calcutta as well as of many of the provincial towns.⁴

The fact should not be lost sight of, however, that these Houses were established primarily with a view to promoting the Company's business. An intimate and friendly connexion and intercourse had always subsisted between the great firms and the Company's servants who, before 1814, constituted nearly the whole European community. "Commanding their respect and friendship, with strong claims on

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

² Evidence of R. Davidson before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company (1830). Cmd. 646.

³ *Ibid.* Davidson does not mention, however, what exactly these *bona fide* transactions were.

⁴ Sketch of the Commercial Resources, etc., of British India, p. 65.

the gratitude of many and possessing the undoubted confidence of all, it is little to be wondered at that the great annual savings of the servants of the government were poured in upon them—more especially after the great reduction which took place in the interest on investments in the public funds, and which, in seventeen years' time, had fallen from 10 to 5 per cent.' It was a great advantage to mercantile enterprise that the savings of public officers, instead of being invested in public securities or remitted to Europe, came to a large extent into the hands of the Calcutta firms and continued in the country. Indeed, so high was their prestige that the civil and military officers even of Bombay and Madras invested their funds, to a considerable extent, in the Calcutta firms ¹

With the large funds, thus received by these great Houses in their capacity of bankers, they made advances to speculators for indigo, cotton, silk, opium, etc., to the annual amount of full five millions sterling.² The interest which they allowed on deposits was generally not less than 10 per cent. and that charged on advances 12 per cent. besides a commission on the advances. Further details about these advances are lacking, but we can have a glimpse of some interesting features from the state of the indigo industry which was primarily a European concern. The average indigo planter or manufacturer of this period did not carry any capital to India; he had large advances from the Agency Houses in Calcutta, paying an interest between 10 and 12 per cent. and even on this interest he made a large profit.³ The advances were, in most cases, secured by insurance on lives; it was very seldom the custom

¹ *Ibid*, p. 65. This was also due to the fact that the rate of interest was higher in Calcutta than elsewhere.

² *Ibid*, p. 66.

³ Evidence of R. Davidson before the Select Committee on the affairs of the E. I. Co. (1880), Cmd. 646.

to enter into a joint security with the manufacturer who borrowed the money of the Agency Houses.¹

Side by side with these Agency Houses rose a new type of financial organisation—the early European joint-stock banks. Many of these so-called banks were, however, no better than virtual departments of some of the leading Agency Houses of the time: the Bank of Hindostan, established about 1770 was, for instance, practically a department of Messrs. Alexander & Co., and so also was the Calcutta Bank started by Messrs. Palmer & Co.² On the other hand, there were the real joint-stock banks like the Bengal Bank established (most probably) about 1784, or the General Bank opened in June, 1786. The establishment of these banks meant an encroachment on the monopoly of the Agency Houses; and the competition that ensued led to improvident advances, by both the banks and the Houses, to prodigal public officers of the Government and to needy and ignorant private adventurers.³ Moreover, the year 1814 saw the first blow to the Company's monopoly of trade and large numbers of prudent and cautious commercial traders began to pour into India from Europe. In the general scramble that followed the Agency Houses were deprived, to a large extent, of the ordinary mode of employing the large amount of deposits which still continued to pour in upon them, and thus definitely entered upon their period of decline; many of the new banks fared no better: improvement advances and speculative dealings affected their soundness and credit as well and quite a number went into liquidation during the general crisis of 1830-32.

It is this crisis that sealed the climax of the prosperity of the Agency Houses. The whole story is of exciting interest and not without important lessons for the student of banking and finance. The game started with the active competition of

¹ Evidence of George Harris, *ibid.*

² H. Sinha : Early European Banking in India (London), pp. 4-5.

³ Sketch of the Commercial Resources, etc., of Br. India., pp. 67-68.

more enthusiastic and economical traders from about the year 1814 when the first check to the Company's monopoly of trade occurred. The Calcutta Houses had already got into the habit of making speculative advances—advances to private adventurers who recklessly entered into any sort of speculation and who obtained additional advances in order to extricate themselves from the difficulties in which their rash transactions had involved them. "The balances against the speculators, increased by heavy interest charges, were yearly brought to the new books of the establishment as if they were real assets, until death either reduced the amount by recovery of the sum insured on the life of the party, or it cancelled the debt, when no insurance had been effected."¹ All these dangers were intensified by the new competition which deprived the firms, to a considerable extent, of the ordinary mode of employing their large deposits which still continued to pour in upon them. The Agency Houses began to resort to new and more precarious forms of investment. Tempted by temporary high house-rents in Calcutta, they invested largely in houses; they also invested largely in indigo works, coal-mines, ships and ship building, breweries, tanneries, distilleries, spice and coffee plantations, clearing desert islands, etc., and even in cotton mills, rice mills, flour mills and saw mills. The value of these rose in proportion to the influx of capital: in this manner was locked up a great share of their funds which, when the crisis arrived, could not be realised except at most ruinous sacrifices, such funds being practically unavailable to meet the firm's obligations.²

Still, such was the unlimited confidence reposed in them by the Indian community that for a considerable time to come they began to receive deposits as usual.³ This, however, only

¹ Sketch of the Commercial Resources, etc., of Br. India, p. 67.

² *Ibid.* p. 67.

³ Even the failure of the Palmer & Co., in 1830 did not affect the remaining Houses

increased the hazardous speculation : more and more money was advanced to indigo planters without any capital of their own ; goods were exported to China, Europe, etc., either directly on their own account or indirectly by lending largely on the security of the goods to those who did export ; interests were purchased in Indian shipping and so forth. As might be expected many of these speculations turned out exceedingly ill. The cultivation of indigo was so much increased that its price gradually fell to a level at which it would not pay even the bare expenses of production ; the investments in Indian shipping turned out even worse than those in indigo plantations, the shipping of England having nearly driven that of India out of the field ; to crown all, several of the partners of the various Houses returned to Europe, taking large sums with them as their share of the capital of the firms. "The embarrassment produced by this locking up of their capital, by the withdrawing of portions of it to Europe and by the unfavourable termination of many of the adventures in which they had been engaged, began to manifest itself simultaneously with the scarcity of money occasioned by the drains on account of the Burmese War."¹ The big House of Messrs. Palmer & Co. failed in 1830 and although it did not lead to an immediate panic, public confidence had been shaken, deposits were rapidly decreasing and the depositors whose balances had accumulated had begun gradually to retire them. Even then the firms went on borrowing funds at heavy sacrifices by pledging every description of property within their power. So came the crash : these great Houses, which had been the principal channel of conducting the export and

so immediately as was at first apprehended owing to the good assests of that House. *Ibid*, p 68.

¹ Reasons for the Establishment of a New Bank in India (London 1836) by an anonymous writer, pp. 13-14. The only available copy of this book is in the Guildhall Library, London, to which I was given access through the kind courtesy of the Librarian.

import trade of India for half a century, fell, one after another, in the course of three short years (1830-33), and in the aggregate, for the enormous sum of twenty millions sterling.¹

The failure of these Agency Houses pointed to the fundamental lack of equilibrium in the economic position of the country. While there were vast sums of available funds in their hands, there were no adequate opportunities for investment at all. The whole political situation was in a flux; economic life had been disorganised by the impact of machine-made products from the West as well as by the weakening of the indigenous economy; and while old industries were dying, few new ones (except perhaps the indigo industry) were taking their place. On the other hand, both the Agency Houses and the early European joint-stock banks had been confronted with the problem of how to employ their capital as well as deposit resources. They could employ them only in the discount of approved bills at short dates, in the granting of cash credits or in the purchase of Government securities readily convertible into money; but mutual competition and the desire to make high profits led them to indulge in all sorts of adventurous speculation. Besides being bankers, they became merchants, and sometimes also indigo-planters and ship-owners. This vicious combination coupled with the fact that there was no effective area for safe but profitable investment of all the available surplus was primarily responsible for the ruin that overtook these great Houses of finance and banking.²

N. DAS

¹ Sketches etc., pp. 68-69.

² Reasons for the Establishment of a New Bank, etc., p. 13.

THE PROBLEM OF FINANCIAL SETTLEMENT IN A FEDERATED INDIA

Introduction.

The subject of public finance has an abiding interest for any one connected with the public life of a country, for a sound financial system is one of the many essential conditions of good Government as well as of the prosperity and contentment of the people. The subject has all the more interest for those in public life in India or those who take any interest in the future destiny of India, now that the constitutional system of India is in the melting-pot. The financial system of a country is an integral part of its Governmental system in the sense that it is to a very great extent conditioned by the latter. If the structure of the Government of India is changed, as it is bound to be very soon, the financial system must necessarily undergo a change and adapt itself to the new structure. But so far we have got only the broad outlines of the picture of the future constitution; much work remains to be done to complete the picture. So it is rather hazardous to assert dogmatically what should be the lines of development of the financial system in the future constitution of India. We can at most make some hypothetical statements on the assumption of a particular picture of the future constitution of India. That the solution of Indian constitutional problem shall be on federal lines has been accepted by all parties. It may also be taken for granted that the evolution of Indian federation would not be on orthodox lines. The Indian federation at least at the beginning would be characterised by certain peculiar features. What is important for our purpose to note is the classification of subjects into three groups, *viz.*, (1) provincial, (2) federal, *i.e.*, subjects administered in common by the federal authority on behalf of all the

units, (3) central or British Indian, *i.e.*, subjects which are of common interest for British Indian provinces only but not the states. In respect to (3) the states will not be expected to share in the financial burdens incidental to such services. If this distinction remains, the federal budget will be a complicated affair and the voting of the grants in the federal assembly will also involve complexity in procedure. But fortunately the trend of discussion in the second R.T.C. as well as outside it reveals a distinct tendency towards effacing the distinction between the last two groups of subjects and merging them in one common category, *viz.*, federal, and it may be expected that the distinction would eventually disappear as the federal idea gains ground in course of working the proposed constitution.

*Some Leading Principles underlying the proposed
Financial System.*

With the picture of the constitutional system of an Indian federation so far settled, before us, we shall try to find out a possible scheme of financial settlement that would fit in with the constitutional structure. India would no longer be treated as two distinct units but as a single unit for fiscal purposes. But the fact that the states would not come into the federation exactly on the same footing as the provinces, would introduce some features into the fiscal system of India which are not perhaps found in other federations. The problem of federal finance, stated in most general terms is, in our opinion, to tap the resources or the taxable capacity of the nation and to manage the public expenditure through the federation and the units in such a way as to maximise the services rendered by the state to the people with the minimum of cost. In evolving a scheme of federal finance for India, we must bear in mind and try to apply as far as practicable the following principles. In the first place, it must be capable of

expanding easily and adjusting itself to new circumstances as they arise.

(2) It must not contain any feature which goes counter to the federal idea or spirit.

(3) Undue emphasis should not be placed on the policy of a 'financial cleancut' as between the federation and the units; rather the tax-system is to be viewed as a whole, although attempt should be made to avoid overlapping tax-jurisdictions.

(4) In the distribution of resources among the federating units, fairness and equity ought to be the guiding principles, having reference of course to the necessity of maintaining a fair and uniform scale of expenditure as far as possible.

(5) In relation to the states, attempt should be made, as far as possible, to begin on a clean slate, and not to complicate the settlement by reference to past transactions, but at the same time the principle of equity is not to be lost sight of.

(6) Lastly in the determination of the financial relations between the federation and the units the three well-known principles of efficiency, suitability and adequacy¹ should be kept in view. It has been observed by Sir W. T. Layton in his scheme contributed to the Report of the Simon Commission that "the problem of financial relations between the central and provincial authorities in any country is ideally solved where the sources of revenue which, from the administrative point of view, fall naturally within the sphere of the provincial Governments, harmonise so far as their yield and elasticity is concerned with the functions which are assigned to those Governments, while those which are naturally central sources accord with the functions of the central Government."²

¹ *Vide* Seligman, *Essays in Taxation*, Ch. XII.

² *Simon Report*, Vol. II, para. 240.

*Transition from the Unitary to the Federal Type of
Government and the necessary Financial
Adjustments.*

The transition from unitary and centralised type of Government to a federal type would be marked by a redistribution of functions as between the federal Government and the Governments of the component units, and this would necessarily entail a reshuffling of the whole fiscal system, both on its revenue and expenditure side. The requisite financial settlement has to be arrived at by a two-fold process,—(1) by a redistribution of the existing sources of revenue, and (2) devising new sources.

Some Assumptions made.

Before laying down the possible lines of settlement it is necessary to point out that we shall proceed on the basis of a few assumptions. In the first place, we shall ignore the present gloomy financial outlook in India, as in other parts of the world, as only a passing phase and assume that the federation would start under more normal conditions. We shall take the budget figures of the year 1929-30, just at the beginning of the present crisis, as our starting point instead of the present figures.

In the second place, we shall assume that Burma will be separated from India and some new provinces will come into existence by territorial readjustment in the existing provinces, with subvention from the federation rather than from the parent province.

In the third place, we shall assume that given responsibility for the management of their own affairs and particularly control over the finances the apathetic attitude of the people towards proposals of new taxation would disappear and further that the limit of taxable capacity in India has not been

reached. As Sir Walter Layton in the course of his report referred to above observes: "In spite of the widespread poverty in India, I see no reason to doubt that the public revenues of India can be substantially increased without taxation becoming intolerable, provided that its incidence is adjusted to the capacity of tax-payers to pay and that heavy additional burdens are not put upon primary necessities. On the other hand taxation may be the only practicable means of creating a better and more secure livelihood. But in order to achieve this, the proceeds must be wisely spent."¹

But if we assume that there is further scope for taxation, we also hold that there is room for retrenchment in expenditure and that new taxation should commence only when all avenues of economy have been explored. Every item of public expenditure has got to justify itself by the contribution it makes to the welfare of the community. Of course in public expenditure we have to take a long view of things. As one writer observes "mere reduction of expenditure is not necessarily economy. It may be, it often is, the most pernicious form of waste."²

An Outline of the Scheme of Federal, Provincial and State Finance.

The financial scheme for a federated India would be conditioned by the mode of distribution of functions and obligations between the centre and the 'units.' As we have already seen there are likely to be two groups of subjects in the 'centre' apart from those administered by the provinces and the states, at the initial stages of the federation. In course of time, however, it is likely that these two groups will coalesce as the federal idea gains ground. As far as practicable the present distribution is likely to be maintained except where a

¹ *Op. cit.*, para. 239.

² Milner, "Questions of the Hour," p. 131, quoted in Gyanchand—Essentials of Federal Finance, p. 298.

disturbance is imperatively necessary for facilitating the federal process either by way of dévolution to the provinces from the 'centre' or surrender from the 'states' to the 'federation.'

The financial obligations of the federal Government are to be considered in two aspects—central and federal. The former have been divided by the Peel Committee (Federal Finance Subcommittee of the second R.T.C.) into three categories :—(1) expenditure on 'central' Departments, *i.e.*, the few departments in which the states are not interested and in relation to which they are not prepared to bear a share of the financial burden ; (2) a share in pre-federation obligations in respect of civil pensions; (3) possibly a share of the service of the pre-federation debt. As regards (3) the recommendation of the Percy Committee (Federal Finance Committee, 1932) is that the whole of the pre-federation debt may be taken over by the federal Government because its obligations would be covered on the whole by the assets taken over. As regards (2) it would be a small central liability perhaps not exceeding 80 or 90 lakhs of rupees per annum, and that a rapidly declining one. So it may be left out of account for all practical purposes. The only remaining obligation of the federal Government in its 'central' aspect is that under (1) mentioned above. So long as this head continues the financial obligations under it have to be met by some direct tax or source of revenue raised from British India alone, say, the share of Income tax allocated to the federal Government supplemented by some other such source. The financial obligations on 'federal subjects' have to be met by federal sources of revenue (more conveniently indirect taxes such as customs, excise, etc.) levied alike in British Indian provinces as well as the states. The states are to retain all their existing sources of revenue except such as, by agreement and negotiation, are made over to the federal Government. The provinces are to meet their obligations out of the resources placed at their disposal under the new financial settlement.

*Proposals for Financial Settlement between the Federation
and the Provinces.*

We shall now try to lay down the lines of a financial settlement between the federation and the provinces. We take the balance sheet of the estimated revenue and expenditure of the Government of India, for 1929-30¹ (after separation of Burma) as compiled by Sir Walter Layton, as a convenient starting point in making our proposals.

(Figures in crores of rupees.)

Central Revenue.		Central Expenditure.	
Customs	... 47·91	Defence (net)	... 52·10
Income-tax	... 14·75	Debt „	... 10·19
Salt	... 6·00	Civil Administration	... 10·20
Other Taxes	... 1·09	Cost of Collection	... 3·12
Total Taxes	... 69·75	Civil Works	... 2·41
Railways	... 6·00	Pensions	... 5·48
Opium	... 2·35	Other Expenditure	... 47
Currency and Mint	... 2·35	Surplus resulting from separation of Burma	... 1·00
Tributes	... 74		
Other Receipts	... 1·17		
Total	... 82·36	Total	82·36

We may compare this with the approximate financial position of the federal Government and the provinces in the early years of federation (say 1935-36) as envisaged in the Report of the Federal Finance Committee on the basis of the present financial allocation ignoring, of course, the existence of the economic and financial crisis prevailing just now. We

¹ *Vide* para. 264, Simon Report, Vol. II.

reproduce two tables below giving the federal and provincial forecasts :—

I. FEDERAL FORECAST.

(In laks of rupees.)

Revenue.		Expenditure.	
Customs (net)	... 50,30	Debt Services	...
Salt „	... 5,55	Interest (net)	... 11,25
Opium „	... 05	Sinking Fund	... 6,50
Railways „	... 5,00	Posts and Telegraphs (net)	... Nil
Currency and Mint	... 3,80	Military Budget	... 47,00
Miscellaneous	... 1,96	Frontier Watch and Ward	... 1,70
State Contributions	... 74	Civil Administration	... 6,85
Income-taxes (net)	... 17,20	Pensions	... 2,65
Total	84,60	N. W. F. P. Subvention	.. 1,00
		Civil Works	... 1,60
		Centrally administered areas (net)	1,55
		Total	80,10
		Surplus	4,50

II. PROVINCIAL FORECASTS.

Province	Surplus (+) or Deficit (-) Rs. lakhs.
Madras	... -20
Bombay	... -65
Bengal	... -200
U. P.	... +25
Panjab	... +30
Bihar and Orissa	... -70
Central Provinces	... -17
Assam	... -65

From a look at the above tables it would at once strike us that at least at the beginning of the federation the federal Government would be financially much better off than the provinces on the basis of the existing revenues and further that they would be unequal in financial strength *inter se*. But if we analyse the expenditure side of the balance-sheet of the federal Government it would appear to be better placed than even what it strikes one at first sight. Because the three principal heads of expenditure—military, debt services and civil administration—instead of expanding would certainly show a tendency to falling off with drastic retrenchments made by the future national Government on the basis of the average income *per capita* of the people of this country and their ability to pay as compared with those in other countries of the world. As regards ‘Debt charges,’ if India’s credit remains even as it is, a downward tendency in the world rate of interest would tend to bring down the net expenditure under this head. Sir Walter Layton was of opinion that “the total expenditure of the central Government should be stationary or falling.”¹

As against this we must take into account any new expenditure incidental to federation. But such as they are, they are either so small as to be negligible or are not permanent in character. We may take the expenses of the federal court or the federal reserve bank or such other institutions as coming within the former category and the subvention to the N.W.F. Province or any other new province in the latter category. We may therefore, leave these out of consideration for all practical purposes.

Looking at the ‘Revenue’ side, although the prospects of increase in customs receipts are not very bright in view of the likelihood of a strong protectionist policy being pursued by the future National Government of India still it would remain

¹ Simon Report, Vol. II, para. 253.

the main prop of federal finance in India. As regards salt revenue although political considerations have rendered its future very much uncertain, it is doubtful whether the future responsible Government of India would be able to dispense with it altogether; at least it would not be well-advised to do so. For, sentiment apart, it is the only convenient head of revenue through which the state can make even the poorest of citizens contribute to the exchequer his mite and discharge his civic obligation with the minimum feeling of pain. Of course the rigours of the salt law can be very much relaxed on the lines of Gandhi-Irwin Settlement of 1931 and the rate may be brought down with reference to the economic condition of the poor people, the tax being given the first preference when the question of reduction of federal taxation arises, but it ought to find a place in the tax system of the federation to be utilised as a convenient lever for maintaining equilibrium when some unforeseen forces tend to throw it out of gear. We may, therefore, for our purpose, count on this head of revenue, making allowance for some decrease in receipts. The receipts under 'opium' would be reduced almost to nothing when its export is completely stopped in fulfilment of an international obligation, but it would not materially affect the balance-sheet, as the revenue is quite negligible. So also with contributions from states which should have no place in the federal budget, as being opposed to the federal idea. But the decrease under these various heads pointed out above should be more than offset partly by an expected increase in the contribution from Railways to the general revenues with the revival of trade and industry and more by the economies in expenditure already referred to. On the whole therefore the position of the federal Government is not expected to be worse than that shown in Table I, in any case, if it is not actually better.

As against this a glance at the Table II shows that the provinces start not at all under bright financial auspices, all

of them except two being saddled with more or less heavy deficits on the basis of the existing resources, taking into account the downward tendency of excise receipts in consequence of a deliberate policy towards restriction, if not total prohibition, in the use of intoxicants. All provinces are, however, not equally hard hit. It needs hardly to be pointed out that if the new constitution is to prove successful in the sense of bringing peace and content to the people it is necessary not only that provinces should start with an initial surplus in their new career but they should be provided with elastic sources of revenue which would keep pace with their growing needs. In a sense, no limit can be put to the expenditure of the provinces or states, because they are to be entrusted with the beneficent activities of Government or developmental services and no expenditure can be too much for such nation-building departments as education, sanitation, public health, etc. Expenditure on such services is never barren and, what is more, in the long run it liquidates itself. By contributing to the productive efficiency and therefore increasing the national dividend such expenditure adds to the taxable capacity of the people and financial strength of the state. The proportion that public expenditure on these developmental functions bears to that on protective functions is indicative of the standard of civilisation in the state. Sir Walter Layton pointed out that on a modest computation the "expenditure on functions falling within the provincial sphere could well be increased, without extravagance and to the great economic advantage of India, by from 40-50 crores within the next ten years (*i.e.*, 1930-40) as compared with an increased expenditure of 15 crores in the past decade" ¹ He draws pointed attention, and he is not alone in doing so, to one of the most glaring anomalies of the

¹ Simon Report, Vol. II, para. 263.

present financial system commonly known as the Meston Settlement in the following words :—

“ Although the provinces have rapidly expanding needs the sources of revenue assigned to them are insufficient and show no signs of adequate growth, whereas the central sources of revenue which have to meet comparatively stationary needs are expanding, or capable of expansion.”

Two other principal defects of the financial settlements which have also been emphasised by him are : (a) the unequal treatment received by the provinces under it, some getting a greater proportionate increase of revenue than others, and (b) the provinces have been given no share in taxation on industrial activities within their jurisdiction with the result that industrial provinces like Bengal and Bombay have fared badly as compared with agricultural ones like Madras and U.P.

*Transfer of Income-tax from the Centre to the Provinces and
Commercial Stamps from the Latter to the Former.*

In making our financial adjustment between the federation and the provinces we must bear these facts in mind. The provinces must be given not only adequate resources but elastic ones. In effecting a redistribution of resources our eyes naturally turn to income-tax. This source of revenue must be transferred either in whole or in part to the provinces. There are also good reasons for transferring a part of the stamp duty, *viz.*, commercial stamps, from the provinces to the Federal Government. If, however, after the final adjustment is made, it be found that the provinces cannot afford to part with the proceeds of such an elastic source of revenue they may be assigned a certain share in the receipts, the collection and administration being in the hands of the federal Government. As regards Income-tax, we agree with the

mode and principles of distribution proposed by the Percy Committee, although we are not in a position to scrutinise the actual proportions suggested by them in the absence of the necessary data. Their proposals are briefly these;—

(1) that part of Income-tax, which partakes of the character of a corporation tax, *i.e.*, the super-tax on companies along with the tax on the salaries of federal officials and personal income-tax and super-tax levied in federal areas—should go to the federal Government. On their calculation, this comes to 3,70 lakhs out of the total ret yield of 17,20 lakhs of rupees.

(2) Out of the balance of 13,50 lakhs, 2,00 lakhs represent personal super-tax, which should be distributed among the provinces on the basis of origin. Of the remaining 11,50 lakhs about one-seventh representing the collections on undistributed profits of companies and the incomes of persons resident outside British India is to be distributed among the provinces on the basis of population thus giving some relief to the poorer provinces though at the cost of others and the remaining six-sevenths to be allocated on the basis of origin. Of course, we do not hold that the scheme of distribution given above is an ideal one from the standpoint of equal treatment and justice to the provinces. No one principle of distribution whether on the basis of origin, or needs or population can perfectly satisfy these tests. A scheme of contributions combining these principles is, however, likely to be more satisfactory than that on the basis of a single principle. But even so, this scheme is open to the criticism of according unequal treatment as between industrial provinces and agricultural ones. For instance, it has been pointed out in a memorandum prepared by the representatives of various associations and public bodies in Bengal protesting against the 'Percy Award' and forwarded to the Secretary of State—that justice demands that Bengal should receive two-sevenths

of the share of income-tax representing the undistributed profits of companies and tax on non-residents instead of one-seventh. It is not possible for us to enter into the merits of the claim in the absence of statistical information but we admit and the committee themselves were aware that such grievances are bound to arise under any scheme of distribution from a 'common pool.' It is with a view to removing the resulting inequalities that they have co-ordinated their scheme of 'provincial contributions' to that of distribution of 'Income-tax.' We shall discuss this in its proper place.

Let us now examine the situation of the federal Government after the allocation of Income-tax, which means a loss to it of about 13,50 lakhs. It would have been ideal if the federal Government could make good this loss by expansion of its existing revenues and imposition of new federal taxes but unfortunately it is quite unlikely that this would be possible at least in the early years of federation. Till the federal Government becomes self-supporting it will have to levy contributions from the units on a certain basis. Before considering the scheme of contribution let us see what new sources of revenue can be devised for the federation and the provinces.

New Sources of Revenue for the Federal Government.

Excise duties have found a prominent place next to customs in the scheme of federal taxation in almost every federation of the present times, and there is no reason why the Indian federation should not explore the possibilities of a system of excises, of course, with the exception of restrictive excises such as on alcohol, narcotics, drugs, etc., which should be retained by the provinces. In view of the fact that indigenous industries would spring up in near future and thrive, partly as a result of the adoption of a deliberate protective policy and partly under the pressure of the "Buy Indian" movement, the efficacy of excises will

be felt quite keenly not only for making good the loss in customs revenue due to high tariffs but also as offering an expanding and elastic source of revenue. The two of the excises that can be immediately levied and that have been recommended by almost every authority on Indian finance are those on tobacco and matches. As regards the excise duty on matches, it has been said that "the incidence of a duty of this nature on an article in very common use is very small per head of the population and is little felt by the individual;" but that "care should be taken to fix it at such a level as to absorb as far as possible (into the Exchequer) the whole of the increase in price."¹

As regards exercise on tobacco, it had been in the contemplation of the Government even before now, but administrative difficulties stood in the way because tobacco in the form it was consumed in the country did not go through a process of manufacture in factories where the duty could be conveniently levied that was prepared in small establishments. But now that due to increased tariffs and also the universal boycott of foreign cigars and cigarettes a big manufacturing industry in these articles is growing up in the country, the administrative difficulty will disappear to a great extent, at least so far as manufactured tobacco is concerned. As regards tobacco consumed in other forms, it may be reached either by a system of vend licenses or a tax per acre of cultivated area.

On the calculations of Sir Walter these two excises at the rate of prevailing import duty are expected "to yield 7 or 8 crores of rupees in course of the next ten years and a steadily rising revenue thereafter." When the industries are fairly well established the rates can be increased, thus bringing in a larger yield. We may also suggest some other

¹ Report of the Indian Tariff Board regarding the grant of protection to the match industry (1928), p. 98. Quoted in Simon Report, Vol. II, para. 293.

articles for purposes of an excise levy, *e.g.*, kerosene, petroleum, sugar, silk, etc. Of course the conditions of the industries should be subjected to a thorough investigation by the Tariff Board or some other expert body before the duty is imposed. It is quite likely that some articles will be found, on expert investigation, to be suited to an excise levy. If at least two crores more be derived in this way that would reduce the margin of loss to the federal exchequer to a considerable extent.

Another source of revenue that can be devised for the federal Government is a surcharge on some new provincial taxes which will be administered by the federal Government, *e.g.*, tax on agricultural incomes and death duties. Of course the rates should not be inordinately high.

New Sources of Revenue for the Provinces.

One of the striking features, or we may say anomalies, of the present fiscal system of India is the exemption of agricultural incomes from taxation. This has not only deprived the state of a fruitful source of revenue which is tapped in every country but has made an invidious discrimination in favour of a particular section of the community. This has been sought to be justified on the ground that the imposition of this tax will involve double taxation, because agricultural classes pay their quota of contribution to the exchequer in the shape of land revenue. But we are not prepared to accept this argument; on the other hand we quite agree with Sir Walter when he says, "clearly in the provinces where there is a permanent settlement, land revenue has the same economic character as a mortgage or tithe rent. In other parts of India, there is the same tendency for land revenue to remain fixed, and it notoriously fails to respond to variations in the produce of the land." The slice of profits due to increase in productivity, growth of population

and rising prices has mainly been appropriated by the agricultural classes. In a country like India where more than seventy per cent. of the total population live on agriculture it is difficult to see how the State can afford to lose this source of revenue. There is a great volume of opinion in favour of enlisting this as a source of revenue for the provinces. Although the provinces should be given the proceeds, the collection and administration should vest in the federal Government on administrative grounds.

Another source of revenue which finds a place in the tax system of almost every country and particularly in countries with federal constitution like U. S. A., Australia, Canada, Switzerland—is the tax on inheritance. There is no reason why the Indian federation should not adopt it for adding to the resources of the provinces, because it is quite proper that it should be appropriated on the principle of origin and in all the federations named above it is distributed on this principle. Of course a probate duty is levied here on inheritance even now but it partakes more of the character of a fee than a tax. The tax when imposed should be levied on a highly progressive rate and like the tax on agricultural incomes should be administered by the federal authority.

Another tax that has been mentioned in connection with the proposal for adding to the resources of the provinces is the terminal tax levied on goods traffic passing through railways or steamer route collected at stations. In order to avoid complications of one province imposing burdens on another it might be confined to inward traffic only.

Provincial Contributions.

There are both theoretical and practical objections against such a tax. Being a tax on consumption its incidence would be heavier on poorer classes and further it would tend to obstruct the free movement of goods from place to place,

thus hampering trade. We cannot, therefore, advocate this as a permanent feature of the tax system of the country. But at the same time we may point out that it has certain good features to commend it to our consideration for utilisation for the purpose of giving relief to some of the poorer provinces like Assam or Bihar and Orissa or the new provinces of N. W. F. P. and Sind. The possibilities of the tax should, however, first be investigated by an expert committee. If it is found practicable and desirable to impose it, its imposition by the provinces should be made subject to the control of federal authority both in respect of the rates and the general conditions. It ought also to be understood to be a temporary feature, to be dispensed with as soon as the provinces can conveniently manage to do without it. It may however be retained as a part of the scheme of local taxation in the provinces, as it even now is in the U.P. and some other provinces. In the early years of federation it may be kept as a scheduled tax included in Schedule I as defined in the scheduled taxes rules under the present constitution, to be levied in case of an emergency. The proceeds of these new taxes taken with their share of the Income-tax will, we may expect, not only wipe out the estimated deficits in the provincial budget but will leave them each with a surplus, of course of a varying amount, to start with.

Now comes the question of adjustment between the federal Government and the provinces. Assuming that for some time at least the federal Government will not be able to stand on its own legs, it is necessary to devise a scheme of contributions from the provinces. It is not for us to fix the amounts that the different provinces will be asked to contribute to the federal fisc. We can only say a few words on the principle of distribution. We may point out here that we cannot support the principle proposed by the federal finance committee following in the footsteps of the Meston Committee, *viz.*, distribution on the basis of additional resources assigned

to the Provincial Governments—in other words in proportion to their shares of income-tax. This is bound to result in an unequal treatment of the different provinces and be unfair to some of them. On the other hand, the scheme of contributions should be so devised as to remove the inequalities under the above plan of allocation of resources as far as practicable. Three factors should particularly be taken into account in this connection (1) the contributions that provinces already make indirectly in the shape of customs, excises, etc., (2) incidence of taxation per capita in each province, and (3) standard of expenditure per capita in each province specially on ‘developmental services’ like education, sanitation, etc.

Need of Financial Adjustment with a View to removing the Inequalities.

No scheme of allocation of resources between the centre and the provinces can secure absolute uniformity or equality in financial position as between the provinces, because of the diversity in the conditions of the different provinces in population, area, economic characteristic, etc. So after the allocation of resources has been made some adjustment has to be done between the centre and the provinces so that all the provinces may be enabled to start on level terms financially. So long as the contributions remain they may be utilised for this purpose. But when they are extinguished as a result of an improvement in the finances of the federal Government this may be done by a well-thought out plan of each assignments or subventions and subsidies in aid of specific services of the Provincial Governments. If some particular province is found to be in a specially bad plight after the allocation, as Bengal after the Meston Settlement, so much so that any assistance that the federal authority can give will not meet its needs it should be accorded special treatment, for instance, by assigning some portion of federal revenue raised within its

borders or any special local tax such as terminal tax to enable it to stand on its own legs. What we propose is, that in no circumstances should the provinces be allowed to start in their federal career with weak finances. The principles of uniformity or 'financial clean out' should not stand in the way in this matter. Bengal's claim to the proceeds of the jute export duty should be reviewed in the light of what has been said above, of course if the necessity arises under the new dispensation. In our opinion, there is much to say in support of this claim. At least it cannot be lightly rejected on the ground that other provinces would put forward similar claims. Each case has to be dealt with on its own merits, not only from the standpoint of the justice of the claim by itself but also in the light of the special circumstances of the province. If taking all these into account the claim to special treatment put forward by a province can be justified, we think, it ought to be conceded.

Settlement with the States.

So far we have been concerned only with one aspect of the federal financial settlement, *viz.*, that between the centre and the provinces. If we have not touched on the other aspect, *viz.*, the settlement between the centre and the states we have done so advisedly, not because it is less important but because it raises many complex issues which have to be settled by a tripartite agreement to which the Government of India, the native states and the paramount power would be parties. Administratively and financially they were so long completely separate from the body politic of India. Now they are coming into the federation with certain limitations and reservations designed to maintain their independence beyond the sphere of federal subjects and not on the same footing with the provinces. Necessarily the financial settlement with the states would be different both in respect to the

method and conditions. It is quite likely that they would insist on retaining their tax systems subject to modifications necessitated by the federation. The details of the settlement can therefore be arranged only by an agreement among the parties concerned. But we can lay down some broad principles which should be taken into account in effecting the settlement. In the first place unlike the provinces the states will not be amenable to uniform treatment. Each state will have its own tax-system and will enter into a separate financial arrangement with the federation.

But whatever be the settlement, it must be based on the principle of equal distribution of the federal burdens, as far as possible, among the units of the federation including the provinces and the states. The states must fall in line with the provinces in certain matters for instance, in regard to the contributions so long as they are levied.

In the second place they must see that their taxes do not impinge on federal resources. Similarly in the federation they should not have overlapping services. For instance at present many of the states have their own post and telegraph systems, railways, currency, etc., which they must make over entirely to the federation. Lastly in effecting a financial adjustment with the states we should try to begin on a clean slate as far as possible. But this is complicated by the existence, on the one hand, of certain, immunities which the states have been enjoying, *e.g.*, in respect of external customs, and salt and on the other hand, certain contributions which the states have been making to the exchequer of the Government of India. The Richardson Committee have made a detailed investigation of these immunities and contributions or credits and debits respectively, as we may call them. Where a state has both debits and credits, in making a remission of contribution, it should be set off against a corresponding amount of the value of its immunities. The remaining portion of the immunities should be taken into

account at the time of effecting an adjustment with the federation. When a state only makes contributions either in cash or through ceded territories but does not enjoy any immunities these should be remitted before the settlement takes place. But when a state has been enjoying immunities but making no contributions, the value of its immunities should be taken into account in making a financial settlement with the federation.

The Problem of Residuary Powers of Taxation.

As we have already perhaps exceeded the limits of space at our disposal we must now conclude with a brief reference to one other point which we cannot possibly omit without leaving a very serious gap. This is the question of the seat of residuary powers of taxation. It is not possible to make thoroughly comprehensive and exhaustive schedules of federal and provincial revenues. With whom, then, the right to levy an unspecified tax rest—with the federal authority or the units? There is no uniformity of practice in this matter in different federations. Of course we agree with the Peel Committee that with regard to such unspecified taxes “the correct solution cannot be to allocate them in advance either finally the federation or finally to the constituent units.” Rather every case should be decided on its own merits. But it would be perhaps more convenient to vest such a general residuary authority in the federal Government and legislature. To meet the constitutional objections that federation should not have the authority to impose a tax on units without their consent it may be provided that any such proposal should be passed in the federal legislature, presumably consisting of representatives from the units, by a heavy majority, say two-thirds or three-fourths, or it may be required that after being passed by the federal legislature, it should be ratified by a majority of the legislatures in the units.

Conclusion.

In conclusion we repeat once again that we can only claim a hypothetical validity for our conclusions and suggestions. The term 'financial settlement' used with regard to the arrangement of revenues and expenditure between the federation and constituent units is perhaps a misnomer. There can be nothing in the nature of a "settlement" claiming a fair degree of fixity and permanence. Any new element or some unforeseen contingency—and in a dynamic society there are too many of them—will at once 'unsettle' the "Settlement." Our suggestions in this paper should therefore be taken in the perspective of present conditions only.

AKSHAYKUMAR GHOSAL

HEROES AND SAVANTS

Men of light and men of lore
Are to the world like sun and moon :
The former by their nature pour
Their splendour like the sun at noon
And scattering clouds from drooping core
Make life boil with its own might ;
The latter come at the end of day
With soothing breath and lucent light
To bosoms yearning for a ray
Of warming light in hours of night.

P. M. HARI

SOCIAL LIFE IN JAINA LITERATURE

PART I

The major pre-occupation of the Canonical literature of the Jainas is matters of doctrine and discipline, and details of social life are noticed only incidentally. There is nothing in this literature to rank with the Jātaka and the Aṭṭhakathā literature of the Buddhists and in general it is far less awake to worldly affairs than the Pali literature although both of them belonged to monastic Orders. In spite of this we come across princes and princesses, merchants, traders, artisans, householders, peasants, crimes and criminals, pleasures, amusements and vices in the literature of the Jainas to set off the long accounts of ascetical rigour and to relieve the boredom of wearying philosophical statistics. Some of these details emerge out of the stereotyped standard descriptions of persons, places, objects and events which are a characteristic feature of this literature. These artificial descriptions cannot be dated for through the long history of canonical revision and redaction attempts were obviously made from time to time towards augmenting and perfecting these set-forms.

Cities.

Life in cities has been portrayed in this literature as gay and prosperous. Campā, Srāvastī, Rājagṛha and other cities and towns in and around Magadha have frequently been described, and always in the same manner. The description really belongs to the city of Campā as we find it to be the city of cities in this literature, just as Rājagṛha is with the Buddhists; from Campā the description came to be appended to all cities. We find Campā described in this manner—"It

was splendid, tranquil and prosperous. City-folk and country-folk alike were happy there. It was thronged with population. Its field-bounds were turned up by hundreds and thousands of ploughshares, and displayed far-reaching pleasant dykes. It abounded in troops of cocks and capons; it was full of sugar-cane, wheat, and rice crops; and it swarmed with oxen, buffaloes, and rams. Shapely temples, tenanted by damsels, were plenteous therein. It was free from bribers, torturers, brigands, robbers, and thief-takers, comfortable, and without offence. It was liberal in alms-giving, a home of secure and pleasant life, dense with many millions of citizens, content and happy. It was haunted by actors, dancers, rope-walkers, wrestlers, boxers, jesters, reciters, jumpers, ballad-singers, story-tellers, pole-dancers, picture-showmen, pipers, lute-players, and clappers in plenty. It had excellent pleasures, parks, wells, pools, lakes, and ponds. Its moat was broad on top and cut deep down. It was solidly built, and hard to enter by reason of discs, clubs, maces, barriers, drop-blocks, and double doors. It was surrounded by a wall bent in a curve like a bow, and decorated with cornices arranged in circles. Its bastions, rampart-paths, doorways, gates, and arches were lofty, its high-roads duly divided. Its gate-bars and bolts were stout, and fashioned by skilful artificers. It contained markets and bazaars thronged with craftsmen, content and happy. It had open places, junctions of three, four or more roads, and markets for goods, adorned with diverse sorts of treasures. It was very delightful. Its highways were thronged with princes. It was crowded with numbers of fine horses, fiery elephants, and troops of chariots, with palanquins and litters, and with cars and carriages. Its waters were brilliant with beds of lotuses whose buds were newly bursting into bloom, and it was fully decorated with fine white palaces..."¹

¹ *Aupapātika*, 1; trans. by Barnett in *Antagaḍadasāo*, pp. 1-2.

Shrines and Parks.

The mention of a city is invariably followed in this literature by a reference to a shrine (*ceia*) which is named after a *yakṣa* such as Pūrṇabhadra, Śaurikadatta, etc. The shrine was situated in a park or wood (*ujjāna*) outside the city having an expressive name such as Sahasrāmravaṇa, Dūtipalāśa, Puṣpakaraṇḍaka, etc. Gorgeous descriptions are given of the beauties of these parks and woods, of their flower-laden trees, birds, bees, fruits, bushes, bowers, arbours, pools and tanks.¹ The park was provided with sitting-sheds, sight-seeing-stands as well as with dressing rooms (*pasāhaṇa-ghara*) and with *mohaṇa-ghara* which has been explained by the commentator Abhayadeva—an explanation which finds support in many of Vātsyāyana's remarks—as *nidhuvana-grha*.² These parks were much used no doubt by amorous people owing to the advantages offered by their seclusion and genial surroundings. In Campā, for instance, there were two intimate friends named Jinadattaputra and Sāgaradattaputra, who were of the same age, of the same mind, and were brought up together from their childhood. Once as they sat together to a meal they decided to go next day to the park Subhūmibhāga outside Campā in company with Devadattā, a celebrated courtesan of the city. They ordered the servants to take victuals, perfumes, etc., and pitch a tent (*thūṇāmaṇḍapa*) by the side of a tank called Nandā in the park. The two friends went in a well-decorated cart to the house of the courtesan who dressed up handsomely and accompanied the friends in the cart to the park where they sported in the water, regaled and enjoyed themselves in the tent, and afterwards went about hand in hand through

¹ *Aup.*, 2.

² *Jñātādharma-kathā*, p. 95B (Āgamodaya Samiti ed.).

the park.¹ On another occasion five friends went to the park with this courtesan Devadattā and sported with her—one of them held her on his bosom, the second held an umbrella on her from behind, the third put flowers in her hair, the fourth painted her feet, and the fifth fanned her with a yak-tail. The sight of this so moved a nun named Sukumārikā who had gone to the park alone against her Superior's wishes for practising penances, that she said within herself, "How happy are these women! If penances have any reward I wish I would enjoy such pleasures in my next birth!"²

Fortification.

The principles of fortification of towns were well understood. These were erection of walls, gates and battlements, digging of moats and construction of *śataghnīs*. In the legend of the renunciation of king Nami, Indra is made to appear before him and exhort him to engage in these Kṣatriya occupations.³

Rural Settlements.

Besides cities several other kinds of human settlements are named in the texts such as villages, mining settlements, townships, boroughs, townlets, thorps, hamlets, trade-towns, hermit's villages, market-towns, store-towns, and settlements.⁴ The exact significance of these terms is not always clear.

Houses.

In the cities there were lofty mansions belonging to the well-to-do and we find them described as having a gabled

¹ *Jñātā*, pp. 90A-93B.

² *Ib.*, pp. 204B-205B.

³ *Uttarādhyaṇa*, IX. 18.

⁴ Abhayadeva's commentary on *Jñātā*, p. 15.

front, many polished and well-set tall pillars, latticed windows, semi-circular stairs, brackets, aviaries, and a room on the roof called *candraśālikā* from which the moon was viewed ; the houses were painted with the dye of a moist and clear mineral rock outside and were figured inside with comely pictures ; the floor was richly ornamented and the ceiling was figured with lotus-stalks, creepers in blossom, and excellent flowers ; the doors were tastefully decorated with pitchers and lotus-stalks, sprinkled over with sandal-paste and with strings and garlands. Fragrant incense burnt in the rooms. The furniture in the room consisted mostly of richly upholstered beds, foot-stools, cushions, seats, etc.¹

Dresses, Perfumes, Cosmetics, etc.

In the descriptions of rich people we find them dressed gorgeously in clothes and ornaments such as necklaces, ear-pendants, armlets, rings, etc. The use of wreaths, paints, perfumes, unguents, etc., are frequently referred to. A householder of Vāṇijagrāma (another name of the city of Vaiśālī) ² named Ānanda who took the Lesser Vows from Mahāvīra resolved to limit his use of tooth-cleaners only to one kind, *viz.*, a green stick of sweet taste, and renounced the use of every other kind of tooth-cleaner.³ He also took the vow of limiting himself to only one kind of mouth-perfume,⁴ *viz.*, betel with its five spices and to only one kind of bathing-towel, *viz.*, a fragrant red-tinted one.⁵ These as also the other restraints the householder Ānanda put upon himself in respect of the use of unguents, powders, washing water, clothes, perfumes, etc.,⁶ show the great variety that existed in

¹ *Jñātā*, pp. 12B-13A.

² See Hoernle's trans. of *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 3, n. 8.

³ *Upāsakadaśā*, I, 23.

⁴ *Ib.*, I, 42.

⁵ *Ib.*, I, 22.

⁶ *Ib.*, I, 25-32.

the use of these articles of luxury. Women we find described as using very costly garments, embroidered and marked with figures of swans, and so fine as to be “blown off by the breath of the nostrils.”

The Bath and the Gymnasium.

From the descriptions given of a bath it would seem that it was a great luxury with the rich in which different kinds of scented water and oils of “a hundred and a thousand distillations” were used. Princes are described as going to the gymnasium (*aṭṭhana-sālā*) before the bath early in the morning where they took “manifold exercises of energy, leaping, limb-twisting, wrestling, and turning.” After the exercise they were rubbed down on the oiling-skin by dexterous massagists.¹

Processions.

When princes or wealthy people went out we find them described as surrounded and followed by many attendants and an umbrella decorated with garlands of koreṇṭa flowers was held over them. On occasions of special importance, such as when a king is described as taking his son to Mahāvīra for conversion, we find gorgeous processions coming out in which the prospective convert was carried in a litter and was accompanied by beautiful damsels who held an umbrella over him, stood by his side yak-tail in hand, or carrying a pitcher. In front of the procession were carried the eight lucky symbols, viz., a *svastika*, a *śrīvatsa* (a diagram resembling a flower of four petals arranged at right angles to one another), a *nandyāvarta* (“a peculiar geometrical pattern”), a *varāha-mānaka* (a diagram commonly having the shape of a pair of saucers), a state-seat, a pitcher, a fish, and a mirror. Next to these symbols went series of garlanded umbrellas and

¹ *Aup.*, 48.

decorated banners ; then came parties of men carrying various arms, staves, etc. ; next followed parties of singers and dancers ; behind them came in due and successive order troops of horses, elephants, and chariots, all elaborately equipped with outfit and attendants ; and, last of all, came the king himself on the back of a richly decorated elephant, followed by the fourfold army. ¹ The queen rode in the same litter with the prince.

Public Appearance of Women.

There does not appear to have been any prejudice against women appearing in public. In most of the conversion-stories we find the king seated in the outer hall of audience to hear dream-interpreters summoned to explain the dream of a lion or elephant, etc., seen by the queen, and on these occasions we find the queen seated behind a curtain in the hall. Skandaśrī, the wife of Vijaya who was the chief of the robber-village Śālātavi, had a craving during her pregnancy of going through the robber-village Śālātavi accompanied by female relations and female friends, all dressed in male attire and equipped with military outfit ; when Vijaya, the robber-chief, came to learn of this craving of hers he gave his permission whereupon Skandaśrī satisfied her craving according to her desire. ² Many instances are mentioned of women going to the *yakṣa*-shrines for worship. In the case of prince-converts, we find them being taken to Mahāvīra by the king and the queen who make a joint gift of their son to the Reverend Ascetic. In the story of Saddālaputra, a potter of the town of Polāsapura, it is mentioned that his wife Agnimitrā went to Mahāvīra in a cart accompanied by maid-servants and took from him the vows of a householder. ³ It is also stated in many places in the texts

¹ *Aup.*, 49.

² *Vipākāśruta*, pp. 43B-45B (Haragovinda's ed.).

³ *Upāsakadāśū*, VII, 205-211.

that Mahāvira was frequently accompanied in his tours by a large number of nuns as of monks. Nuns perhaps had greater freedom than women living in families; mention has been made before of the case of the nun who went alone to the park outside the city of Campā; from the rules made about the association of monks and nuns when out on alms-begging tours,¹ it would appear that nuns were accustomed to roam about freely.

The Harem.

Houses had inner apartments for the women-folk and a king's harem is described as an elaborate affair containing many hunchback women, dwarf women, misshapen women, slave-girls, maid-servants, eunuchs, messengers and chamberlains.² Besides these are named also women belonging to various foreign countries "who dressed in foreign garb, with raiment taken from their own countries' fashions, understanding from gesture what was thought and desired of them, skilful and accomplished, well trained." Some non-Aryan races have also been mentioned in connection with these women. This list mentions Kirāta women, women of Babbara, Pausaya, Greek, Pallavi, Isinaya, Cāruinaya, Lāsaya, Lausaya, Dravidian, Sinhalese, Arab, Pulinda, Pakkaṇa, Bahala, Maruṇḍa, Sabara, and Persian races. It was customary in ancient India to put into the harem women taken captive after war; female slaves also formed a part of the exchange of presents between the rulers of different countries. It is not impossible that this long list of the Jaina descriptions had the motive of asserting racial superiority over neighbours.

Cravings of Expectant Women.

The occasion mostly in connection with which we are led into the inner apartments of a house or palace in the

¹ *Kalpasūtra*, Rules for *yatis*, 36.

² *Aup.*, 55, 105; *Jñātā*, p. 87B.

Jaina narratives is the craving during pregnancy (*dohala*) of a woman; a queen or a merchant's wife or some other woman has a craving during her pregnancy of seeing a particular sight, such as rains out of season, or eating a particular food or going to a particular place or behaving in a particular manner; a long account is given of her sufferings due to her craving not having been fulfilled; then an inmate of the house informs the husband who thereupon enters into a long conversation with the wife and permits her to indulge her whims. She does so and then "carries the foetus in happiness."

The story is told of queen Mṛgā, wife of king Vijaya of the town of Mṛgagrāma, who once conceived and observed that since the onset of her conception she had become unwanted to her husband. Imagining that her fall from her husband's favours was due to the foetus in the womb, she thought of destroying it by means of many kinds of foetus-dismemberers, expellers, dissolvers and destroyers, and with that end in view began to eat and drink many kinds of acids, bitters, astringents, foetus-dismemberers, etc., but failed to carry out her purpose and carried the foetus in sorrow.¹

Birth of a Child : Ceremonies.

On the birth of a child—a male-child, as it happens to be in nearly all of the descriptions—the news was carried in a boisterous manner to the father by one or more of the women present in the birth-chamber. Between the day of birth and the day of name-giving eleven days were allowed to elapse; during this period gifts were given on the first day, the sun and the moon were seen on the third day, and a vigil was kept on the sixth day.² On the occasion of the birth of a prince, we find the kings issuing orders for the release of

¹ *Vipāka*, pp. 15A-16B.

² *Jñātā*, p. 37A; see also Barnett's trans. of *Antagaḍa*, p. 29, n. 2.

prisoners, manumitting slaves by ceremonially washing the head of the latter, announcing a general holiday, and remitting levies, taxes, fines and debts. Measures of volume and weight were ordered to be increased, buying, selling and husbandry were prohibited, and the entrance of the police into houses were forbidden. There was general merry-making by large numbers of play-actors, musicians and dancing-girls.¹

Some stories are found in connection with child-birth. Queen Mṛgā, mentioned above, gave birth to a son who was born blind and deformed; he had no limbs and organs but only the semblances thereof. At the sight of the new-born infant, queen Mṛgā ordered the chamber-women to cast it on a solitary refuse-heap. The chamber-women said "yes" to her but went and reported the matter to the king Vijaya who hurried to his wife and reasoned with her that if her first-born child was cast away the subjects would be unquiet, and advised her to hide the infant in a secret subterranean chamber and give food and drink to it in secret. Queen Mṛgā agreed to this and acted accordingly. Later in life, Gautama, the chief disciple of Mahāvīra, came to learn of this boy from his Master and paid a visit to the house of Mṛgā to see this strange boy. Mṛgā showed to the curious monk some of her later-born sons but he insisted on seeing the strange boy who had been given the name of Mṛgāputra. The secret was so well guarded that Mṛgā expressed considerable surprise that the monk should have come to know of it. The account says of course that by his supernatural powers Mahāvīra had knowledge of the secret but it is quite possible that this intelligent ex-prince was in the know of many of the secrets of Kṣatriya families. Mṛgā, however, led the monk into the secret subterranean chamber and took with

her a small cart laden with food, for it was meal-time for Mrgāputra, and showed the boy to the monk.¹

The issues of Subhadrā, wife of a merchant named Vijayamitra of Vāṇijagrāma, used all to die after birth. She was delivered once of a son whom she put immediately after birth on a refuse-heap in secret, took him up again, and took care of him.² The idea was to defile the body of the child and make it "untouchable" to Death; this idea still persists among the common people of India and lies at the bottom of many practices including name-giving designed to foil Death. A similar story is told of another woman named Subhadrā, wife of a merchant named Subhadra of the town of Sāhañjanī. The issues of this Subhadrā also used to die after birth and once while she was delivered of a son she put, with the help of her husband, the baby under a cart, took it up again, and brought it up.³

The Name-giving.

The sons of wealthy people are described as being put under the charge of five nurses, viz., a wet-nurse, a bath-nurse, a tiring-nurse, a lap-nurse, and a play-nurse. The long list of foreign slave-girls is mentioned in this connection as among those who catered to the comfort of the baby. The next important event in the life of the young was the ceremony of name-giving which came off on the twelfth day after birth. The ceremony was preceded by a great feast after which the parents of the child declared before the assembled relations and friends what the name of the new-born was to be. Sometimes the name given had some reference to an earlier event. A son of king Śreṇika was named Megha-kumāra because his mother had had the craving of seeing

¹ *Vipāk*, pp. 6B-9B.

² *Ib.*, p. 31B.

³ *Ib.*, p. 56B.

rainclouds out of season;¹ a huntsman's son was named Gotrāsa because after birth he gave out such a nasty yell that all the cattle in the town were frightened and ran away in all directions ; this was due to his mother having had the craving of eating with wine various limbs of cattle which she had satisfied with the help of her husband.² Subhadrā's son, mentioned above, who was put on a refuse-heap and taken up again was named Ujjhitakā.³ Because Skandaśrī had the craving of dressing up and behaving like a soldier, her son was named Abhagnasena.⁴ The boy who was put under a cart after birth, mentioned above, was named Śakāṭa.⁵ A boy was named Umbaradatta because his mother had had the craving of worshipping the yakṣa Umbara ;⁶ similarly, another boy was named Śaurikadatta.⁷

Education.

After the name-giving followed in due time the ceremonies of walking and moving the legs, the feasting, the increase of food, the teaching to speak, the boring of the ears, the anniversary of the birth, and the dressing of the hair.⁸ Next came the ceremony, in the eighth year, of taking the boy to a teacher. The teacher taught his pupil " with text, explanation, and demonstration " the " seventy-two arts " (*bāvattari kalāo*), viz. :—

The Seventy-two Arts.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| (1) <i>leha</i> , writing | (6) <i>vāiṇya</i> , instrumental music |
| (2) <i>gaṇiṇya</i> , arithmetic | (7) <i>saragaya</i> , vocal music |
| (3) <i>rūva</i> , fine arts | (8) <i>pokkharagaya</i> , drum-music |
| (4) <i>naṭṭa</i> , dancing | (9) <i>samatāla</i> , timing in music |
| (5) <i>giya</i> , singing | (10) <i>jūya</i> , gambling |

¹ *Jñātā.*, p. 37B.

² *Vipāk.*, pp. 26B-30A.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 31A-31B.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 43B-46A.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 56B-57A.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 80B.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 84B.

⁸ *Aup.*, 105.

- (11) *janavāya*, a kind of dice
 (12) *pāsaya*, dice
 (13) *aṭṭhāvaya*, chess-playing
 (14) *porakavva*, ready-verse-making
 (15) *dagamattīya*, knowledge of the constituent materials of objects
 (16) *annavihi*, rules of food
 (17) *pāṇavihi*, rules of drink
 (18) *vatthavihi*, rules of dress
 (19) *vilevanavihi*, rules of toilet
 (20) *sayanavihi*, rules of bed
 (21) *ajje*, āryā-verses
 (22) *pahelia*, riddles
 (23) *Māgahiya*, Māgadhī composition
 (24) *gāhā*, gāthā-composition
 (25) *gīta*, ballad-making
 (26) *siloga*, śloka-making
 (27) *hiraṇṇa-jutli*, preparation of unwrought gold
 (28) *suvaṇṇa-jutti*, preparation of wrought gold
 (29) *cuṇṇa-jutti*, preparation of powders
 (30) *ābharanavihi*, rules of ornaments
 (31) *taruṇi-parikamma*, means of improving the complexion of damsels
 (32) *itthi-lakkhaṇa*, points of women
 (33) *purisa-lakkhaṇa*, points of men
 (34) *haya-lakkhaṇa*, points of horses
 (35) *gaya-lakkhaṇa*, points of elephants
 (36) *goṇa-lakkhaṇa*, points of kine
 (37) *kukkuḍa-lakkhaṇa*, points of cocks
 (38) *chatta-lakkhaṇa*, points of umbrellas
 (39) *daṇḍa-lakkhaṇa*, points of staves
 (40) *asi-lakkhaṇa*, points of swords
 (41) *mani-lakkhaṇa*, points of gem
 (42) *kāgaṇi-lakkhaṇa*, points of the • kāgaṇi jewels
 (43) *vatthuvijjā*, science of building
 (44) *khamdhāramāṇa*, measurement of camps
 (45) *nagaramāṇa*, measurement of cities
 (46) *vūha*, columns
 (47) *paḍivūha*, counter-columns
 (48) *cāra*, spying
 (49) *paḍicāra*, counter-spying
 (50) *cakka-vūha*, wheel-column
 (51) *garula-vūha*, kite-column
 (52) *sagaḍa-vūha*, cart-column
 (53) *juddha*, fighting
 (54) *nijuddha*, wrestling
 (55) *juddhātijuddha*, heavy fighting
 (56) *ditṭhi-juddha*, eye-fighting
 (57) *mutṭhi-juddha*, fist-fighting
 (58) *bāhu-juddha*, arm-fighting
 (59) *layā-juddha*, clasped-fighting
 (60) *isattha*, knowledge of arrows
 (61) *charupavāya*, sword-playing
 (62) *dhanuvveya*, science of the bow
 (63) *hiraṇṇa-pāga*, casting of unwrought gold
 (64) *suvaṇṇa-pāga*, casting of wrought gold
 (65) *sutta-kheḍa*, play with strings
 (66) *vattha-kheḍa*, play with cloth
 (67) *nālikākheḍa*, play with tube (a kind of dice)
 (68) *pattacchejja*, boring of leaves
 (69) *kaḍacchejja*, boring of several objects situated at a distance from one another
 (70) *sajjiva*, giving of life
 (71) *nijjiva*, taking of life, and
 (72) *sayūṇa-ruta*, birds' cries¹

¹ This list is mentioned in many places in full such as in *Jñātā*, p. 38A, in *Sama-vāyāṅga*, 72, and in the account of the education of Dr̥ghapratijña in *Aupapātika* and *Rājaprañiya*, as also in other places with some variations. See also the English translation given by Barnett on pp. 30-31 of *Antagaḍa*. I have differed from Barnett on several points. The exact meanings of some of the items are obscure; lexicons, the *Abhidhāna-rājendra* included, render little help in elucidating the obscurities, for they explain these items merely as *kalā viśeṣa*. I have followed the interpretation given by Śānticaṇḍra, the author of the commentary on the *Jambudvīpaprajñapti* (Devchand Lalbbhai Fund, Bombay, pp. 136B-139B), except in respect of Nos. 48 and 49 which he explains as movement of stars.

Vātsyāyana and the Jaina Arts.

It would be interesting to compare the above list with the account of the "sixty-four arts" as given in the chapter on *vidyā-samuddeśa* (*Kāma-sūtra* I. iii) by Vātsyāyana. Although the Jaina list is longer than that of Vātsyāyana, yet from our comparison we find that the former may be fitted into the latter. We give below the relevant items in Vātsyāyana's list in the left-hand column and in the right-hand column are placed their Jaina parallels, indicated by their numbers in the above list.

1. <i>Gīta</i>	5 and 7
2. <i>Vādyā</i>	6, 8, and 9
3. <i>Nṛtya</i>	4
4. <i>Ālekhyā</i>	3
5. <i>Viśeṣakacchedyā</i>	68
7. <i>Puṣpāstarāṇa</i>	20
8. <i>Daśana-vasanāṅgarāga</i>	31 (?), 19(?), and 18
10. <i>Sayana-racana</i>	20
11. <i>Udaka-vādyā</i>	6
15. <i>Sekharakāpiḍayojana</i>	30
16. <i>Nepathya-prayoga</i>	18
17. <i>Karṇapatra-bhaṅga</i>	30
18. <i>Gandhayukti</i>	29
19. <i>Bhūṣaṇayojana</i>	30
22. <i>Hasta-lāghava</i>	68 and 69
23. <i>Vicitraśāka-yūṣa-bhakṣya-vikāra-kriyā</i>	16
24. <i>Pānaka-rasa-rāga-āsava-yojana</i>	17
26. <i>Sūtrakriḍā</i>	65 and 67 (?)
27. <i>Vinā-damarukavādyā</i>	6
28. <i>Prahelikā</i>	22
37. <i>Vāstuvidyā</i>	43 and 45
38. <i>Rūpya-ratnaparikṣā</i>	41, 42, 27(?), 28(?)
39. <i>Dhātuvāda</i>	63, 64, 70 and 71
42. <i>Meṣa-kukkuṭa-lāvaka-juddha-vidhi</i>	52 (?)
49. <i>Nimitta-jñāna</i>	32-42, 48, 49 and 72

55. <i>Chandovijñāna</i>	21, 23, 24, 25 and 26
56. <i>Criyākālpa</i>	14
59. <i>Dyūta-viśeṣa</i>	10-14
60. <i>Akaroakriḍā</i>	12
63. <i>Vaijayaiki</i>	44, 46, 47, 50-62

It would appear that thirty out of the sixty-four items of Vātsyāyana cover more or less the whole of the Jaina list with the exception of four items, viz., Nos. 1, 2, 15 and 67. Vātsyāyana's list is no doubt much fuller and compared with it, the Jaina list looks more primitive. The Commentary of the *Jambudvīparajñapti* gives another list of sixty-four arts for women which, however, has not been explained therein. This list comprises the following, viz. :—

*The Sixty-four Arts for Women.*¹

1. Dancing	28. Points of men and women
2. Propriety (? <i>aucitya</i>)	29. Discrimination of gold and jewels
3. Painting	30. Differences in the eighteen scripts (<i>see below</i>)
4. Music	31. Presence of mind
5. Charms	32. Art of building
6. Incantation	33. Varieties in pleasure (sexual?)
7. Knowledge	34. Treatment of diseases
8. Insight	35. <i>Kumbhabhrama</i>
9. <i>Dambha</i>	36. <i>Sārisrama</i>
10. <i>Jalastambha</i>	37. Preparation of unguents
11. Musical scale	38. Preparation of powders
12. Timing in music	39. Dexterity of hand
13. Raining of clouds	40. Cleverness of speech
14. Fruit-growing	41. Rules of food
15. Gardening	42. Rules of trade
16. Disguise	43. Toilet of the face
17. Moral discrimination	44. Paddy-husking (<i>śālikhaṇḍaṇa</i>)
18. Omens (? <i>śakuna-sāra</i>)	45. Story-telling
19. Ceremonials	46. Making of wreathes
20. Refined speech	47. Indirect speech
21. Art of pleasing (? <i>prāsādanīti</i>)	48. Poetic talent
22. Proper conduct	49. <i>Sphāravindhiveśa</i>
23. Improvement of the complexion	50. All the languages
24. Purification of gold	51. Knowledge of meanings
25. preparation of scented oils	52. Wearing of ornaments
26. Graceful movements	53. Dealing with servants
27. Examination of horses and elephants	54. Deportment at home

¹ *Jambū.*, pp. 139B-140A.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 55. Explanation (? <i>vyākaraṇa</i>). | 61. Science of numbers |
| 56. Repelling strangers | 62. Knowledge of the world |
| 57. Cooking | 63. <i>Antyākṣarikā</i> (a kind of
verse-making?) |
| 58. Dressing the hair | 64. Riddles |
| 59. <i>Vinā</i> -playing | |
| 60. Argument | |

The Eighteen Provincial Dialects and Scripts.

Besides the above, an educated person is also described as knowing the eighteen provincial dialects (*aṭṭhārasadesibhāsā*). Unfortunately the texts nowhere explain what these varieties are. The eighteen scripts mentioned among the “sixty-four arts for women” are stated in the *Prajñpanā* and the *Sama-vāyāṅga* to consist of

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Brāhmī | 10. Veṇaiyā |
| 2. Yabanānī | 11. Niṇhaiyā |
| 3. Dosūpuriyā | 12. Aṅkalivī |
| 4. Kharoṣṭhī | 13. Gaṇitalivī |
| 5. Pokharasāriyā | 14. Gāndharvalivī |
| 6. Bhogavaiyā | 15. Haṅsalivī |
| 7. Paharāiyā | 16. Māheśvari |
| 8. Antakkhariyā | 17. Domīlivī |
| 9. Akkharapuṭṭhiyā | 18. Polindī |

These are said to be included in the Brāhmī script. The commentary of the *Viśeṣāvaśyaka* mentions the eighteen scripts in a different way, *viz.*,

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Haṅsalipi | 10. Sindhavīyalipi |
| 2. Bhūtalipi | 11. Mālavīnilipi |
| 3. Yakṣīlipi | 12. Naṭīlipi |
| 4. Rākṣasīlipi | 13. Nāgarīlipi |
| 5. Uḍḍīlipi | 14. Lāṭalipi |
| 6. Yavanīlipi | 15. Pārasīlipi |
| 7. Turukkīlipi | 16. Animittīlipi |
| 8. Kirīlipi | 17. Cāṇākyalipi |
| 9. Draviḍīlipi | 18. Mūladevīlipi |

The Hundred Crafts.

The *Jambudvīpaprājñapti* refers to “the hundred crafts” (*sippasaya*) which Śānticaṇḍra, the commentator, has explained as the crafts of the potter, the smith, the painter, the

weaver, and the barber, each of which admits of twenty divisions, but the latter he has not explained.

The list of the "seventy-two arts" is designed to lay down the requirements of a man of the world, and is mentioned mostly in connection with the education of Kṣatriya princes. From the details given of the art of fighting and of military formation, etc., it would appear that the list had its origin in the requirements of a capable and accomplished Kṣatriya. In regard to the education of Brahmins, we find a learned Brahmin described as one who was a teacher of, prevented corruption from entering into, retained in his memory, and was well versed in the four Vedas—R̥k, Yajus, Sāman, and Atharvan—to which is added Itihāsa as the fifth, Nighaṇṭu as the sixth, along with the Aṅgas, Upāṅgas, and the Rahasya, knew the six Aṅgas and the philosophy of the sixty categories, arithmetic, phonetics, ceremonial, grammar, prosody, etymology, and astronomy, as also many other branches of knowledge.

AMULYACHANDRA SEN

TO CALCUTTA

Great City, flush'd in Grandeur's lavishment,
Whose tinctures deck thyself, and earth's increase
Once shook thy thriving pulse of Trade, and Ease
Renewed thy laboured limbs, what ravishment
Enfolds the heart that views in wonderment
Thy Statues, Parks, and Palaces that please
The eye of Joy ? but wonders such as these
Yet melt ; for mem'ries in their sentiment
Wake with the waking bliss, and painful Past
Remembers sadly its mad Tragedy,
And this unlucky present seems to blast
Thy past regrets and plunge in Misery ;
O silent Sufferer of thy innocent Care
Nurse hope of rosy days, and not despair.

JOHN J. PINTO

OLD PUNCTUATION AND NEW

One of the most interesting discoveries of recent English scholarship is about punctuation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even so late as the first decade of the present century the customary attitude towards the old punctuation was one of undisguised contempt, as if it represented little better than the insane antics of the printer's devil. It is true that the printer of that day had his own way of dealing with an author's text, as, no doubt, the printer of our time has his; also that, being more ignorant, he could be relied upon for making more mistakes. Yet one might have paused to think that proof-reading,—of which there is ample evidence,—must have put a stop to the printer's liberty, making none but the author responsible for at least some of the supposed eccentricities and inaccuracies. But no such thing happened, and, instead of trying to understand the old punctuation in the light of laws inherent within itself, editors started with the calm assumption that it was chaotic and must be 'improved' by ruthless modernization. The characteristic attitude is well illustrated in the words of Dr. Johnson in his preface to his edition of Shakespeare: "In restoring the author's works to their integrity I have considered the punctuation as wholly in my power; for what could be their care of colons and commas, who corrupted words and sentences." Well-known is the story how the Doctor's power did not remain confined to Shakespeare's colons and commas, but spread to words and phrases as well, altering, for instance, 'good' into 'god' in Hamlet's speech to Polonius: "If the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, being a good kissing carrion." How far, in the matter of punctuation, the self-confidence of eighteenth and nineteenth century editors could carry them is seen in the

well-known example of Theobald printing the lines from *Macbeth* as

Till that Bellona's bridegroom, lapt in proof,
Confronted him with self-comparisons,
Point against point rebellious, arm 'gainst arm,...

In its earliest version, *i.e.*, in the First Folio, the last line appears with the comma after 'point,' which, besides giving the correct sense and rhythm, is in keeping with the characteristic practice of Shakespeare, who, in a passage containing a double antithesis like the above, generally introduces an adjective before the second pair. This helps him to gain emphasis and to avoid monotony. Similarly, it will be a surprise to many of us to learn that in its original version another, and a more famous, passage in *Macbeth* read :

.....that but this blow
Might be the be all, and the end all. Heere,
But heere, upon this Banke and Schoole of time,
Wee'd jumpe the life to come.

Both sense and rhythm have been destroyed by later editors since Hanmer, in omitting the period after 'end all.' The words 'Heere, But heere' have thus been deprived of their close connexion in meaning, and 'But' of the emphasis for which it was intended. Even more regrettable than these has been the loss of the period after 'end all,' arresting the rhythm both abruptly and long, in conformity with the brooding nature of the speech.

But the objection to modernization does not rest on extreme cases of senselessness like the above; nor even on the general principle that to divest an old text of its original characteristics (care being taken that they are not misprints) is like scraping a work of old architecture, and destroys both its beauty and historical character. A special significance attaches itself to punctuation, for it need not always be a

mere mechanical aid to the understanding of a passage, and may, in the hands of an artist pre-occupied with verbal music like Shakespeare or Shelley, become a highly sensitive apparatus faithfully recording his minute spiritual disturbances and the subtle nuances of his thought. With the exception of the colour of the sounds, the most beautiful thing in a verse-line is the disposition of its pauses, the intricate harmony that the poet weaves by varying their position and duration according to the change of his mood and feeling. And the tale of this rhythmic ebb and flow is best told by punctuation. Also, if by style we understand not so much the words with which an author expresses his ideas as the order and the movement that he imparts to them, there is always the possibility that in brushing aside the original punctuation we are sacrificing an integral part of an old text. Nobody will deny, for instance, that the following passage from *Sonnet XCIII* with its original pointing gives us a better key to Shakespeare's mind than its modern and 'corrected' form :

So shall I live, supposing thou art true,
Like a deceived husband, so loves face,
May still seem love to me, though alter'd new :
Thy lookes with me, thy heart in other place.

To take another example, Perdita's well-known speech was originally punctuated as follows :

Here's flowers for you :
Hot Lavender, Mints, Savory, Marjorum,
The Mary-gold, that goes to bed with 'Sun,
And with him rises, weeping :

The momentary check to the rhythm given by the comma after 'rises' fixes our attention on 'weeping' following, and suggests the tremulous faltering of Perdita's voice corresponding to the idea in her mind. The grammatical correctness or uniformity gained in modern versions by omitting the comma is poor compensation for the loss of this most sensitive pointing.

Similarly, the original version of Antony's speech in the Forum was as follows :

Looke, in this place ran *Cassius* dagger through :
See what a rent the envious *Caska* made :
Through this, the well-beloved *Brutus* stabbed.
And as he pluck'd his cursed Steele away :
Mark how the blood of *Caesar* followed it,
As rushing out of doores, to be resolv'd
If *Brutus* so unkindely knocked, or no :

An accomplished actor or orator will consider the colon after 'away' to be most significant, as supplying the necessary long pause that Antony, the perfect rhetorician that he is, deliberately allows himself in order to prepare his audience for the most moving part of his speech.

The reason, therefore, is not far to seek why the present-day attitude towards the old punctuation is more conservative and respectful. Thanks to the labours of modern scholars (see Percy Simpson, *Shakespearean Punctuation*), editors of to-day know that the old punctuation had a system, and that for poetry and drama at least, that system was superior to ours. But the general reader does not know this so well, accustomed as he is still to reading old authors in modernized versions.

The chief difference between old and modern punctuation is that while the latter is based on structure, the former was based on elocution. Modern punctuation attempts to be logical and is used to point the syntax, the earlier was mainly guided by sense and was used to point rhetorical and rhythmical pauses. It was the punctuation, so to say, of a spoken rather than a written language, and aimed at the ear rather than the eye. As Richard Mulcaster, the grammarian, and Shakespeare's contemporary, said, it was a 'help to our breathing, and the distinct utterance of our speche.' In introducing or dispensing with a stop it took little notice of the

grammatical relation of words, and was chiefly guided by the consideration as to where and how long the voice should pause for an impressive delivery of the passage. It would, therefore, omit many points which our modern grammatical punctuation would insert, as well as introduce some,—whether it be for the sake of the rhythm or for some other purpose like emphasis—to which grammar would object. It would take the same liberty with duration as with position, and, as in the speeches of Macbeth and Antony quoted above, if at any place it felt the need of a longer pause than the one allowed by grammar, it would have no hesitation in fulfilling that need.

Have by some Surgeon Shylock on your charge
To stop his wounds, lest he should bleed to death

—*Merchant of Venice*, IV, i.

Y'are deceiv'd my Lord, this is Monsieur Parolles
The gallant militarist.

—*All's Well that Ends Well*, IV, ii.

For which I would not plead, but that I must,
For which I must not plead, but that I am
at Warre, twixt will, and will not.

—*Much Ado About Nothing*, II, ii.

.....no: this my Hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the Green one, Red.

—*Macbeth*, II, ii.

.....As for you,
Say what you can ; my false, ore-weighs your true.

—*Much Ado About Nothing*, II, iv.

Modern punctuation is uniform, the earlier was individual. As is to be expected, usage was less settled in those early days of printing—as a matter of fact punctuation did not get standardized till the eighteenth century—and though it is true that the printer took advantage of this, he was not the only person to do so. The flexible system favoured the author

as well, giving him ample scope for modulating his stops according to need. This will be evident by comparing the irregular pointing of the rhetorical speech of Antony quoted above with the ordered and uniform pointing of the logical speech of Brutus in the same scene. The sentences seem all to have been cut out of the same pattern, and every point in the argument is indicated with an adequate stop :

As *Caesar* lov'd mee, I weepe for him; as he was fortunate, I rejoyce at it ; as he was valiant, I honour him : But, as he was ambitious, I slew him. There's tears, for his Love : Joy, for his Fortune : Honour, for his Valour : and Death, for his Ambition.

To-day the tyranny of our standardized system has driven writers like James Joyce to revolt, and whatever may be the merits or demerits of their innovations, it cannot be denied that they have their authority in the best English tradition.

Applied to the drama, the rhetorical punctuation of the seventeenth century would naturally resolve itself into hints for guiding the actor. And this is what we find it to be, as is exemplified in the use, in an average play of that time, of fewer stops compared to a play of our own. This omission of punctuation brings the language of the plays of the earlier period nearer to normal speech than is allowed by our grammatical system that demands the insertion of many stops which we do not make use of in speaking. Also of the stops that the old plays use, a considerable number that puzzled the eighteenth and nineteenth century editors will be found on careful study to be related to some stage "business" or to be meant to convey some important suggestion to the actor. It is not unusual, for instance, to find a comma at the end of a speech, showing that the utterance is interrupted, and doing the work of the modern dash. Witness also how the comma after *Caesar* marks an innuendo in the following passage, where Pompey, to the annoyance of Antony, is slyly referring to Cleopatra's having been the mistress of *Caesar* :

Pomp.your fine Egyptian cookerie shall have the same, I have heard that *Julius Caesar*, grew fat with feasting there.

Ant. You have heard much.

Pomp. I have faire meaning Sir.

The comma, the semicolon and the colon in the following passages are used for marking emphasis :

Repent that ere thy tongue,
Hath so betraide thine acte.

—*Antony and Cleopatra*, II, vii.

.....If not the face of men,
The sufferance of our Soules, the times Abuse;
If these be motives weake, breake off betimes,
And every man hence, to his idle bed.

—*Julius Caesar*, II, i.

It will have blood they say :
Blood will have Blood

—*Macbeth*, III, iv.

Note also how the punctuation of the passage below is admirably suited to the deferential hesitancy of *Mecenas*, the speaker, in offering advice :

If it might please you, to enforce no further
The griefs between eyæ: to forget them quite,
Were to remember: that the present neede,
Speakes to attone you.

—*Antony and Cleopatra*, II, vii.

What other punctuation could reproduce better the broken utterances of the repentant *Iachimo* than the following ?

Upon a time, unhappy was the clocke
That strooke the houre: it was in Rome, accurst
The Mansion where: 'twas at a feast, oh would
Our Viands had bin poyson'd (or at least
Those which I heav'd to head:)

The dramatic nature of the punctuation of seventeenth century plays is also seen from the lightness of stopping

which is its most conspicuous characteristic. The comma, as even a most casual reader cannot help noticing, would be made to do the work of the modern semi-colon, colon or even period. This would be possible because to the dramatist the comma would represent nothing more or less than just an indication to the actor that his voice should pause. Also, in a passage where the speaker is in an excited mood or is thinking rapidly, the comma would be the only punctuation used. The following is a good illustration of the latter :

He hath an Argosie bound to Tripolis, another to the Indies; I understand moreover upon the Rialto, he hath a third at Mexico, a fourth for England, and other ventures hee hath squandered abroad, but ships are but boards, Saylers but men, there be land rats, and water rats, water theeves, and land theeves, I meane Pyrats, and then there is the perril of water, windes, and rocks: the man is notwithstanding sufficient, three thousand ducats, I think I may take his bond.

—*Merchant of Venice*. I. iii.

This lightness of punctuation was no doubt connected with the question of the production of the plays. The average length of a Shakespearean play is three thousand lines (*Richard II* and *Hamlet* are over three thousand and five hundred) and Shakespeare himself speaks of the "two hours' traffic" of the stage. The pace of the acting, therefore, must have been pretty fast, even if we make allowance for 'cuts' and stretch Shakespeare's two hours to something between two and three. That such a supposition is not wrong may also be argued from Hamlet's advice to the players: 'Speake the speech I pray you as I pronounc'd it to you, trippingly on the tongue, but if you mouth it as many' of our Players do, I had as li(e)ve the towne-cryer spoke my lines.'

RECOVERY OF CALCUTTA BY THE ENGLISH (1757)

PART II

The recovery of Calcutta by the English was not the grave of mutual antagonism between them and the Nawab. It was merely the prelude to the great drama that was soon to be acted on the political stage of Bengal. The English could not rest satisfied till they had provided sufficient guarantees for future safety, more especially because their actions at Hugli had inflamed the Nawab's rage and he had left his capital with a determination to punish them. With a view to prevent the second plunder of Calcutta by the Nawab, the English adopted various defensive measures. The Select Committee in Bengal wrote to the Select Committees at Bombay and Madras for further reinforcements and troops in order to complete their "re-establishment and procure reparation" for their "losses, damages and charges."¹ They made their Fort defensible by "digging a Ditch 30 feet wide round the Walls, levelling the houses within...paces round, and throwing up a Glacis with the dirt of the Ditch and the rubbish of the houses."²

About a mile to the northward of the town, and half a mile from the bank of the river, they fortified a camp with several outposts around it.³ Colonel Clive requested Admiral Watson for landing the King's forces and ordering the Commander to put himself under his (Clive's) command, as the troops under him did not exceed 300 Europeans.⁴ The Admiral complied with his request by giving orders to the Captains of the several

¹ Letter from the Select Committee in Calcutta to the Secret Committee in London, dated, Fort William, the 26th January, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, pp. 166-172.

² *Ibid.*

³ Orme, Vol. II, p. 128.

⁴ Clive's Letter to Watson, dated 20th January, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, p. 124.

ships to discharge their troops, and directing Captain Waller to join Colonel Clive and to put himself under his command.¹

About the 16th of January, the Nawab encamped near Niaserai. He had with him 15,000 horse and 7,000 gunmen, a train of about 50 pieces of cannon, six of which were large and the rest small. There were six wagons of gunpowder and 4 wagons of shot, where the red flag was hoisted. The Nawab had also sixty boats with him, by which he intended to cross the river with his army after he had recovered Hugli.²

But the renewal of actual fight between the English and the Nawab was delayed for a few days by negotiations for peace and settlement, carried on through the mediation of the French and the Dutch. Already, when the news of an outbreak of a war between Great Britain and France had arrived Bengal, Colonel Clive had written to the Seths at Murshidabad requesting them to act as mediators for peace between the Nawab and the English.³ Jagat Seth had replied to Colonel Clive on 14th January, 1757, complaining about the conduct of the English, and informing him that he could not accommodate matters between them and the Nawab, unless they had given up all acts of hostility and had stated their intentions definitely.⁴ But on 17th January, Coja Wajid wrote to Colonel Clive proposing to settle matters between the Nawab and the English through the mediation of the French.⁵ Colonel Clive informed Coja Wajid and the Seths that he would accept their intervention, but would not tolerate the mediation of the French.⁶ He sent to the

¹ Watson's Letter to Clive, dated H. M. S. Kent, 21st January, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, p. 127.

² Ranglal Brahmin's Intelligence, Hill, Vol. II, p. 110.

³ Orme, Vol. II, p. 127.

⁴ Letter from Jagat Seth to Colonel Clive, dated 14th January, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, p. 104.

⁵ Hill, Vol. II, p. 110.

⁶ Letters from Colonel Clive to the Seths, and to Coja Wajid, dated 21st January, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, pp. 123-125: 'Their behaviour to our Deputies, their written proposals and a thousand other accessories.....show conclusively that they had no desire to see us take part in this business.' Memoir of M. Jean Law, Hill, Vol. III, p. 181.

former a copy of the demands of the English, *viz.*: —“ That the Nabob cause satisfaction to be made to the Company, to the English and all other inhabitants under their protection, for all the losses they have sustained by the captures of Calcutta, Cossimbuzar, and all their other settlements ; that he cause restitution to be made of all goods, effects, merchandize, etc., seized at the different aurungs.

(2) That he put the Company in full possession of all the countries, villages, privileges, etc., granted them by the royal phirmaund.

(3) That he suffer the English to secure and fortify themselves in their own possessions in such manner as not to be liable to the like misfortunes in future.

(4) That he suffer the Company to erect a mint in Calcutta, endowed with the same privileges with the mint at Muxadavad, and that if the rupees of Calcutta be of equal weight and fineness with those of Muxadavad they may pass current, without any deduction of batta.¹

However, two Frenchmen named Messrs. Laporterie and Sinfray were deputed by Mr. Renault to Calcutta.² They informed the Council in Calcutta that they were not empowered to propose terms on behalf of the Nawab but could act as mediators and could forward the proposals of the English to the Nawab.³ So the Council verbally informed them of the proposal already sent to Coja Wajid.⁴ After a few days Coja Wajid sent a reply through the French deputies, wherein he mentioned that the proposals for peace should be translated into Persian and signed or at least sealed with the Company's seal, so that the Nawab might himself see and examine these proposals and then might reply to them under his seal. He further expressed his opinion that the Nawab

¹ Hill's Bengal, Vol. II, p. 126.

² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Letter from the Select Committee in Bengal to the Secret Committee in London, dated 26th January, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, pp. 166-172.

Bengal. But besides that princes and rulers of states, not seeing with their own eyes, nor hearing with their own ears, are often misinformed, and the truth kept from them by the arts of crafty and wicked men; was it becoming the justice of a prince to punish all for one man's sake? or to ruin and destroy so many innocent people, as had no way offended but who relying on the faith of Royal Phirmaund, expected protection and security both to their property and lives, instead of oppression and murder, which they unhappily found? Are these actions becoming the justice of a prince? Nobody will say they are. They can only have been caused by wicked men, who have misrepresented things to you through malice, or for their own private ends; for great princes delight in acts of justice and in showing mercy. If therefore you are desirous of meriting the fame of a great prince and lover of justice, show your abhorrence of these proceedings, by punishing those evil counsellors who advised them; cause satisfaction to be made to the Company and to all others who have been deprived of their property; and by these acts turn off the edge of the sword which is ready to fall on the heads of your subjects. If you have any cause of complaint against Mr. Drake, as it is but just the master alone should have a power over his servant; send your complaints to the Company, and I will answer for it, they will give you satisfaction. Although I am a soldier as well as you, I had rather receive satisfaction from your own inclination to do justice than be obliged to force it from you by the distress of your innocent subjects."¹ The Nawab wrote the following letter to the Admiral:—"You have taken and plundered Houghley, and made war upon my subjects: these are not actions becoming merchants. I have therefore left Muxadavad, and am arrived near Houghley; I am likewise crossing the river with my army, part of which is advanced towards your camp. Nevertheless, if you have a mind to have the Company's business settled upon

¹ Ives' Voyage, p. 109.

its ancient footing, and to give a currency to their trade; send a person of confidence to me, who can make your demands, and treat with me upon this affair. I shall not scruple to grant a Perwannah for the restitution of all the Company's factories, and permit them to trade in my country upon the same terms as formerly. If the English, who are settled in these provinces, will behave like merchants, obey my orders, and give me no offence, you may depend upon it, I will take their losses into consideration, and adjust matters to their satisfaction. You know how difficult it is to prevent soldiers from plundering in war; therefore if you will on your parts relinquish something of the damages you have sustained by being pillaged by my army, I will endeavour to give you satisfaction even in that particular in order to gain your friendship and preserve a good understanding for the future with your nation. You are a Christian, and know how much preferable it is to accommodate a dispute, than to keep it alive, but if you are determined to sacrifice the interest of your Company, and the good of private merchants, to your inclinations of war, it is no fault of mine to prevent the fatal consequences of a ruinous war. I write this letter."¹

From the tone of the Nawab's letters it appears that he was desirous of accommodating the disputes with the English, if the latter behaved like peaceful merchants. But he continued his march towards Calcutta with the whole army, and crossed the river 10 miles above Hugli on 30th January, 1757.² "He was followed," as Gulam Hasain says, "by a numerous army, furnished with every necessary for war."³ Ives mentions that it consisted of 18,000 horse and 15,000 foot, 10,000 pioneers, and about 40,000 coolies, horse-keepers, cooks, bazarmen, etc., 50 elephants, and 40 pieces of cannon,⁴ while

¹ Ives' Voyage, p. 110.

² Orme, Vol. II, p. 123.

³ Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 221.

⁴ Ives' Voyage, p. 111; Coote in his Journal says that the Nawab's army consisted of 40,000 horse and 60,000 foot, 50 elephants and 30 pieces of cannon, Hill, Vol. III, p. 43.

the English had 711 Europeans in battalion, about 100 artillery, 1,300 sepoys, with 14 field pieces, 6-pounders, besides the cannon on their batteries. This prevented the villagers from bringing in provisions either in the town or in the camp of the English. The sick and the women were put on board¹ and many of the natives who had been hired by the English for military service left Calcutta.² According to M. Law, they left Calcutta "with the intention of giving confidence to the Nawab and encouraging him to approach so that they might be more certain of the blows they struck him."³

Colonel Clive was struck with terror on the Nawab's approach; and, according to the advice of Ranjit Ray, the agent of the Seths, he wrote a letter to the Nawab, on 30th January, with proposals for peace.⁴ The Nawab sent the following reply to this letter on the same day "..... ..Assure yourself I will make no scruple of complying with the demand. I find it is both our intentions that measures for the Company's losses, the country's good, and the safety of the inhabitants should be pursued. Therefore send a person of entire trust and confidence with orders and power to treat upon these affairs. You may send such a person without being under any apprehensions of his safety. You may depend upon my giving a currency to the Company's business at all their Factories upon its former footing. I make no doubt things will soon be accommodated upon your sending such a person..... .. If you are willing to make up these troubles and will live in friendship with me, I shall never be wanting to forward Company's business, and shew their servants my favour upon all occasions. To render justice and to study the good (of) my country and tenants are what I am desirous of."⁵ On 2nd February the Nawab sent Coja Petrus

¹ Hill, Vol. III, pp. 17, 24.

² Orme, Vol. II, p. 128.

³ Memoir, Hill, Vol. III, p. 182.

⁴ Orme, Vol. II, p. 129; Hill, Vol. II, p. 183.

⁵ Hill, Vol. II, p. 184; Orme, Vol. II, p. 129. Cf. a similar letter written by the Nawab to Clive on 1st February, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, p. 208.

to Colonel Clive with a letter, desiring thereby the despatch of English envoys for the settlement of the disputes.¹ On the day after that Clive informed the Select Committee of these negotiations.² Accordingly Messrs. Amyatt and Hastings were deputed to the Nawab with instructions to put forward not only the demands already sent to Coja Wajid but also the following additional ones :—“(I) That the Nawab should not demand or molest any of the merchants or inhabitants of Calcutta. (II) That the Dastak of the British should protect all their boats and goods passing through the country. (III) That articles to the above effect should be signed and sealed by the Nawab and his ministers.”³

But before Coja Petrus had returned from the English, part of the Nawab's army appeared along the Dumdum road and proceeded southwards towards the camp of the English in Calcutta, and several of his cavalry approached within about 400 yards of the advanced battery of the English.⁴ On hearing that small parties of the Nawab's army had arrived within the outskirts of the town, the English sent Captain De la Beume with 80 Europeans, 150 sepoy, and two pieces of cannon to the redoubt of Bagbazar in order to defend that part of the town. This he effected after having killed a good number of the Nawab's soldiers and having taken 30 or 40 of them as prisoners. Colonel Clive also went forward with the major part of his battalion and sepoy in order to harass the Nawab's troops and to determine the place where they intended to encamp. As they advanced, a sharp but indecisive cannonade ensued. At last the Nawab's party drew off their cannons, whereupon the English withdrew to their camp. There was no great loss on any side. The

¹ Orme, Vol. II, p. 129.

² Hill.

³ Hill, Introduction, p. cxliii.

⁴ A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.; Coote's Journal; Journal of the Proceedings of the Troops commanded by Robert Clive on the expedition to Bengal, Hill, Vol. III, p. 52; Clive's letter to the Secret Committee, London, dated 22nd February, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, pp. 237-241, Orme, Vol. II, pp. 129-130.

English lost one 'matross'¹ and three sepoy, and Captain Weller and Fraser were slightly wounded. On the Nawab's side six horsemen and a number of ordinary soldiers were killed.²

The Nawab, who was then at Nawabgunge, sent, towards the evening of 3rd February, the following letter to Colonel Clive :—

“This place being unfit for encamping my army, for this reason my forces have marched forward and are encamped in Omichand's garden. Let not this give you any uneasiness. Your business is with me. Rest contented and send me your relation and the other person whom you shall depute to settle affairs with me as soon as possible. I swear by God and His Prophet that no evil shall happen to them. Let them fairly represent your demands to me and I will grant (them). I have given orders to all jemindars that they commit no disturbance. Do not be under any apprehensions on this account but send away the deputies to me with safety.”³ It is difficult to understand what were the real intentions of both the Nawab as well as the English. We have seen that on 30th January, 1757, the Nawab sent a letter to Colonel Clive in terms of cordiality and with proposals for peace; but on the same date he wrote a letter to M. Renault, the Director of the French Factory at Chander-nagore, expressing his determination to punish the English.⁴ Here also he wrote to the English for sending envoys, while part of his army was engaged in actual fight with them. Similarly the English were not slow in taking measures of defence, and

¹ An inferior class of soldiers in the Artillery.

² Ives' Voyage, pp. 110-111.

³ Hill, Vol. II, p. 209.

⁴ Hill, Vol. II, p. 185 : “This is why I notify you, that if you, who are the model of true friends, employ your power to aid me, and if you continue in this intention, you should prepare the ships of war which you have in this country, put one of my people on each, and send them to punish this faithless people (the English) and chase them from this country.”

had not given up their hostile designs, though they were sending and receiving proposals for peace. We may say with Gulam Husain that "both war and peace subsisted at one and the same time."¹ In fact, the intentions of both the parties were far from what they professed ; the one wanted to amuse the other with a view to gain time for proper military preparations.

According to the Nawab's request in his letter of 3rd February, 1757, the English sent to him, on the morning of the 4th February, Messrs. Walsh and Scrafton with the Select Committee's proposals. The Nawab had by that time left Nawabganj and had fixed his quarters in Omichand's gardens, situated at a distance of two miles from Calcutta.²

The English deputies had, therefore, to go from Nawabganj to Omichand's garden, where they reached in the evening. M. Law writes that in order to "deceive him (Nawab) more completely and to examine the position of his camp the English sent deputies the day before the attack they meditated."³ The author of the Muzaffarnamah holds the same opinion,⁴ and Gulam Husain writes that "the English, who had their particular views in that doubtful state of things, made it a practice now and then to come into camp, under pretence of an agreement but in fact to examine it, as they intended all this while to surprise the enemy ; and such a manœuvre required a man that should take a full knowledge of the chart of the country. They took care therefore to send with their envoys a man conversant in Geometry, and who to that added an enlarged understanding, a keen memory, and much acuteness of comprehension. This man, in his frequent trips, acquired a comprehensive notion of

¹ Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 221.

² Ives' Voyage, p. 111; Journal of the Expedition to Pungal, etc. : Journal of the Proceeding of the Troops commanded by Colonel Clive, etc ; Orme, Vol. II, p. 130. The author of the Muzaffarnamah (p. 122 (b) says that the Nawab encamped in Omichand's garden against the instructions and request. of his officers, who had pointed out to him that the English might attack them in the night.

³ Memoir, Hill, Vol. III, p. 182.

⁴ P. 122 (b).

Seraj-ed-doulah's camp, as well as of his own private quarters, with all the roads that led thither, and every other important matter, that had a relation to his object ; so that after having hoarded up all that knowledge in his memory, he made on his return a very circumstantial report of what he had observed.”¹

The English deputies were introduced by Ranjit Ray, an agent of the Seths, to Raidurlabh, the Nawab's minister, who asked them to give up their arms before they entered the durbar ; but they refused to submit to this humiliation and were conducted by Raidurlabh to the durbar, where the Nawab was sitting—“ in full state, accompanied by all his principal officers.”² The deputies complained before the Nawab that they were “greatly surprised in finding him entered in an hostile manner into their very city, and that unless he would manifest some desire of peace by withdrawing his troops from the neighbourhood of Calcutta, they could not enter upon the business they came about,”³ and they handed over to him a paper containing the proposals of the Select Committee.⁴ After having perused these proposals the Nawab asked the deputies to confer with his Dewan and dismissed his assembly.⁵ But the deputies suspected that the Nawab intended to detain them as prisoners and they ordered their followers to extinguish the lights. Instead of proceeding to the Nawab's Dewan, they fled away quickly to their camp.⁶

Immediately after their arrival, Clive formed a strong determination to make a surprise attack on the Nawab's army before daybreak. Clive gives the following reasons for this immediate attack :—“ I determined to attack him the next morning before daybreak while two-thirds of his army were still encamped without the Moratta Ditch, for when they had once

¹ Sheir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, pp. 221-222.

² Orme, Vol. II, p. 130 ; Sraffton's Indostan, p. 64.

³ Clive's letter to the Select Committee, London, dated 22nd February, 1757.

⁴ Orme, Vol. II, p. 131.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Orme, Vol. II, p. 131 ; Ives' Voyage, p. iii.

passed and got into the streets of the town, pressing reason for the immediate execution of this enterprise, notwithstanding the smallness of my force, was the sudden distress we found ourselves in upon the approach of the Nabob's army by a general desertion of our workmen, coolies and servants, the breaking up of our markets and no provisions to be had but what was supplied from the fort by water, in which condition we could not have continued long but must have retreated into the fort with disgrace."¹ He then wrote an express letter to Admiral Watson soliciting his help in the enterprise,² in response to which the Admiral sent Captain Warwick ashore with 569 men³ and the latter joined Clive at about 2 A.M. The whole force of the English, which numbered 500 rank and file, 100 artillerymen, 800 sepoy, 6 fieldpieces, one howitzer, and 70 of the Train besides the above body of seamen (half of whom were employed in drawing the guns, whilst the other half bore arms),⁴ marched against the Nawab in the following order:—'the King's and Company's grenadiers in the front; the sailors with the train next; then followed the battalion; and the sepoy brought up the rear. At 3 the Colonel altered his disposition and placed the battalion before the Train.'⁵

¹ Clive's letter to the Secret Committee, dated 22nd February, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, pp. 237-241.

² *Ibid*; Ives' Voyage, p. iii.

³ Captain Warwick's account of the attack on the Nawab's camp, Hill, Vol. II, p. 253; Coote's Journal, Journal of the Proceedings of the Troops under Clive, etc., Ives' Voyage, pp. 111-112, Orme, Vol. II, p. 131.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ Ives' Voyage, p. 12; Captain Warwick's account of the attack in the Nawab's Camp.

Cf. "The order of march was a line advancing in half-files that is three men abreast: half the Sepoy marched before, and half behind the battalion of Europeans; in the rear were the field-pieces with the artillery-men and Lascars and all the sailors. To lessen the incumbrance of carriages, there being no bullocks to draw them, the Lascars carried the ammunition of the fieldpieces on their heads; and to deter them from flinging away their loads and taking to flight, they were guarded on all sides by a part of the sailors; other sailors were allotted to draw the field-pieces, and the rest of them marched as they could, immediately behind the rear divisions of Sepoy; Colonel Clive kept in the middle of the Battalion." Orme, Vol. II, p. 131.

They were guided in their way by Mr. Amyat,¹ a member of the Council in Calcutta, and also by a native of Calcutta.¹

About 5 A.M. the English army got over the trenches within the Nawab's camp and began firing on all sides, receiving at the same time a brisk fire from several quarters.² A sharp and bloody engagement followed, descriptions of which have been left by Coote, Warwick, Orme, M. Law and others. As all of these descriptions are almost similar, I quote here the description given by Coote:—“.....about daybreak we arrived unperceived at an encampment of their horse, but the alarm was soon given, and some popping shots fired at us, upon which our Sepoys in the front began firing but with some confusion. As I had a Company of grenadiers formed out of the king's troops, and my post being next to them, I was not without some apprehension of being broke by them; I therefore endeavoured to make them advance as fast as I could and sent for a piece of cannon to come in front; while this was doing a shower of arrows came among us with some fire rockets, one of which unfortunately fell on one of the Company's grenadiers (who were in my rear) and blew up almost the whole platoon; immediately after this a body of their choice horse came riding down upon us sword in hand; as there was a very great fog we could not perceive them till they were within ten yards of us, upon which our battalion faced to the right and gave them a full fire, which destroyed almost the whole of them; after this we kept marching through their encampment without any of their horse or elephants coming near us; their foot kept firing at us from several places, being dispersed up and down behind banks; about 9 o'clock the fog began to disperse, and we find ourselves nearly opposite the Nawab's quarters, which was behind an entrenchment made many years ago by the English for the defence of the town against the Morattoes. Here we could perceive their greatest force lay, and they began to cannonade

¹ Ives' Voyage, p. 112.

² *Ibid*; Coote's Journal.

us briskly ; they sent some bodies of horse to surround us, but they never attempted to come near for us to fire our musketry at them ; finding we could not force this part of the entrenchment we marched about a mile further in order to get over at another place ; while we were marching the carriage of one of our cannon in the rear broke and we obliged to leave it behind ; soon after being pressed in the rear, and the people that drew the cannon being very much fatigued, another shared the same fate. Ensign York with a platoon of the King's was ordered from the front to the rear, in order to recover the cannon ; when arrived he found the rear in some confusion, and another piece of cannon in great danger of being taken, as there was a body of horse and foot pressing upon it ; it being at some distance from the battalion ; he then marched beyond the gun and drew up his platoon in rear of it, and by keeping a constant fire secured the gun till it was drawn to the front ; in this affair he had one man killed and three wounded ; after we had passed the entrenchment at the place intended, we began to cannonade on both sides very briskly, and continued it for half an hour, after which we marched for Fort William, which was about a mile distant, and arrived there at noon ; about five in the evening marched out of our camp." ¹ In the English party about 27 soldiers, 12 sailors (15 according to Ives), and 18 Sepoys were killed ; 70 soldiers, 12 sailors and 55 sepoy were wounded.² Captain Pye and Bridges and Mr. Blecher, Secretary of Colonel Clive ; Captain Gauff, Lieutenant Rumbold, Lieutenant Lulwidge of the Salisbury, Ensign William Ellis (a Company's servant), and Keshar Singh, a commander of Clive's troops, were wounded.³ In the Nawab's party 1300 men were killed and wounded, including 22 officers of distinction, such as Dost Mohammed Khan and others and 4 elephants, 500 horses,

¹ Coote's Journal.

² Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.

³ Ives' Voyage, p. 112 ; Orme, Vol. II, p. 134 ; Clive's letter to the Select Committee, Fort St. George, dated 6th February, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, p. 214.

shame before the Nawab. What passed between the Nawab and myself Coja Petrusse will inform you; what was happened will occasion no difference in this affair. If you want to accommodate matters send a letter to the Nabob with your proposals, and I will get them signed and send them back to you, with a sirpah, elephant and jewels. If you think war necessary acquaint me seriously with your intentions and I will acquit myself of any further trouble in this affair.”¹ But Admiral Watson regarded this letter as a mere trick of Ranjit Ray intended to amuse them, as the Nawab’s army had, just at that time, moved to a place about three miles north-east of the Salt lakes,² and so he wrote to Colonel Clive for attacking the Nawab’s army and for holding a Council of War for that purpose.³ Clive, of course, summoned a council of War,⁴ but he was not himself desirous of renewing the war and was supported in his desire by the same Council.

On 9th February, 1757, Colonel Clive sent the terms of a treaty to Ranjit Ray and wrote to him that the Nawab should without delay comply with the demands of the English, and should sign ‘agreed’ to each separate article, otherwise “war must take its course.”⁵ The Nawab promised to abide by these articles, and wrote the following letter to Admiral Watson : —“The Colonel’s letter I have received, with the agreement of the Governor and Council signed and sealed. He desires me to get the articles of the treaty now made, ratified by my great men and principal officers. I have complied with his request. It will be proper likewise for you and the Colonel on one part, and myself on the other, to execute an agreement, that hostilities between us shall cease; that the English will always remain my friends and allies; and that they will assist

¹ Hill, Vol. II, p. 214.

² Orme, Vol. II, p. 135.

³ Hill, Vol. II, p. 215.

⁴ Clive’s letter to Watson, dated 7th February, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, p. 218.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 219.

me against my enemies. For this purpose, I send a person of distinction and confidence who will speak at large the sentiments of my heart, and I hope you will inform him of your disposition towards me. The articles which were sent to me, I have returned, signed by myself, the King's duan, my own duan, and the Bukshi of my army. I should be glad if you would confirm this treaty by a paper under your hand and seal, as the Colonel has done. I have in the most solemn manner called God and the Prophets to witness, that I have made peace with the English. As long as I have life I shall esteem your enemies as enemies to me, and will assist you to the utmost of my power whenever you may require it. Do you likewise, and the Colonel, and Chiefs of the English Factory swear in the presence of the Almighty God to observe and perform your part of the treaty, and to esteem my enemies as your own, and always be ready to give me your assistance against them : and though you may not come yourself, I flatter myself you will send the aid I shall at any time ask for God is the witness between us in this treaty..."¹

Thus the treaty was concluded between the Nawab and the English on the following terms :—

“(I) Whatever rights and privileges the King hath granted to the English Company in the phirmaunds and husbhal-hookums² sent from Delhi shall not be disputed, or taken from them, and the immunities there in mentioned stand good and be acknowledged. Whatever villages are given by the phirmaunds to the Company, shall likewise be granted, notwithstanding they have been denied them by former Soubahdars, but the Zemindars of these villages are not to be hurt or displaced without cause.

¹ Hill, Vol. II, p. 220; Ives' Voyage, p. 114.

² “According to command. The initial words and thence the title, of a document issued agreeably to royal authority, by Vezir or other high officer of the Govt.” Wilson's Glossary, p. 201.

I do agree to the terms of the phirmaund.

(II) All goods passing and repassing through the country by land or water in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa with English dustucks, shall be exempted from any tax, fee or imposition from choquedars, Gaulivahs, Zemindars, or any others. I agree to this.

(III) All the Company's Factories seized by the Nabob shall be returned, All the money, goods and effects belonging to the Company, their servants and tenants, and which have been seized and taken by the Nabob shall be restored. What has been plundered and pillaged by his people shall be made good by the payment of such a sum of money as his justice shall think reasonable.

I agree to restore whatever has been seized and taken by my orders, and accounted for in my Sircary (Government) book.

(IV) That we have permission to fortify Calcutta in such a manner as we think proper without interruption. I consent to it.

(V) That we shall have liberty to coin *siccas* both of gold and silver, of equal weight and fineness to those of Muxadavad, which shall pass current in the province, and that there be no demand made for a deduction of *batta*.

I consent to the English Company's coining their own bullion into *siccas*.

(VI) That the treaty shall be ratified by signing, sealing, and swearing in the presence of God and His Prophets to abide by the articles therein contained not only by the Nabob but by his principal officers and ministers.

I have sealed and signed the articles in the presence of God and His Prophets.

(VII) That Admiral Charles Watson and Colonel Robert Clive, on the part and behalf of the English nation and of the Company, do agree to live in a good understanding with the Nabob, to put an end to the troubles, and be in friendship with him, whilst these articles are observed and performed by the Nabob.

I have signed and sealed the foregoing articles upon these terms that if the Governor and Council will sign and seal them with the Company's seal, and will swear the performance on their part, I then consent and agree to it."¹

The English also made the following declaration :—

“We the English East India Company, in the presence of His Excellency the Nabob Munser Muluk Serajah Dowlah, Soubadar of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, by the hands and seal of the Council, do agree and promise in the most solemn manner, that the business of the Company's Factories, which are in the jurisdiction of the Nabob, shall be transacted as formerly; that we will never do violence to any persons without cause; that we will never offer protection to any persons having accounts with the Government, to any of the King's Talukdars or Zemindars, to any murderers or robbers, nor will ever act contrary to the tenor of the articles granted by the Nabob, we will carry on our trade in the former channel, and never in any respect deviate from this agreement.”² The Nawab then sent the usual presents to Messrs. Watson, Drake and Clive, giving to each an elephant, a dress or vest and head jewel. Messrs. Clive and Drake received those presents as representatives of the Company, but Mr. Watson, as a representative of the King of England, refused to accept those. The Nawab then proceeded hastily to Murshidabad.³

It is apparent that the terms of the treaty were greatly favourable to the interests of the English in Bengal. Clive himself wrote to the Secret Committee on 22nd February, 1757—“I have little to observe on the terms obtained from the Nabob except that they are both honorable and advantageous for the Company. The grants of a mint and the villages hither-

¹ Hill, Vol. II. pp. 215-217; Stewart's History of Bengal, Appendix XII; Bolts' Considerations, Appendix I, Orme, Vol. II, pp. 135-136.

² Hill, Vol. II, p. 217; Ives' Voyage, pp. 1-16.

³ Ives' Voyage, p. 117.

to detained from us are very considerable, and the abolishing the duties lately exacted by 'the Chokies, as well as confirming the free transportation of goods without customs of any kind, and the rest of the privileges of the royal phirmaund are no small points gained.'¹ The formal recognition by the Nawab of all the claims of the Select Committee materially enhanced the power and prestige of the English.

KALI KINKAR DATTA

¹ Hill, Vol. II, p. 241.

VISION OF LOVE

I

LIFE AND DEATH

While lingers life in frame of flesh
And thence when life departs.
I'm Thine, I'm Thine, O Love, O Love
Me pierce Thou with sharpest darts.

In Joy thou kindest fire of life
Thy viewless flame is death.
The same thou ever truth and joy
Oh eye of deathless faith.

Oh Love, Thou joy, Oh Love Thou ruth
Make Life Thou ever shine with truth.

II

DESIRE AND LOVE

Mouth speaks to ear and eye to eye
But speaks to heart who straight ?
'Tis Love alone, unheard unseen
Breaks heart's desire-closed gate
Dissolve in Thee, Love, heart and mind
Out-spew desires, the poisoned rind.

agree to the imposition of a direct tax like the Income tax within their territories for federal purposes. Neither will they agree that the posts and telegraphs or railways running in their territories (as have such) should be federalised for they want to retain them as symbols of their sovereignty. On the self-same ground some of the major states are opposed to the introduction of a uniform currency and coinage. But these very privileges upon the retention of which they are so very insistent are looked upon in countries possessing the federal form of government as the very subjects which ought to be federalised. Over and above this the Princes seem equally reluctant to abolish inland customs from which many of them derive a large part of their revenue. But there is perhaps no other subject which is more likely to stand in the way of the birth of a common citizenship as these interstate trade barriers. There may be an inland tariff war between neighbouring states as there was once in America between New York and New Jersey and between Virginia and Maryland before real union was effected there. It will be quite clear from this that the union which has been proposed in our case will be a union only in name and not in reality.

But we need not lose heart. It is only natural that high hopes should be succeeded by despair for such wild optimism, as was ours, can never be warranted by the experiences of any country having the federal form of government. A federation like every living organism must require a long time before it comes into being. It can't be got ready-made, fit for immediate use. We must allow sufficient time for the seed to germinate and the sapling to grow into a sturdy plant. This has been the invariable experience of all countries possessing the federal form of government. On an average we find that a period of from 40-50 years has elapsed from the time that the proposal was first made and the federation became a reality. Secondly we notice that in no case a union has been effected unless there has been a compelling necessity for it. It is only when the very existence of states is menaced whether by danger from

within or without and also when they feel impotent to meet it individually or for the nobler purpose of living a fuller life which would have been impossible otherwise that the states form this sort of perpetual union. In America where the federal idea first originated, we find that so far back as 1643 the New England Colonies had formed a sort of confederation against the Indians which lasted for about 40 years ; in 1754 Colonial delegates who had met at Albany for conference with representatives of the Six Nations discussed a premature plan of union; in 1765 delegates from nine of the Colonies met at New York to protest against taxation by Parliament ; and in 1774 sat the first of the series of " Continental Congresses " with which began American union; it was in 1777 that the Articles of Confederation were drawn up and these again were practically adopted in 1781 and lastly it was only in 1789 that real union was effected. In the sister country of Canada the idea of a federation was first envisaged by Lord Durham in his famous report of 1839 and union was effected in 1867 after a total breakdown of administration and when the menace of American penetration into western Canada had become real and thus cutting it off from the western seaboard. In the case of Germany again we find that the idea of a federation was first mooted in 1806 when the " Confederacy of the Rhine " was formed by Napoleon. The German Confederation lasted from 1815-1866 being succeeded by the North German Confederation (1866-1871) and it was more than after half a century after the birth of the idea that the German Empire was at last formed in 1871. In her case it was the rivalry and fear of France which fused into one mighty union the rival units which composed it. Nothing was more eloquent of this fact than the time and place where this federation had its birth. It was when the siege of Paris was in progress that the central German states like Bavaria, Baden and Wurthenberg being suspicious of the object of Napoleon III sent delegates to King William at Versailles and formally united themselves with their northern compatriots. Once again in Australia we find

that the idea of a federation was first mooted so early as in 1847 when Lord Grey outlined his scheme and it was on 1st January, 1901, that the Commonwealth of Australia entered into life. As in other cases it was the occupation of the northern part of New Guinea by Germany and the fear of her expansion in the South Pacific as well as the bogey of "yellow peril" that brought the recalcitrant states to their senses and put fresh impetus into the movement for union since 1883. Lastly in the case of South Africa the seeds of a union were first shown so far back as in 1856 by Sir George Grey and it was after more than fifty years that union became a reality, this time the fear of a native rising which would be beyond the power of any individual state to put down as well as the need of having a uniform system of railways and uniform customs duties serving as the motive behind it.

So from all these cases we can very well discover that nowhere in the world a federation has come into life all on a sudden as also when there was no compelling necessity for it. In our case it is quite sure that the Princes living as they have been doing under the protecting arms of the British Raj have up till now felt no such pressing necessity. The time will be ripe for it when they will realise that they are going to lose a great deal if they hold out any longer. At present it is clear from their attitude that they are not ready to take serious notice of the democratic movement in British India (or within their territories). Perhaps they think that they can well afford to wait for some time more before they will think of parleying with the leaders of it. Perhaps they thought during the earlier sessions of the R. T. C. that the time was ripe and so they were loud in their protestations of love of the proposed federation but when they discovered their mistake (?) their hearts hardened once more. It is quite sure that when they will realise the necessity for this union they will be ready to make any legitimate sacrifice that will be demanded. It is better for us under the circumstances abandoning, for the time being, all our hopes of having an All-India Federation to concentrate all our efforts on winning central

responsibility and to have a federation only of the British Indian provinces. The time spirit will surely be working to bring about this greater union for when we shall be masters of our own household and arbiters of our destiny the Princes will surely be anxious to fall in line with us. But before that it is idle to expect this consummation. In politics only hard facts count and enlightened self-interest serves as the guide and not generosity nor the spirit of self-sacrifice or noble idealism. To expect that the history of Japan will repeat itself in India and the Princes like the Samurai of Japan will pass a self-denying ordinance against them will be betraying colossal ignorance of human nature.

HARI CHARAN MUKHERJI

SONG OF RENUNCIATIONS

I am a runner on scarlet roads,
Who dares not grasp the prize
Of body and soul's bewilderment
That dangles before mine eyes.

From windows latticed with longing,
And court-yards jasmine sweet,
Red lips of magic beckon,
And tinkle of jeweled feet ;

But I, whose hot blood fashions
A mad, delirious tune,
Go back along a road of stars
Powdered with dust of moon,

To where my sweet-heart lingers
Upon a darkling stair;
And all my longings nest like birds
In the black dusk of her hair.

WADE OLIVER

Reviews

An Anthology of Haiku, Ancient and Modern, by Asataro Miyamori, Maruzen Company, Ltd., Tokyo, 1932. pp. 841 xxix. Price Sh. 20.

Japan, to modern India, is more widely known as the first Asiatic victor against occidental aggressors than as the nation producing great *litterateurs* and artists : Chikamatsu and Basho, Korin and Hiroshige. But Japan is no less great in the arts of peace than in the arts of war and diplomacy ; and it is extremely opportune that while the journalistic world is convulsed with the news of Japanese aggressions in China, the Maruzen Co., Ltd., the most famous and enterprising publishing house of Tokyo, publishes this grand anthology of ancient and modern Haiku poetry, translated and annotated by a renowned Japanese authority on the subject. Prof. Asataro Miyamori is a graduate of the College which developed later on into the present Keio University, specially famous for its courses in English literature. He has earned a reputation by lecturing on English language and literature at Keio, Meiji, Chuo and Toyo Universities. His *magnum opus* is entitled *Masterpieces of Chikamatsu, the Japanese Shakespeare*, published by Kegan Paul & Co. Deeply interested in drama, he visited England, France and U. S. A. in 1914-15 and his reputation as a critic attracted the attention of his Imperial Highness, Prince Takamatsu who invited him to deliver a series of lectures in 1930 on " British and American writers who have translated Japanese literature into English." In that connection the author made a comprehensive study of *Haiku* epigrams and very appropriately dedicated the present volume to the enlightened Prince who is a great patron of literature. His first study published in 1930 was entitled *One Thousand Haiku, Ancient and Modern* which was so enthusiastically received and reviewed by eminent scholars and critics like Prof. Nitobe and Prof. Igarashi that within a couple of years another sumptuously illustrated edition was published by the enterprising firm, Maruzen Co. Ltd., who enriched the volume with beautiful illustrations that Japan alone is capable of, the most important series being that of Mr. Hirafuka who contributed 18 charming coloured sketches to help the readers in visualising the plays of Japanese poetic fancy. Over and above this we find 72 valuable autographs and pictures which go to add to the documentary value of this superb volume. In book production this is no doubt a high water-mark, specially in these days of

depression and it will take its well-merited place of honour by the side of another grand volume, the Japanese study on *Sandro Botticelli* which took the European world by surprise as much as a production of art as a specimen of art criticism. We wish that more and more of such volumes will be forthcoming from Japan to rectify the wrong impressions created by ill-informed and interested journalism (specially Occidental journalism) which betrays an unholy glee in dubing Japan as a sort of *enfant terrible* of the Eur-Asian and Eur-American world.

The anthology alone runs to 700 pages and this section is edited and translated with exemplary care and erudition : the original Japanese texts followed by a transliteration in Roman script and a faithful and poetic rendering into English, backed by explanatory notes here and there. The difficulty of translating the iridescence of these cut-gems of Japanese poetry into the florid style of our modern lyrics has been very shrewdly demonstrated by the author with reference to a concrete poem on the *Butterfly* by the renowned Japanese poet, Buson :

“Tsurigane ni
Tomarite nemuru
Kocho kana
Upon the temple bell
A butterfly is sleeping well.

To the people who are accustomed to wallow in luxuriant poetic imageries, such a flash of suggestive brush work seems uncanny, nay unconvincing ; yet short as the poem already is, the Japanese translator is shortening it further by dropping exclamatory items like “ Behold ” or “ Ah ” warranted by the texts. Reticence in poetry reaches its very limit here and the concentration of the *rasa* (as conceived by the Hindu masters of æsthetics) is phenomenal. Haiku is a brilliant sketch, nay more, “ outlines of a sketch ” whose expressiveness and harmony baffles expression. One has got to meditate upon the lines to get its full value just as the Buddhist monk used to meditate on his *Vija-mantra*, finally filling up the outlines of spiritual nihilism (Nirvana) with the glorious poetry of the ineffable Lotus. An American writer, Dr. Curtis Page, in his attempt to translate the same baffling poem, spoiled it by giving a long paraphrase in addition to the translation :

“ The butterfly sleeps well
Perched upon the temple bell.....
Until it rings !

“ The last line ‘ Until it rings ! ’ which was never intended by the poet, spoils the entire poem, nay, utterly destroys it. In this form, it is no *Haiku* but a clumsy, ill-understood paraphrase. This poem is an objective description of a momentary impression.”

The author's judgement upon the American translation is relentless but none the less true. And to enter into this world of scintillating poetry, our Indian public may get remarkable help from the wonderfully condensed phrase-poems of our Sanskrit masters as well as from the brilliant volume of our Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, who was provoked (as I can attest personally. as a humble companion in his Far Eastern tour in 1924) to compose his Bengali *Haiku*, published later on as *Fire-Flies* in English and *Luciols* in French. A master poet that he is, Rabindranath could manipulate Japanese technique with such an uncanny dexterity that many of his Japanese admirers were agreeably surprised to find the flashes and flavour of Japanese *Haiku* masters in the unpremeditated sparkle of his Indian fire-flies which he fixed on the fans or silk handkerchiefs brought by so many enthusiastic Japanese men and women during his visit. The poet's *Kanika* also is strangely reminiscent of some of the Japanese two-line masterpieces and the poet's beloved disciple, Satyendranath Dutt, catching the infection rendered several of *Tanka* poems of Yone Noguchi and other modern Japanese writers into Bengali.

So we are sure that the present volume will be keenly appreciated by all Indian lovers of poetry, specially those of the classical temperament; and the 100 pages of introduction which the learned author has given as a preface to the volume should be studied carefully by all interested in the history of Japanese poetry from early classical days of the Nara period (700 A.D.), through the epochs of Basho (1644-90), of Buson (1716-84 to the great modern master, Issa (1763-1817). Even a great poet like Shiki (1867-1902) carried on the torch of poetry down to the days of Russo-Japanese war, proving the vitality of the tradition of Japanese aestheticism which found its first sonorous modern voice in Count Okakura who through his *Book of Tea* and specially through his epoch-making volume, *The Ideals of the East* inaugurated a new era in the history of Asiatic self-assertion in art and forged the golden link of idealism connecting India, China and Japan in a grand modern Asiatic Renaissance.

KALIDAS NAG

Outlines of Indian Philosophy by M. Hiriyanna, M.A., George Allen & Unwin Ltd., p. 419. Price 15s. ret.

Although the author of this book disclaims a more ambitious title and prefers to designate it as 'Outlines of the Indian Philosophy,' it has all the virtues and none of the vices of the treatises that keep only to 'outlines.' His treatment of the problems of Indian Philosophy is nowhere perfunctory, sketchy or shadowy, nor is its usefulness impaired by undue prolixity or inordinate partiality for texts in the original. In an authorship of this kind, fidelity to the texts is a pre-requisite of first-rate importance, which, if allowed to develop into an intemperate passion, is likely to defeat the very purpose of interpretation. Accordingly, as the present reviewer has remarked elsewhere, "a philosophic interpreter must at all costs refuse to remain in the outskirts of Indian Philosophy as a mere hewer of texts and drawer of commentaries. Indeed, accumulation of texts is one thing and illumination quite another : where many are the accumulators, only a few are torch-bearers." Truly speaking, a good many writers on Indian Philosophy, on the plea of the objectivity of their presentation, have succumbed to the temptation of citing original texts *in extenso* and *ad nauseam*—which can have but one effect, namely of scaring away many a would-be enthusiast and admirer of Indian Philosophy. They may indeed secure to their credit (?) this much-advertised objectivity in their works, but only at the cost of their intelligibility. For, invariably do these works prove too scholarly to be of any use to scholars fresh to the field, and unaided in their efforts at philosophic construction. Imposing or impressive as they are, they can never be instructive in the end. This mishap in the way of an intelligent appreciation of Indian Philosophy is somewhat similar to the unhappy state of things prevailing among an influential section of modern philosophers in the West. Some of our modern philosophers seem to think, as C. E. M. Joad once remarked while taking stock of modern European Philosophy, that obscurity of statement is synonymous with profundity of thought and this is just the reason why they are always criticised but seldom understood. If brevity, as the saying goes, is the soul of wit, obscurity is the soul of sophistry. Our author, however, it is pleasing to note, stands in a class apart, and does not fall an easy prey to this seductive method of imposing upon his readers at the cost of enlightening them. His presentation is at once clear and concise, precise and perspicacious, intelligent and illuminating. On all these counts the present work will eminently serve, to quote his own words from the preface, "as a text-book for use in colleges where Indian philosophy is taught." In this respect the author's 'Outlines of Indian

Philosophy ' is destined to accomplish what Zeller's ' Outlines of Greek Philosophy ' has achieved so far in a kindred sphere of thought.

Now, to recount in detail the different aspects of his writings and justify, in reference thereto, the clarity of his exposition are evidently out of the question here. What would be worth attempting, and what we propose to do here, is to select some salient points from the introduction which serves as an excellent synopsis of the work as a whole. We are fundamentally in agreement with him as he announces at the very outset : " A striking characteristic of Indian thought is its richness and variety. There is practically no shade of speculation which it does not include. This is a matter that is often lost sight of by its present-day critic who is fond of applying to it sweeping epithets like 'negative' and 'pessimistic' which, though not incorrect so far as some of its phases are concerned, are altogether misleading as descriptions of it as a whole " (page 16) This is as much a discovery as it is a warning to all critics of Indian thought. Philosophical labels are, as a rule, misleading, and their inappropriateness or inaccuracy increases proportionately when they are torn out of their native context and imported into a foreign soil. As against the incident of exotic standards and criteria of judgment, what is worth emphasising and preserving at all costs is the individuality of Indian philosophy which, in the simple but convincing language of our author, " aims beyond Logic. This peculiarity of the view-points is to be ascribed to the fact that philosophy in India did not take its rise in wonder or curiosity as it seems to have done in the West ; rather it originated under the pressure of a practical need arising from the presence of moral and physical evil in life " (page 18). Further, the dictum that ' the goal of Indian philosophy lies as much beyond Ethics as it does beyond Logic ' (pages 22) is a striking evidence of the philosophic discernment of our author. One will go, with enthusiastic assent, further with him as he develops the thought in the next paragraph : " an extension of the world of moral action accords well with the spirit of Indian ethics whose watch-word is devotion to duties rather than assertion of rights. "

It is *prima facie* impossible to go on garnering such sparkling gems of thought and flashes of insight. We whole-heartedly recommend the study of this book to the students interested in Indian philosophy, particularly to those preparing for the ' Outlines of Indian Philosophy ' paper of the M. A. Examination in philosophy.

S. K DAS

The Contribution of Ancient Greece to Modern Life. By G. Lowes Dickinson. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 2s. cloth, 1s. paper, net, 1932, pp. 32.

This is the inaugural lecture on the subject running through 28 12mo pages and delivered at the Local Lectures, Summer Meeting, Cambridge University, 1932. The writer, with his characteristic lucidity, describes Greek Literature and contrasts its brief spell of greatness, apart from the two Homeric epos, with its wide and far-reaching influence. It has not only broadly touched the different forms and moods of literature—tragedy, comedy, idylls, lyrics, elegies, epigrams as well as different forms of prose—but also the thought, the subject-matter of literature, because the Greeks had great original ideas on religion, science, etc. But their studies should not be crabbed and dry-as-dust; they should be made living by bringing them on to a level with our own age; as the writer says, “Greek studies are nothing unless they live; and they live only when we breathe into them the life of our own age.”

There cannot be a better introduction for us of this age to the study of Greek thought and literature, and its perusal creates a desire for access to the lectures that followed.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

The Principles of Civil Government, Part I. By Akshaya K. Ghose, Bar.-at-Law, published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons and Co., pp. 323, price Rs. 2.

Civics is to-day the envy of other subjects. No doubt it might be due to the topical interest in the subject. Politics is fast becoming the daily employment of a large number of educated youths. A general demand exists for a knowledge of the fundamental political principles so that people might easily follow the kaleidoscopic political events of the day. For an intelligent understanding of the platform speeches and council orations an adequate idea of politics and economics is becoming essential. No wonder they are becoming topics of national interest just at present. The Indian Universities are undoubtedly recognising this tendency and this treatise explains the fundamental political principles in a lucid manner.

After making a brief mention of the primitive institutions he comments on the political meaning of citizenship and how it can be acquired. The rights and obligations of citizenship are given out in the second chapter.

In Chapter III the conception of State is very well brought out "as a society of people joining together with their families and their children to live well for the sake of a perfect and independent life." The essential and non-essential functions of the State are outlined briefly in the second half of the chapter.

After briefly defining a federal constitution a short account of the existing federal states is given in the 2nd book under the heading "Types of Government." Beginning with the salient features of the unwritten constitution of the English Government, the constitution of the U. S. A., the Swiss Cantons, the Union of S. Africa, the Dominion of Canada, the Australian Commonwealth, the recently formed Irish Free State, Japan and the Egyptian Constitution are referred to. It need not be stated that this forms a highly valuable contribution to our knowledge when we have been aiming at the federal constitutional idea for a United India.

After providing a historical summary of the organisation of the Government of India and the recent attempts made to secure cultural, material and economic progress of the people, the recent change from the early principle of British Rule is clearly enunciated by the author who remarks that "the Government of India Act of 1919 aims at founding a government upon the consent and co-operation of the people governed." The author is evidently very hopeful of the political future of India as consisting of a congeries of states enjoying full responsible government so that completest nationhood might be realised in course of time.

The select bibliography at the end of the book is a boon to the enquiring reader who may be interested in making an advanced study of the subject.

A very comprehensive account of our civic and political life can be gleaned out of the book. The examination-going student will find a complete and valuable summary of the essential rudiments of the subject.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Empire and World Currency, by Arthur S. Baxendale, Commonweal Press, 1s. 6d., pp. 57.

Clearly summarised by Mr. A. S. Comyn Carr this small pamphlet places before the reader the scheme of Mr. Baxendale who has been consistently propounding a remedy for the consequences of the financial and currency folly of 1925 perpetrated by Great Britain. His five books—*Britain's Coming Crash*, *Currency*, *an Indictment*, *Same Currency*,

Defeat of Gold and the Doom of Gold—give us a penetrating analysis of the after-war currency measures of the different countries. Briefly speaking his remedy is the internationalisation of the Anglo-Egyptian exchange experiment which has been working satisfactorily from 1915 to the present-day. Greece and Great Britain experimented with this scheme. France and America were virtually on this basis from 1910 till 1918. So why should not the world revive this method and be rid of the tyranny of gold ?

Aiming at the expansion of international trade and that of Great Britain at the same time Mr. Baxendale proposes to have a currency system which deposes gold from the monetary reserve. Part one of his scheme which deals with internal currency, aims at making bank-notes freely available without any limit and these are regulated by the absolute currency needs of the people. No metallic backing is needed for these notes. It would be neutral towards the influence of prices and discount rates. Grave national injuries arising during the periods of financial crises would be eliminated. The Currency Guarantee Fund does not contain barren gold yielding no profit to the state but it will be invested in international securities whose interest might in course of time enable the safe repayment of the debt of the National Debt Commissioners of England.

Part two of his scheme aims at absolute stability of exchange under all circumstances and the rate of exchange for converting one currency into that of another might be fixed at any level but "pegging arrangements" can be made to maintain this level under all circumstances.

The restoration of the exchange will take place as soon as the internal currency automatically contracts with every export of currency. No adverse balance need arise under these circumstances.

The total issue of currency in any country under this scheme will just amount to securities *plus* money awaiting investment in the Currency Guarantee Fund at home and the various funds stationed in other countries. "So long as bank-notes are issued against full value no inflation can take place under the scheme," observes the author. The artificial limitation of money under the gold standard is a grave peril to industrial prosperity and economic progress of the nation.

This scheme by pronouncing an unfavourable verdict on gold proves to the world that it cannot keep pace with world's increasing requirements for the media of exchange as greater and greater production of goods and services is daily taking place in the modern scientific world.

The main keynote of the scheme is the *automatic system of issuing currency* and the placing of currency in the hands of consumers which have never been adopted *in toto* in any country as yet.

The author easily refutes the suggestions for managed currencies on the ground that no provision is made for stabilisation of exchanges. Likewise he rules out the proposals for bimetallism. The world has outgrown barter and a return to it is impracticable. So he opines that money is needed as a medium of exchange. But as the modern gold standard means the unforeseen coexistence of plenty and riches on one hand and poverty, beggary and sloth on the other these have to be removed. These can be removed only by the adoption of this scheme, says the author. Neither the banking industry nor any other section of people need suffer as a result of this scheme. We advise our readers to read the entire set of his writings for without that exhaustive study they cannot easily realise how the "Empire of Gold" and the dictation of the "financial oligarchy" might soon pass away in the near future.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselves

LAL CHAND MOOKERJEE ENDOWMENT.

The Syndicate recently received a letter, which is given below, from Dr. Harendracoomer Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., forwarding $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 1,50,000 for creating an endowment in memory of his father, the late Mr. Lal Chand Mookerjee, under the following terms and conditions :—

Letter from Dr. Harendracoomar Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., proposing to create an Endowment of $3\frac{1}{2}$ % G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 1,50,000.

2, Dehi Serampore Road,
Entally P. O.,
Calcutta.

To

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR,
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY,
CALCUTTA.

The 14th November, 1932.

SIR,

I desire to create an Endowment in memory of my late lamented father, Mr. Lal Chand Mookerjee, for sending properly qualified Bengali Protestant Christian students abroad for a course of theoretical and practical training in technical, industrial, mechanical, agricultural and allied subjects.

The Endowment is to be called Lal Chand Mookerjee Endowment and will consist of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 1,50,000. My proposal is that from the interest accruing to the fund a number of scholarships should be created the largest of which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 250 per month. The object of these scholarships is to encourage the proper type of young men of my community who may not be in affluent circumstances to avail themselves of the facilities thus offered to acquire up-to-date scientific training and be in a position thereby to serve their community and their country as leaders of industry.

I shall be obliged if you kindly move the University to accept the terms and conditions outlined below.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

H. C. MOOKERJEE.

I propose to make over to the University of Calcutta $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Government Securities of the face value of Rs. 1,50,000 on the following terms and conditions :—

1. Notwithstanding that the University shall, after formal acceptance of my proposal, become the custodian of the Government Securities and hold the same in deposit for the creation of scholarships out of its interest only as laid down below, only the interest shall belong absolutely to me during my life-time and after my death it shall belong absolutely to my wife Srimati Bangabala Mookerjee during her life-time and the said interest periodically accruing shall be realised by the Registrar of the Calcutta University for the time being and made over to me and after my death to my wife, unless I in my life-time or my wife after my death give or gives notice in advance to the Registrar of the Calcutta University of re-investing the interest in approved Government Securities, in which case it shall be added to the corpus of the Endowment. After the death of both of us any portion of the interest which is not spent on scholarships shall be added to the corpus of the Endowment.

2. That after my death and the death of my wife, whichever shall happen later, monthly scholarships payable out of the interest shall be created and their number shall be determined. They shall be styled "The Lal Chand Mookerjee Foreign Scholarships for Protestant Bengali Christians."

3. That these scholarships shall be tenable for not more than five years outside the territorial limits of India and the amount of each scholarship shall not ordinarily be more than Rs. 250 per month and that the minimum amount of each scholarship which may vary in different cases as well as the period thereof shall be determined by a Committee of Management of Governing Body mentioned below after consideration of the subject or subjects selected for study and the ordinary expenses of decent living in the place or places where the study is to be pursued.

4. The subject or subjects for the scholarships will be selected from among the following technical subjects :—

Spinning, weaving, dye-making, mechanical and electrical engineering, aviation and applied aeronautics, film making, manufacture of photographic plates and materials, mining and colliery work, soap-making, pottery, enamel, glassware, leather and leather goods, celluloid work, fruit-preserving, biscuit-making, sugar-refining, manufacture of drugs and medicines from indigenous products, manufacture of cheap building materials, motor car parts, carpet-making, hosiery, scientific agriculture, scientific horticulture or floriculture, cultivation of medicinal plants, dairy and poultry farming. The present list of subjects is by no means exhaustive, the Committee of Management mentioned below having the power to add to them, from time to time.

5. That for the purpose of general management, control and more specially for selecting suitable candidates, for sanctioning the subjects, the institutions and the places of study, for fixing the amount and the period for which each scholarship is tenable and the like, a Committee of Management shall be formed the personnel of which shall be determined by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University provided, however, that the majority of the members shall be Indians and the Vice-Chancellor shall be its Chairman, *ex-officio*, and it shall contain at least two Protestant Christian members nominated by the Syndicate from among the Principals and Teachers of colleges affiliated to the University of Calcutta and provided also that my pupils Messrs. Ramaprasad Mookerjee and Syama-prasad Mookerjee, sons of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and Mr. Susilkumar Lahiri, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, shall be life-members of the said Committee. The proceedings of the Managing Committee will be subject to confirmation by the Syndicate.

6. Every applicant of "The Lal Chand Mookerjee Foreign Scholarship" will be required strictly to conform to the following conditions:—

(a) He shall be a Protestant Christian and a native of Bengal and born of Bengali parents and he shall be called upon to submit conclusive evidence that his father and mother are or were both Bengalis by birth and speak or spoke the Bengali language as their mother tongue and furthermore that both of them are or were Protestant Christians at the time of his birth.

(b) He shall be of sound health and ordinarily between 20 and 26 years of age.

(c) He shall be a graduate in Science or Engineering preferably of Calcutta University or shall have passed an examination which will be regarded by the Committee of Management as equivalent thereto and shall produce satisfactory evidence of previous practical training in work-

shops in the subject of his study or in any other allied subjects. Poverty of the applicants and their guardians must be taken into account in awarding the scholarships.

(d) He shall be required to submit once a year or more frequently if so directed by the Committee of Management a certificate of good conduct, satisfactory progress and regular attendance from the head of the institution where he studies and failure to produce this certificate will entail discontinuance of his scholarship. The said certificate shall also contain details of attendance at lectures and practical classes, examination results if any and reports from the teachers or engineers or other officers under whom the scholar is undergoing training.

7. If at any time the Committee of Management are satisfied that no applicant for scholarship possesses the minimum qualifications as laid down above generally, the Committee shall have the right of rejecting all applications and adding the unexpended amount or amounts to the corpus of the Endowment.

8. That in conformity with the aims and objects of the Endowment as laid down above, the Committee of Management shall have the power of making bye-laws and regulations from time to time regarding the selection of candidates, of subjects of study, of places where such study is to be prosecuted as well as regarding the amount of the several scholarships.

9. The University shall permit me to make such further additions to the corpus of this Trust Fund as I may be able to add from time to time.

10. That the Committee of Management will keep themselves in touch with the student on return after completion of his study and assist him in being apprenticed to any factory or industrial concern if he so desires with a view to his acquiring experience of Indian conditions of the particular industry in which he has specialised.

11. That in case interest accumulates to such an extent that a larger number of candidates may be trained on the above terms and conditions, the Committee of Management will, if practicable, send more candidates for study abroad or continue the scholarship to any selected student for a further year.

12 That the University acting as Trustees will forthwith deposit the G. P. Notes in safe custody with the Imperial Bank of India, Calcutta, and will open an account in the name of the above fund to be termed " Lal Chand Mookerjee Foreign Scholarship Fund " and will also realise

the interest of the said G. P. Notes for credit in the account of the aforesaid fund.

While I have no desire to bind down any one who might in future be benefited by this endowment, I think it desirable to record that it would please me much if scholars returning from abroad live in the Indian style and, if possible, try to help some other poor and deserving student."

This generous offer of Dr. Mookerjee was accepted with thanks by the Senate on the 21st January, 1933.

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XVIIITH INTERNATIONAL MONTESSORI TRAINING COURSE
TO BE HELD IN BARCELONA, SPAIN, FROM FEBRUARY
TO JUNE, 1933.

The changed and more favourable political and social condition of Spain, a new European Republic, anxious for educational progress, has decided Dr. Montessori to give in Barcelona her XVIIIth International Training Course, theoretical and practical, of her pedagogical method. Before the Dictatorship, in 1916, the IVth course of the series was also given in Barcelona.

Dr. Montessori has extended this new Barcelona Course to the teachers of all countries, specially to those of the Spanish-speaking Republics ; to no other course will it be so much to their advantage to attend as to this, which represents the nearest approach to America.

The general characters of this new course are the same as in previous courses. *It will be directed personally by Dr. Montessori herself* and three weekly lessons will be given. Although Dr. Montessori speaks Spanish well, she will deliver her lectures in Italian. These will be translated into Castilian and Catalan (if a number of hearers wish it) and into another language. Other translations into convenient languages spoken by those registered will be facilitated. (There will also be given a course in the Italian language.

Practical lessons, given in excellent Montessori Schools, will include the cultural cycle which begins with the child of four and proceeds on up to the elementary school boy who is to enter a secondary school.

Special lectures will be devoted to religious education. Others still will be given on the care of babies and on the education of abnormal children.

Foreigners in the Course will have a chance to learn the graceful folk dances of Catalonia which Dr. Montessori has incorporated into her school.

There is also the possibility for them to study in their spare time eurythmics in a qualified Jaques-Daleroze Institute, and to follow regular courses in the Spanish and Catalan languages, in literature, geography, history, art, etc., in the University of Barcelona, and in other educational centres of the city.

Further details to be had from the office, Ronda Universitat, 7, Barcelona, Spain. Letters of enquiry are to be addressed to Mr. Edward Barba. Adequate facilities will be arranged for English-speaking teacher students proposing to join the course.

Ordinary fee for foreigners: 36 pounds for the whole Course. (Special terms to those coming from Spanish and Portuguese-speaking countries.)

FORM OF APPLICATION

(Name)

(position and degrees)

a resident in

(home town and state)

address

hereby registers to the XVIIIth International Montessori Training Course and forwards.....

(amount)

in..... payable to Mr. Edward Barba,
(order, cheque, etc.)

Ronda Universitat, 7, Barcelona, Spain.

.....
(signature)

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INDIA INSTITUTE OF DIE DEUTSCHE AKADEMIE OFFERS
STIPENDS TO INDIAN SCHOLARS FOR THE
ACADEMIC YEAR OF 1933-1934.

On behalf of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, we wish to announce that the following stipends in Institutions of higher learning in Germany, will be available for Indian scholars (male or female) of outstanding ability for the academic year of 1933-1934 :

1. Berlin : An Indian physician will have the opportunity of securing practical training in *St. Hedwings's Hospital in Berlin*. He will be taken as a Volunteer Assistant. The candidate must be a graduate of a Medical College (M.B.) with hospital experience in India. He will receive free Board with the hospital staff.

2. Freiberg (Saxony) : One stipend at the *Mining University of Freiberg* consisting of free tuition, free lunch in the Student's Mess (Mittagstisch in Mensa Akademie). The stipend-holder will have the special opportunity of securing lodging including breakfast and supper for RM. 60—(sixty marks) per month.

3. Hamburg : One stipend at the *University of Hamburg*, consisting of free tuition and a pocket-money of RM. 30—(thirty marks) per month. The candidate will be given free private coaching in the German language.

4. Hohenheim (Württemberg) : One stipend at the *Agricultural University of Hohenheim*, consisting of free tuition and free lodging.

5. Jena : One stipend at the famous *University of Jena*, entitling the scholar to receive free tuition at the famous *University Institute for Applied Optics and Microscopy* (Institute für angewandte Optik und wissenschaftliche Mikroskopie) and a pocket-money of RM. 30—(thirty marks) per month. Only the most highly qualified students, possessing qualifications for specialising in this branch of study, should apply.

These stipends are tenable provisionally for two academic semesters only. The first semester begins early in November 1933; and the second semester ends in July 1934.

Applicants for these stipends must be graduates of recognised Indian universities, preferably scholars possessing research experience. Applications from non-graduates will be given consideration, only if they have recognised literary or scientific achievements to their credit. Every applicant must possess good health and supply at least two recommendations from professors or Indian public men, about his scholarship and character. *It is desired that the applicant should have fair knowledge of the German language, as all academic work in Germany is carried on through the medium of German.*

No application will be given consideration, unless it is guaranteed for by some prominent professor or an otherwise well known Indian public man that the applicant is really earnest about his application and will certainly come to Germany before the 1st of September 1933, if a stipend is offered to him.

It is imperative that a stipend-holder should arrive at Munich by the 1st of September and stay in the city *at his own cost* till the academic year begins in November, *devoting these weeks to intensive study of German language* in the German language courses for foreigners at the University of Munich, where he will be exempted from tuition-fees. It is however, presupposed that an applicant for a stipend possesses working knowledge of German. We are forced to take this measure, because a student not having adequate knowledge of German, before beginning his academic work, fails to get the benefit of his attending the University and often loses six months' time.

We want to make it clear that apart from the stipend, the stipend-holder must be prepared to spend at least RM. 100 per month for the necessary expenses not included in the different stipends.

All applications should reach India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie before the 15th of April 1933. A special committee of experts will select the successful candidates who will be promptly notified of the decision. Selection of successful candidates will be determined solely by the academic qualifications of applicants. Certificates and testimonials of applicants *will not be returned*.

All applications should be *directly* sent to the following address :—

Dr. Franz Thierfelder

Hon. Secretary, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie
“Maximilianeum,” *Munich* Germany.

North German Lloyd Company offers a reduction of 10% on the fare for single trip in cabin class or second class for the Indian student of the Deutsche Akademie coming to Germany and returned to India from Germany ; provided they travel during the “off-season,” *i.e.* from Europe during April to July and from Colombo from July to January. Detailed information on this subject can be secured from the representative of North German Lloyd at Colombo, c/o the office of Hanseatic Trading Company, Colombo, Ceylon.

We are glad to report to the public that the University of Königsberg has created facilities for an Indian student who is willing to teach Hindi at the University. Since the Königsberg University authorities want the student to take up his work by the 1st of May 1933, the candidate had to be selected from the Indian Students already studying in Germany.

In co-operation with the Academy of Fine Arts of Munich we succeeded in granting facilities to an Indian sculptor, Mr. Sudhir R. Khastgir of Dacca, who will begin his studies at the Academy in April next.

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REPORT OF THE SECOND CONVENTION OF THE FEDERATION
OF INDIAN STUDENTS ABROAD, HELD IN MUNICH ON
THE 20TH AND 21ST DECEMBER, 1932.

In pursuance of the resolution adopted at the first convention held in London, December 1932, the second convention met in Munich on the 20th and 21st December, 1932. A fair number of student delegates from England, France and Germany participated in the convention. Mrs. Rena Datta of the International Student Service, Geneva, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Educational Adviser to the High Commissioner for India in England, attended. Mrs. Rena Datta was elected President of the convention. The convention met for the first time in the Goethe Institute of the Deutsche Akademie at 9 A.M. on Tuesday the 20th December when formal business was gone through. Messages from Mr. James Parkes from Geneva and Dr. Taraknath Das from Italy were read at the meeting. A large number of letters and telegrams from people who were debarred by previous engagement or otherwise from attending the meeting, were also read.

The inaugural meeting, which was attended by a large number of prominent personalities of Munich, was held at 3 P.M. on the same day in the Deutsche Akademie. The spacious auditorium of the Maximilianeum palace, where the Deutsche Akademie is housed, was full to overflowing. After the address of welcome by Dr. Miss Maitreyi Bose, Chairman of the Reception Committee, His Excellency Dr. Goldenberger, Minister of Education, Bavaria, in a few well chosen words extended his hearty welcome to the convention and wished it all success. He was followed by Regierungspräsident Dr. von Winterstein, who stressed on the value of such nonpolitical organisations towards a better mutual understanding of Indo-German cultural problems, Direktor Fritz Beck of the Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle next associated himself with the foregoing remarks and extended his hearty welcome to the Indian guests. Dr. Franz Thierfelder,

the Secretary of the Deutsche Akademie, then gave an inspiring address, in which he expressed his fervent hope for a closer cultural union between the two nations and referred to the part played by the Deutsche Akademie towards that end. Bâron von Könitz, Direktor of the South-German Luft-Hansa and Professor Aufhauser also spoke. Dr. P. K. Dutt then made an exhaustive survey of the general problem of Indian Students Migration abroad. His address which lasted for about half an hour was keenly followed and much appreciated. A special message of greeting was at this stage received from Oberbürgermeister Dr. Scharnagel, the Mayor of Munich, and was read at the meeting.

The convention met on Wednesday, the 21st December, in the Committee Room of the Deutsche Akademische - Auslandsstelle, when a number of papers on facilities of education in different countries were read and discussed. The convention then adopted certain resolutions, which are given in the annexed sheets. As the President had to leave Munich at midday, Mr. P. K. Dutt was requested to carry on the duties of the President, which he kindly did for the remainder of the session. The convention came to a close with a Dinner, which was organised under the joint auspices of the convention and the Hindusthan Club, Munich, on the night of the 21st December in the Hotel Bayerischer Hof, one of the most fashionable hotels in Munich. Covers were laid for 45 people and a varied musical programme was gone through. The Company broke up late at night.

But for the ungrudging help and co-operation of Dr. Franz Thierfelder and Direktor Beck, the convention could not have achieved the success it did. Dr. Thierfelder, who is reputed to be the friend, philosopher and guide of Indian students in Germany, placed the resources of the Deutsche Akademie at the disposal of the organisers. Direktor Beck, whose sympathies for Indian students, have been practically demonstrated in more than one way, helped the convention by granting free use of rooms and relieved it of financial burden by undertaking to pay for the

expenses of the President's stay in Munich. He also entertained the members to afternoon tea. The leading papers of Munich took prominent notice of the conference and devoted considerable space in recording the proceedings. The convention, it may be finally added, was wholly non-political and only matters affecting interests of Indian Students Abroad were discussed.

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RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SECOND CONVENTION OF THE
FEDERATION OF INDIAN STUDENTS ABROAD HELD IN MUNICH
ON THE 20TH AND 21ST DECEMBER, 1932.

1. This Second Convention of the Federation of Indian Students Abroad expresses its thanks to the Deutsche Akademie, Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle, Ministry of Education, Bavaria, the International Student Service and the Education Department of the High Commissioner for India in England, for the help they have rendered to the Federation by their active participation in this convention.

2. This convention requests the High Commissioner for India to take up with the proper authorities the question of assessment and equivalence of Indian and Continent of European degrees for the benefit of Indians studying in those countries.

3. With a view to the amelioration of unemployment amongst educated Indians, this convention requests the different University bodies in India to undertake a scientific investigation of this problem and to make practical suggestions for the guidance of their students in the choice of a career.

• 4. This convention urges upon the Indian merchants and commercial organisations having business relationships with firms abroad to exercise their influence wherever possible in securing facilities for practical training for Indian students.

5. In view of the present state of the Federation, this convention requests the International Students Service to render

assistance and act in the name of the Federation in securing the election of the Central Council.

6. Resolved that steps be taken to publish an Annual of the Federation containing: (a) a description of the various organisations comprising the Federation, (b) a record of the achievements of the Indian students abroad, and (c) such other matters as may be of interest.

7. Resolved that the next convention be held in Paris during the X-mas holidays, 1933.

8. Resolved that these resolutions be circulated to the proper authorities.

9. A vote of thanks to the Chair was moved and carried with acclamation.

* * *

A NEW Ph.D.

Mr. Binaychandra Sen, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., Mouat Medallist, Lecturer in the Post-Graduate Department of Ancient Indian History, who went to Europe on study leave in 1930, has recently returned after completion of his work. He has been awarded the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History by the University of London on a thesis on Indian Epigraphy. Dr. Sen carried on his researches under the supervision of Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum.

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SIR PRAPHULLACHANDRA ROY FELLOWSHIP.

(i) The Sir P. C. Roy Fellowship which was awarded to Dr. J. C. Bardhan for one year in February, 1931, has been renewed for a further period of one year with effect from the 1st February, 1932.

(ii) Dr. Satyaprasad Roychoudhury, D.Sc., has been appointed Sir P. C. Ray Research Fellow on the usual terms and conditions with effect from the 1st February, 1933.

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DATE FOR THE M. B. EXAMINATIONS.

Monday, the 24th April, 1933, has been fixed as the commencing date for the next M.B. Examinations.

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DATE FOR THE B. COM. EXAMINATION.

The 3rd May, 1933, has been fixed as the commencing date for the next B. Com. Examination.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1933

CONVOCATION ADDRESS ¹

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Welcome To Sir John Anderson.

Let me at the outset convey our most cordial greetings on behalf of this University to you Sir, our Chancellor, on this, the occasion of your first visit to our University. The fame of your eminent services as a distinguished member of the Civil Service of Great Britain and the distinction and success which attended every position which you occupied had already reached us, and we now know at first hand that you are carrying out a progressive policy with firmness and sympathy, as the head of this great province, in this, perhaps the most critical, stage of our history. Personally I can testify to the very valuable help I have already received from you in the matter of organizing the University administration on sound, systematic and well thought-out lines. My personal discussions with you have been, in the real sense of the term, an education to me. We have no doubt that your term of office as Chancellor and Governor of Bengal will be marked by great forward steps in the affairs of the University as well as in the political conditions of the province.

¹ Address delivered by Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Kt., O.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, on Saturday, the 25th March, 1933.

Sir Stanley Jackson.

I should like to take this opportunity of publicly expressing our most sincere gratitude to my late chief, the Right Hon'ble Sir Stanley Jackson, for his services to the University. I found in him a great gentleman, one who never failed me in any of my attempts to serve the interests of this University. If I have been able to put the Post-Graduate Department on a stable basis, if I have been able to bring about healthy changes in the Regulations, if I have been able to protect the University from interference by outside authorities, if I have been able to bring about a more adequate and effective representation of all communities in University bodies, and if I have been able to create an atmosphere of good will and co-operation inside the University and between it and the Government, it is due in no small measure to the unfailing sympathy and practical assistance which I received from Sir Stanley Jackson whenever I approached him. Warmly interested in the welfare of the rising generation, anxious to meet and mingle with youth, whether in the field of Sports or in the realm of Education, his attractive and genial personality and ever-radiant smile struck a responsive chord in our hearts. It is unfortunate that the last days of his Chancellorship were marred by an incident, the painful details of which I abstain from repeating, and we are all grateful to kind Providence for the way in which It protected his life and thus save our honour and dignity as a great seat of Learning.

It has been a matter of the deepest concern to us to note the infection of the virus of terrorism amongst young students of our schools and colleges. The Syndicate and the Senate have from time to time expressed their strong disapproval of the growth of terrorist activities in the country and have appealed to all responsible persons having the guidance of young men in their hands to exert their active influence to counteract the spread of ideas subversive to law and order amongst impressionable youths. I avail myself of this opportunity of giving the

resolution of the Syndicate and the Senate greater publicity and bringing it to the notice of the members of the Convocation to-day and through them of the wider public, and appeal to the parents and guardians of boys and girls whose young lives are threatened with destruction by the torrential gust of revolutionary ideas, to lend their whole-hearted support and active co-operation to the University in counteracting this terrible menace to the peaceful pursuit of knowledge. I do not wish to digress into the paths of politics, but as the custodian of the honour and good name of this University, it is my duty to warn its alumni against the terrible disaster, subversive activities against Government established by law of the land will bring and has brought to the country and the set back it has already given to our aspirations for the speedy attainment of *Swaraj*. I am sure the roots and branches of this evil plant will wither away and die under the influence of a genuine and strong public opinion against it.

Students and Politics.

I claim to be a friend of the student community and their welfare has always engaged my most anxious thoughts. I would therefore, like to again repeat that the participation of students in active politics does not form part of the programme of their work as students. The opportunities which a young man or a girl misses during the most receptive period of their lives, will never come back and the loss thus sustained can never be made good. In this conviction of mine I have the weighty support of every mature thinker and well-wisher of the student community, including my great predecessor Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Standing in this very hall in the midst of circumstances and conditions similar to those prevailing to-day, he exhorted the young graduates assembled in a Convocation in words of wisdom which are as true to-day as when they were uttered. He said :—

“ Students of this University, allow not the pursuit of your studies to be disturbed by extra-academic elements. Forget

not that the normal task of the student, so long as he is a student, is not to make politics, nor to be conspicuous in political life. You have not that prudent firmness, that ripe experience, that soundness of judgment in human affairs, which is essential in politics and will be attained by you only in the battle of life in the professions and in responsible positions. Remember further that if you affiliate yourselves with a party, you deprive yourselves of that academic freedom which is a pre-requisite to self-education and culture. Submit not, I implore you, to intellectual slavery and abandon not your most priceless possession, to test, to doubt, to see everything with your own eyes. Take this as a solemn warning that you cannot, with impunity and without serious risk to your mental health, allow your academic pursuits to be rudely disturbed by the shocks of political life. Devote yourselves therefore to the quiet and steady acquisition of physical, intellectual and moral habits and take to your hearts the motto :

“ Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power.”

Before I proceed to make a brief statement of the important events of the year since we last met at Convocation, I have to refer to the losses we have sustained by death, resignation or retirement.

Obituary.

During the year under review the University had to mourn the loss of—

Pandit Krishnakamal Bhattacharyya, B.L.;

Sir Syed Ali Inam, K.C.S.I., Bar.-at-Law, at one time
Member of the Executive Council of His Excellency
the Viceroy ;

Mr. W. H. Ardenwood, M.A., C.I.E., Late Principal of the La Martiniere College ;

Mr. Hemchandra Dasgupta, M.A., F.G.S., Professor of Geology, Presidency College; and

Mahamahopadhyay Asutosh Sastri, M.A., a distinguished Sanskrit Scholar—for many years Principal of the Sanskrit College ;

all of whom were at some time or other intimately connected with us in their capacity as Fellows of the University and suitable references about them have already been made by me at the meetings of the Senate.

Resignation and Retirement.

Amongst those who vacated their seats on the Senate, due to resignation, I would like to mention the names of Lt.-Col. D. P. Goil, I.M.S., who left us on his appointment as Inspector General of Civil Hospitals of the Punjab and of Lt.-Col. R. B. Seymour-Sewell, C.I.E., I.M.S., Director of Zoological Survey in India, who is shortly due to retire from service. He gave me valuable help in organising our syllabuses in Anthropology, Comparative Anatomy, Zoology and other Scientific subjects.

We have lost also by resignation the services of Sir Jadunath Sircar who on retirement after a long and distinguished record of service under the Government of Bihar, became Fellow of this University and soon after, on 8th August, 1926, its Vice-Chancellor. He soon made himself familiar with the details of the inside working of this University and the exacting duties of its Vice-Chancellor, and during the two years of his term of office did not spare himself in his effort to serve the true interests of this great institution. It is a piece of bad luck that the call of research work in History has compelled him to sever his connection with us and deprive me of his valuable support and help.

Participation in Public Celebrations.

Engaged as we are in dry routine work, it is not always possible for us to break into joyous participation in popular functions. It is, therefore, a matter of sincere gratification that during the year under review the University took part in public celebrations regarding some of the moulders of modern thought in this province. An academic reception was arranged for the first time and held in honour of our septuagenarian poet-philosopher Rabindranath Tagore—may I say Professor Rabindranath Tagore. His name is borne on the roll of our honorary graduates, and since last year he has been a member of our teaching staff. I am proud to be the Vice-Chancellor of a University which has on its professorial staff the two “Nobel Laureates of the East”—the Laureate in Letters and the Laureate in Science. The Syndicate offered its felicitations on the occasion of the celebration of his 77th birth day to Mr. Saratchandra Chatterjee, whose name is well-known wherever Bengali is read and taught. Our own Professor Sir P. C. Ray has just completed his 70th year. It is a well-known fact that his genius has created the modern School of Chemistry in this country. His students are now the heads of the departments of Chemistry in Allahabad and Dacca, in Bangalore and Madras. It is only fitting that we should honour such an eminent scientist and research-worker by associating his name with the new annexe of our Science College. Though Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya does not belong to this province, we still count him as one of us, being one of our earliest graduates, and it was a great pleasure to me to arrange a meeting in our Senate Hall to celebrate his 70th birthday anniversary. A century hence his services to Hindu revival or to politics of our times may be forgotten, but the University of Benares in the age-old surroundings of sanctity and learning will stand as a permanent monument to his great zeal for education and his genius as a builder and organizer. It is a piece of good fortune that these important events occurred during

my term of office as Vice-Chancellor, and it was given to me to take my due share in their celebrations. May these great sons of India live long, earn greater honours and, more than all, give a lead to careers of usefulness of those coming after them.

Post-Graduate Department.

One of the outstanding events of the year is the stabilization of the Post-Graduate Department. Hitherto the teachers were generally on short-term appointments. Such appointments do not contribute to a healthy and satisfactory state. For several years past attempts were being made to give security of tenure to our teachers who rendered valuable service as teachers and research-workers in difficult circumstances. I congratulate the University on achieving this great reform and placing the University teachers on a permanent cadre.

Arabic, Persian and Vernacular Sections.

Another change of an important character relates to the re-organization of teaching of Arabic and Persian in the Post-Graduate Departments. Though it was recommended by the members of the Calcutta University Commission in 1917, nothing could be done hitherto. We have now strengthened the departments suitably and can undertake teaching both of Arabic and Persian in the M.A. classes by the group system. The University is to be congratulated on its good luck in securing, for the Group of Arabian Philosophy in the Department of Islamic Studies, the services of such an eminent scholar as Viscount Santa Clara, Count Galarza, a Spanish nobleman who after a long sojourn in Egypt and other Islamic countries is now on a visit to India. The department of Indian Vernaculars has also been strengthened by the addition of two lectureships, one in Hindi and the other in Urdu, respectively.

Vernacular as the Medium of Instruction.

Certain very important changes in the curriculum of the Matriculation Examination has been passed by the Senate, and our proposals are now being examined by Government.

The Regulations, as adopted by the Senate, contemplate important changes in the system so far followed in the University in many respects. First of all, they provide for instruction and examination being conducted through the medium of the Vernacular. Introduction of elementary science (Physics and Chemistry) as a subject of study for the Matriculation Examination is also an important step, although, for the first five years, it has been included in the list of optional subjects.

Special courses of studies have also been provided for girl candidates including teaching of domestic science, which include home-nursing, mother-craft, and other cognate subjects, so that they may be educated to become useful members of the household as wives and mothers, at the same time having an alternative course for advanced studies amongst those who may like to prosecute their studies further.

Accounts Manual.

The need for a Manual of Procedure and Accounts was felt and a Committee was appointed to examine the existing system and procedure of keeping accounts in the University and making suggestions for improvement. As a result of this an Accounts Manual has been prepared and will be brought into use very soon. I have no doubt business will be speeded up and accounts kept in a much more satisfactory condition for all purposes of check, examination, reference and explanation. I am indebted to the members of the Special Committee for the cheerful way in which they have undertaken the duty.

University Press.

The department of the University Press and Publication has been growing in importance. I have felt that a Committee should investigate the avenues of improvement and reorganization.

As far as the Arabic, Persian and Urdu sections are concerned, my proposals are being considered by the Syndicate, and I trust we shall be able to purchase new types and appoint a competent and well-trained person in charge of proof-reading and general management of this section.

University Professors.

I am very glad to have the approval of Government to the appointment of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore as Professor of Bengali under special terms for a period of two years.

Rai Bahadur Khagendranath Mitra, M.A., whose work for Bengali language and literature has elicited praise from all authorities, has been appointed Ramtanu Lahiri Professor of Bengali for five years. He has retired from his post of Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division, to join this new appointment.

Mr. Shahid Suhrawardy, B.A. (Oxon.), a linguist, poet, and scholar, at one time Director of Moscow Art Theatre, reputed for his knowledge of Modern Dramaturgy and Mediæval Muslim Art, was appointed Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts for a term of five years in the first instance, and in conformity with our rules and past practice, has been deputed to Europe for a period of one year for further specialization in the study of Art.

While it has been a great pleasure for me to be able to report that teaching side of the University has been strengthened in different directions, it is a matter of genuine regret to me that some of our eminent Professors are leaving us. Professor Hiralal Halder who was such a tower of strength in the Depart-

ment of Philosophy ever since it was constituted, has to retire at the end of April under our inelastic age regulations.

Professor Sir Venkata Raman is proceeding on one year's leave next month to take up the important duties of Director of the Institute of Science, Bangalore.

Professor Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan has asked for an extension of his leave for two years, to continue his work as Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University.

We are also losing the services of Lt.-Col. V. B. Green-Armytage, I.M.S., Fellow of this University and Professor of Midwifery and Gynaecology in our Medical College. He is resigning his present position to take over his new appointment as Professor of Post-Graduate teaching in the same subjects in West London Hospital. By his professional skill and power of expression and teaching he has earned for himself the position of leading Gynaecologist and the Doyen of Maternity work in India. He had been helping me to draw up a scheme for introducing a Post-Graduate Diploma in Midwifery in our University.

I am deeply grieved that my University has to sustain these losses, but my consolation is that the loss of this University is the gain of sister educational institutions.

Readership Lectures.

Sir Edward Denison Ross, that eminent orientalist to whom Islamic studies in India owes a deep debt of gratitude, and that great educationist, Madame Montessori, who had been invited to deliver Readership Lectures on Persian Art and Modern Methods of Education, respectively, could not visit India during this cold weather, but we hope they will be able to do so next year.

Sir Richard Gregory, the eminent scientist, delivered a course of lectures which attracted a large audience.

Mr. D. C. Vissar, Consul General for the Netherlands, who conducted the three Karakorum Expeditions in 1922, 1925 and 1929-30, delivered a course of lectures on the results of the expeditions with special reference to the following topics :—

- (1) Glaciers and mounts ;
- (2) Snow and glaciers in Central Asia and the Alps ;
- (3) Origins of Avalanches.

Arrangements are in progress for inviting Dr. Jiresk, Chief Surgeon of the Czech University Clinic at Prague and the University Professor of Surgery, author of many scientific and practical treatises, to deliver a course of lectures in this University as an Honorary Reader for the benefit of our advanced students.

Change of Administrative Staff.

The posts of two Secretaries in the Post-Graduate Departments of Arts and Science were amalgamated and Mr. S. C. Ghosh, M.A., a member of the Senate, who had considerable experience as Secretary in the Department of Arts, was appointed Secretary to the Post-Graduate teaching in Arts and Science. Dr. Adityanath Mukherjee, who vacates his office as Registrar at the end of this month, has been appointed to officiate as George the V Professor of Philosophy, and the Senate has appointed Mr. J. C. Chakravorti, M.A., the Assistant Registrar, as Registrar. The Syndicate has appointed Mr. Sudhanath Mukherjee, B.L., Inspector of Hostels, to be the Assistant Registrar. Babu Amritlal Bose, Superintendent of the University Offices, retired after a service of 43 years. He was an exceedingly capable officer of the University, carrying with him the tradition of having worked with 17 Vice-Chancellors and 18 Registrars with a uniform good record of service. I am very sorry to lose his loyal and efficient services. In his place the Syndicate has appointed Babu Kartickchandra Das Gupta, B.A., who has got 23 years' service with the

University to his credit. I am glad Mr. N. C. Sen, B.Sc., M.A., carries on his responsible work as Controller of Examinations. I have nothing but praise for the manner in which he has been carrying out his very arduous and onerous duties.

Endowments.

Several new endowments for the award of medals or scholarships were accepted by the University. While the institution of medals is no doubt a recognised means of encouragement, it is more helpful and desirable to have scholarships which will enable poor and deserving students to pursue their studies unhampered by financial worries. In this connection I have much pleasure in announcing the generous offer of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 1,50,000 by Dr. Harendracoomer Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., University Inspector of Colleges, for sending properly qualified Bengali Protestant Christian students abroad for a course of theoretical and practical training in technical, industrial, mechanical, agricultural and allied subjects.

Affiliated Institutions.

During the year under review, three more colleges were affiliated to the University, *viz.*, the Habigunge College, Assam, the Victoria Institution, Calcutta, the latter being meant only for girl students, and Victoria School, Kurseong, up to the I.A. standard.

Eleven colleges were granted extension of affiliation in additional subjects.

The total number of affiliated colleges at the end of 1932 was 59, while the total number of recognized schools was 1,209, of which 587 enjoy permanent recognition and the rest are on a basis of provisional recognition. Forty-five schools were recognised by the University for the first time during 1932.

Degrees and Scholarships.

During the year under review, Mr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharyya, Mr. Manomohan Ray, Mr. Satkari Mukherjee and Mr. Surendrakishore Chakrabarti obtained the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and the Degree of Doctor of Science was awarded to Mr. Subodhgobinda Chaudhuri, M. Sc., and to Mr. Satyaprasad Raychaudhuri, M.Sc. Mr. Dhirendranath Ray, M.B., Mr. Subodh Chandra Lahiri, M.B., and Dr. Bidhubhushan Bhattacharyya, M.B., have been admitted to the Degree of M.D. This high distinction has not been achieved by any graduate in medicine since 1922. I hope their example will be followed by others.

The Premchand Roychand Studentships in Literary and Scientific subjects for the year 1931 were awarded to Mr. Gopinath Bhattacharyya, M.A., in Literary subjects and in Scientific subjects to Mr. Sisirendu Gupta. The Premchand Roychand Scholarship in Science for the year 1932 was awarded to Mr. Phanindranath Brahmachari, M.Sc., M.B.

Sports.

I am glad to be able to report that our students are keen after sports and some of their achievements have brought credit to the University. We have also a Rowing Club. Thanks to Government which allowed the use of the Ultadanga Canal we have been able this year to give an impetus to rowing by our students, and we had our annual regatta for the first time in the Dhakuria Lake. I am, however, not satisfied with the condition of the Calcutta University Rowing Club. With the help of the Calcutta Corporation and the Improvement Trust and the generosity of kind friends we ought to be able to develop this side of our activities and have modern rowing boats, a boat house and pontoon of our own at Dhakuria Lake, and conduct our rowing club on the lines of famous British Universities.

University Training Corps.

I hope that the glories of the play-ground will be extended to the battlefield of life and that our students will come forward in larger numbers to join the Calcutta University Training Corps. My Syndicate is prepared to give special facilities to students of colleges who join the corps. We are also at present through a committee considering the possibility of introduction of military science as a subject of our studies in the undergraduate classes, also for making rules regarding examination in physical fitness before entering the University.

As captains of hockey and foot-ball teams our students and youngmen have created a fine record. I would like that they should create a tradition of showing initiative and character as leaders of men and captains in the army. There is not the least doubt that both the country and the youngmen themselves are going to benefit immensely by taking up this new career which has been thrown open to Indians in the Army.

Bengal should send an increasing number of her young men to compete for positions in the Indian Sandhurst and other military academies.

If Bengal lags behind in giving her quota of officers and men in the future Army of India, it does not require a prophet to forecast her place in an autonomous country. No amount of philosophy, no amount of culture and literacy, will stem the tide of an invasion.

If you desire to attain the status of true *Swaraj*, make yourselves physically fit, so that you can maintain law and order within your own country and repel aggression from without.

Convocation Day : Problems of Life.

The Annual Convocation is generally an occasion to express one's gratification at the results attained by the University, and the members of its teaching staff, and to offer congratulations

to the new graduates but, I consider, it is also a very suitable occasion to take some notice of the burning questions of the day, for giving some suggestions on important problems of everyday life.

Graduates of the University, you are beginning your life at a period which is fraught with the greatest possibilities for the future of your country. You are on the threshold of great constitutional reforms leading to increased responsibilities for the children of the soil and the opening up of new avenues of employment and of work. You are in the midst of changes in age-old customs and social traditions, and you are also witnessing the throes of a great economic crisis and industrial upheaval. It is for you to think and decide how your time and energy and your intelligence and understanding will be best devoted in grappling with the essential features of your national development, so that you may worthily play your part in the great task which lies ahead.

Tragedy of Unemployment.

The unemployment question, specially among the graduates of the University, is becoming a difficult social problem. While the Universities cannot directly contribute to the solution of this problem, they can at any rate bring about some clear thinking. If we compare the statistics of our graduates in any year, it will be seen that our degree-holders of University education are out of all proportion to the number of literate persons in the country, and there are not as many avenues for work and employment for them as there are in the western countries. Acquisition of knowledge for its own sake can be indulged in by a few. The majority take up University education on account of its wage-earning capacity.

The tragedy of unemployment amongst graduates and their inefficiency which the different employing departments are faced with every day, is largely the effect of a great increase in the

number of Universities and University students, without a corresponding rise in the level of quality or any attempt at selection or discrimination giving them vocational guidance in the earlier stages of their education. They follow the beaten track without thinking or discrimination, and take up groups of subjects which are unremunerative and for which they are temperamentally, physically, mentally, and financially unsuited.

Reconstruction of the System of Education.

I am afraid a drastic change and reconstruction of our educational system is essentially necessary. It is also necessary for Government to establish a department for vocational guidance in the pre-University stage, and an employment bureau which should form contacts with the University and its affiliated institutions with a view to try and strike a healthy balance between supply and demand. What is required is that students should be given facilities so that with the least possible expenditure of years of their lives and the resources of their parents and guardians, they can come out into the world as healthy and promising lads well equipped with the necessary requirements of modern times. It would be also a step in the right direction, if Government did not attach undue importance to the passing of the University examinations as an essential qualification for entering Government service but instituted a board to apply their own tests to find out whether a person has got the necessary mental alertness, physical fitness and education. It is also a matter for consideration both by Government and the people whether instead of providing high University education for all and sundry, our demands cannot be better met through extra-mural institutions in different parts of the country specialising in suitable branches of study and giving a high standard of technical, vocational and cultural education. The Universities should be maintained as seats of higher learning for the benefit of those who, as I have stated above, are found fit for such pursuits, exacting a high standard from all who enter

their portals, and freed from the embarrassing necessity of having to depend on fee funds for their existence.

New Careers for Young Men.

In order to encourage our young men to take up manual training and agriculture, the University is at present considering, through a committee, the feasibility of a scheme suggested by Sir Daniel Hamilton for employment of some of the youths of the *Bhadralog* classes, in the directions of co-operative work, rural reconstruction and development of agriculture. It is, however, sad to think that in spite of the fact that the interest of the largest section of the people of India is in agriculture, our young men think that it is incompatible with their position and dignity to have to do anything with land and agriculture. It will do well for our graduates to know that gentlemen farmers of Europe have more peace and plenty than many titled gentlemen and so-called landlords of our country. I have no doubt that my countrymen will soon realize the correct meaning of the dignity of labour and will find it a joy and profit to take to occupations other than Government service or the crowded profession of law. Agriculture and Forestry have also a really highly scientific and technical side by the knowledge of which we can preserve our assets and increase our outputs. What I want is that our youngmen should in increasing numbers look for careers in many other professions which do not seem to have attracted them sufficiently so far : such as the Army, the Navy, the Air Forces, the Police, the Mercantile Marine, Horticulture, Architecture, Art, Music, Commerce and Industry. I repeat, therefore, for the consideration of the authorities, the importance of vocational guidance in the earlier stages of our student's life and again draw the attention of the Department of Education to what I mentioned in my Convocation Address in the year 1931.

Health of Students : Factors of Political Unrest.

It is a matter of great concern to me that the average health and strength of our youngmen who join the University are considerably lower than they ought to be.

In my Convocation Address in 1931 I have drawn attention to the appalling condition of physical unfitness and inefficiency of our students. The matter ought to engage the serious consideration of our men in public life. I desire to invite the attention of the Hon'ble Minister of Education of Bengal and of all elected representatives of the people in the Legislative Councils as well as of the members of Government in the different provinces of India, to this grave and serious problem, and call upon them to take remedial measures to overcome the causes of ill-health amongst the youths of India. The political unrest and upheaval we are witnessing so much in our country has in many cases a psychological, pathological and economic background due to defective nutrition, nervous overstrain, unemployment and poverty.

Strain of Examinations and prolonged Courses of Studies.

I would like again to repeat that certain changes are essential in the very system of our education. As far as this University is concerned I am of opinion that relief should be given to the strain on the students caused by prolonged courses of studies, long hours of work without a break and too many examinations during the hot months. The Syndicate have passed a resolution regarding a break in the hours of work and are now considering my proposal of the feasibility of finishing all the examinations by February, and not going on into the hot months as at present. I have every hope that with a sympathetic Syndicate and a willing Controller of Examinations, some effective steps would be taken in this direction in the near future.

The Universities could also do a good deal in improving the physical conditions of young men by introducing certain essential changes in the courses of studies. For instance, while it is possible for a Matriculate to get Honours Degree or a Tripos in Oxford or Cambridge (which is equivalent to our M.A.), three years after Matriculation, we are here called upon to spend about six years for a similar degree. The course of studies of six years for a graduate in medicine is also much more prolonged than in any other country. It is no wonder that most of our youngmen who get out of the University come out pale, worn-out and anaemic creatures. They have no joy in life. A comparison of an English public school and an English University with our corresponding institutions reveals the striking difference. I am afraid I must again repeat that a radical overhauling of the foundations of our educational system seems to be urgently called for, and I hope in the interests of our youth and sound education, careful examination of this problem will be undertaken soon.

Tuberculosis Menace.

I am perturbed at the information given to me by Dr. A. C. Ukil, Director, Tuberculosis Inquiry, Indian Research Fund Association, that one out of six patients diagnosed as suffering from Pulmonary Tuberculosis has turned out to be a student, and 70 per cent. of such students belong to the different colleges in Calcutta. The fact that students form a large proportion of the victims of this terrible disease should give us real cause for alarm. It is a most important social and economic problem, and if not taken in hand early will undermine our vitality as a nation and our efficiency and capacity for work and earning our bread. Dr. Ukil is preparing a scheme to fit in with the activities of our Student Welfare Committee. One of the most necessary things is an X-ray plant and I trust some one will present the University with an X-ray apparatus for taking skiagrams of the chest,

which is absolutely necessary for an early detection of the disease. The capital expenditure for this purpose would be Rs. 8,000 and the recurring cost not more than Rs. 200 a month. It should not be difficult to find this amount for protecting our student population from this deadly scourge.

By the means mentioned above, we can detect the early cases which have the best chances of recovery. The University, however has no funds from which it could take the responsibility of providing Sanatorium treatment or any kind of special treatment that may be necessary. With a strong body of public opinion behind it, a responsible Government and the people of the country should take urgent lead in the matter, and with public benefactions and Government encouragement, find adequate means for combating this white plague which is eating into the very vitals of the nation.

The Ideals of Education.

Thus far I have given a few suggestions by which we can improve the health and welfare of our student community and make our educational Institutions more useful in turning out persons properly equipped for the different vocations of life.

Graduates of the University, I feel I must tell you on this important day in your life, that education is not merely a means of earning a livelihood. Important as it is as a means of livelihood, its great use is to make our lives better and more useful not only for ourselves, but for others, in short to make us better men and women.

With the mechanisation of the world, man will cease to be less and less of a drudge and a machine. Life will have larger and larger patches of leisure. While we work and toil for wages, while we earn and spend, our true and real interests in life do not express themselves. The most important problem of education to-day is how best to utilise our leisure. It is the way in which we utilize our leisure, we spend our idle moments,

that develops the innate spirit of our mind. Enrich your life with interests other than those by means of which you earn your livelihood—the joy and pleasure of it is immense. On the scene of human life, there is nothing nobler and more beautiful than a good man or a good woman. The value of your University education will be judged by its ideals and its results, by its capacity to uproot the baser instincts of human nature, of passion and hatred and to produce such types as will help to heal the feuds, the dissensions, the animosities and fanaticisms that unhappily mark our present-day India.

If your vision has been widened and your mind enlightened by a true and liberal education you should be the missionaries of Truth and Toleration.

Has your education transcended the three Gunas (Satya, Rajah, and Tamah) mentioned in the ancient philosophy of the Hindus? If it has, you must have dispelled from within your minds the darkness of ignorance and have emancipated yourselves from the bondage of bigotry, denominational bias and race hatred. There are no restrictions, there are no injunctions, there are no prohibitions which compel you to exclusiveness, narrowmindedness and selfishness.

“ Nistraigunye pathi vicharatam ko vidhih, ko nishedhah.”

নিষ্ট্রৈগুণ্যে পথি বিচরতাং কো বিধিঃ, কো নিষেধঃ

(For one who has transcended the three Gunas, what injunctions are there, what prohibitions?)

Let education produce such broad-minded and self-reliant citizens imbued with the true spirit of toleration and infused with true courage, and strength of mind as would refuse to be led like dumb, driven cattle and be utilized as petty pawns. Be resolute and do not yield and succumb to the subtle temptation of earning cheap popularity and applause. “The dull sense and the heavy-lidded eyes of the public” more often applaud a misleader rather than the honest leader, but the future and time

is the best judge of one's work and accomplishment. In the words of the great Lord Chancellor of England :—" In the long war between falsehood and truth, falsehood always wins the first battle, and truth the last." Will you stand witness to the great University ideals of love and truth or will you not ?

A GOODS STANDARD

PART ONE

The sponsor of the scheme.

The 'gold mentality' of the modern nations has so warped their power of thinking that an "unprejudiced and objective examination" of possible alternatives is not usually forthcoming. Besides, as Walter Bagehot has pointed out long ago, "men in high position are incapable of conceiving a farseeing policy of monetary reconstruction." It is no wonder then that the scheme was sponsored by Mr. Leigh, Secretary of the London Chamber of Commerce.

"Honest broker."

Really speaking what one nation receives from another are goods and services. If trade is in essence "barter" the function of money is to act as an "honest broker." Gold money instead of facilitating this honest exchange has failed to perform this task in a satisfactory manner.

Inelastic credit.

The gold monetary economy which suited primitive times now no longer satisfies the nations for it has landed them into a quagmire. For example if one country makes a technological improvement it means higher dividends, higher wages, greater output and lower prices for the increased goods. Other countries not enjoying this technological improvement would be forced to lower their prices of these goods if they were at all to compete with the goods of the first country. Although more commodities are produced in the first country the prices cannot expand as a result of inelasticity of credit mechanism based on the gold standard.

All-round lower prices.

Apparent overproduction in one industry becomes the cause of the general evil of lower prices and other industries are also ruined as production is being restricted to suit the purchasing power.

Poverty amidst plenty.

Briefly considered a technological improvement in the gold standard country means under-consumption as a result of lack of purchasing power. If mass production is not followed by mass consumption, which evidently cannot be the case under inelastic purchasing power, there is a breakdown of internal economy due to monetary instability to keep pace with the productive factor. In short, the gold standard mechanism does not give full internal purchasing power so as to maintain a stable general price-level specially at a time when rapid technological improvements are taking place on the industrial side. Hence the anxiety of the producers to export their goods abroad and unwillingness to import goods into the country. Poverty amidst plenty has been the resulting feature of the modern gold standard. As production has become stimulated greatly the needed monetary credits cannot be raised as a result of the inexpansibility of the gold basis of credit.

The pyramiding of gold.

While nations have been thus struggling in vain against the defective gold standard the new obligation of paying international war debts has been thrust upon the gold monetary mechanism. As payment of reparations and war debts meant only one-sided flow of gold and the pyramiding of gold in the hands of creditor countries like the U.S.A. and France the debtor countries have been forced to deflate and the wise creditor countries who had the intelligence enough as not to expand

their currencies did not make use of the incoming gold. Banking theorists have unjustly accused them for not making use of the incoming gold and playing the game of the gold standard in right earnest. The U.S.A. at any rate wisely refused to sabotage its own industries by raising the internal price-level and permitting foreign industries to enter the American market. So the creation of stable money co-expanding with the actual volume of production cannot be secured easily under the international gold standard monetary mechanism.

Other reasons for deposing gold monetary economy.

Apart from the fact that gold production is inadequate and fortuitous and as world recovery of trade is indeed remote, the needed willingness to co-operate internationally is not forthcoming. The gold fetish has been overdone. Too high a value has been attached by the respective Governments and the linking of expanding local currencies at the old values to the gold base is bound to become an impossible feat. So a new monetary economy is suggested by Mr. A. de V. Leigh. Instead of stepping back to the old monetary regime after deposing gold from it every country should adopt the goods standard whose salient features can be briefly referred to under two headings.

The external side.

Each country should have a Central Bank and these Central Banks should meet in a Central Bankers' Clearing House where exchanges would be worked on the old parity. Again all exchanges have to be worked through this Clearing House alone and Central Banking mechanism at the established rate of exchange. Every local currency will have its fixed ratio of exchange with every other local currency and all Central Banks will be represented in the Central Banker's Clearing House.

Free and independent states.

These local states will be free and independent under the new monetary system and rid of the necessity to combine national economic policies with the existence of an overriding international gold standard system which has the unfortunate defect of not being a stable standard of value. The Central Bankers' Clearing House can transfer the claims on the goods of one country to a third and if any return of one country's dues is made it is in the shape of goods or services into the exporting-creditor country. Every import will literally be an order for export and the necessity to send gold on the part of the importing country will not arise. The necessary contraction of currency and the forcing down of prices to a lower level, the reduction of wages and the curtailing of purchasing power which are the usual, indispensable and concomitant features of the gold standard metal need not arise under the new monetary dispensation.

The world-equilibrium.

Under a system where the visible and invisible exports are equal to the visible and invisible imports an equilibrium level will soon be reached. It might be that in some seasonal times a country might export more but it will lead to mere accumulation of short-term credits on the importing country whose internal economy will not be affected in any other way which would have been the result if the countries were on the gold standard. If one country's general price-level were to be far higher than the point of equilibrium, other nations would not wish to buy from it and it will begin to lose its export trade. It would also lose its export trade for other nations might not agree to take their payments in its expensive goods and would feel reluctant to have short-term credits in that country possessing a higher general price-level than that of the world-equilibrium.

Intelligent management.

Similarly if on account of low standard of living the general price level of one country were to be lower than that of the world equilibrium an accumulation of short-term credit on the part of the country would ensue. Unless these are utilised by the country the bank will not agree for an indefinite continuation of this regime and rediscount export bills *ad infinitum* while the rapidly piling up short-term credits are not used by the merchants for importing goods of the debtor countries. Thus an intelligent management of the goods standard is also needed for if the banks fail to exercise their power of refusing to discount further export bills or if the Central Banker does not remind the banks of this duty, the goods standard does not work. Hence the possibility of keeping the general price-level for long below the world equilibrium will never succeed, for the importer's attempt to introduce goods from the low price-level country can be defeated by raising a tariff wall against them.

Again the low price-level country cannot import high-priced goods and sell it inside the country unless mass purchasing power is increased by payment of higher all-round nominal wages. Thus any deviation from the normal world equilibrium is bound to be punished and economic forces will be so exerted that the equilibrium point will soon be reached.

Immunity from external forces.

Under the gold standard this could never work so smoothly for as soon as gold was sent out a deflationary policy was considered inevitable. An inexpansive gold standard means competitive deflation and not satisfied with this evil it has forced the competitive nations to lower the exchange value of their currencies so as to undercut the rival competitors.

The external forces which act on the internal price-level of a country are too many in the case of the gold international standard. Under the goods standard the internal general price-level would not become subjected to external monetary causes.

No straight jacket for industries.

A goods standard means that the supply of credit and currency expands concurrently with the goods factor. Under the gold standard we have already seen that industry is placed in a straight jacket or else forced to sell for lower prices thereby creating further points of disequilibrium in the internal economy of the country. In an age when modern science is fast expanding the quantity of useful goods which people can use to improve their standard of living money or internal purchasing power ought to expand *pari passu* with the increase in goods. It should not depend on one commodity called gold and its possible concurrent expansion for it might or might not be forthcoming. A goods standard can easily secure the necessary criterion of monetary stability which says that monetary tokens must be just equal to exchange deals in goods. "Monetary policy should be so planned," says Sir Basil Blackett in his new book—*Planned Money*, "that monetary tokens just equal the exchange deals." Internal monetary mechanism must expand and contract along with trade activity. While the occurrence of a trade cycle is possible under the gold standard system a goods standard is immune from it, for new expansion or contraction of credit does not take place fortuitously but only when genuine trade demand or slackness needs it.

Rediscounting of commercial bills.

If all eligible commercial bills can be rediscounted with the Central Bank while financial or speculative bills are not

rediscounted the above ideal can be easily secured. The Joint Stock Banks must generally lend only for financing current production and distribution and this can be done by securing an eligible bill form which means a definite undertaking to finance current production and distribution. This bill can be rediscounted by the Central Bank and the member bank's account can be expanded with the new credit or Central Bank notes can be issued to the member bank if these were needed by the banker. A fixed fiduciary issue of bank notes can be maintained to make the currency system elastic enough to meet the requirements of the population. On the top of this or superimposed on this structure there will be additional currency created by the rediscounting of eligible trade bills. The credit currency which can be issued by the Joint Stock Banks can be based on 9:1 ratio fixed by law. The bank credit currency can expand to nine times the member banks' cash base which has to be controlled by the C. R. Bank. This ratio can be subjected to any alteration by the C. Bank if it finds speculation or inflation taking place with the help of financial credit.

The controlling of credit.

The credit controller in the goods standard is this ratio of financial credit. It will take the place of "the old bank rate and open market operations policy under the gold standard." If speculation is going on the old ratio of 9:1 can be reduced to 8:1 or 7:1 so that financial credit can be drastically curtailed. The Joint Stock Bank can create credit only against member bank cash or its cash reserve in the hands of Central Bank. This can expand only by the rediscounting of eligible bills. As this can be secured by financing eligible bills alone industry need not be placed in a straight jacket. The internal price-level would be kept in equilibrium with the world price-level.

PART TWO

Criticism of the Goods Standard—skilful monetary manipulation.

Though it can be easily conceded that the old defunct gold standard is a misfit in this scientific world it can be intelligently managed for the time being before the general run of the people can understand monetary matters and allow it to be skilfully manipulated by the experts solely with the object of achieving monetary stability.

Confidence trick.

The recent war-time experiments with paper currencies have proved that people have no faith in the paper "simulacrum." The goods standard means circulating paper money as monetary tokens. The confidence trick cannot be played by it.

The cart before the horse.

As credit is based on currency the proposed working of the internal system of the goods standard is placing the cart before the horse. It is commercial credit based on the eligible commercial bill that will lead to the expansion of currency.

Inalienable private right.

The right to grant credit should not be curtailed as this scheme requires it to be done. The issue of credit is an inalienable right of the private trader or commercialist and modern trade would shrink to an insignificant volume were this right to be curtailed. While the abuse of this privilege might bring disaster on society still its curtailment would be leading to a worse situation.

Impossible to distinguish.

The drawing of a line of difference between financial and speculative credit on one side and commercial credit on the

other is indeed very difficult. The practical safeguard that the eligible bill form which guarantees the utilisation of credit for productive purposes conveys might be abused. While the quantitative volume of credit might be controlled by an integrated banking system the qualitative nature of credit depends on the borrower. Private re-lending might defeat the intentions of the credit controller.

What of the time-lag?

The financing of the eligible commercial bill might participate something of an inflationary character and lead to excessive credit. At any rate there is a time-lag between the final creation of commodities and the prior creation of credit during which period further credit facilities would have to be raised.

Permanent fixing of the exchange rates.

The ratio or foreign exchange rate is not vitally important but it has to be fixed by the goods standard. Following this the internal currencies must be steadied so as to steady the fixed exchanges. Exchange should and ought to vary with conditions of demand and supply. But this scheme ordains their permanence. It is just like steadying the level of mercury in the barometer without steadying artificially the world conditions outside the barometer. The gold standard also fixes the exchange within par points in addition to the difficulties incidental to the fixing of exchange ratio under the goods standard.

Although the major exchanges of international trade might be steadied under this scheme for nothing but bank money will be sold and bought internationally, a variable rate exists for the negligible business of exchanging national against foreign small bank notes and other forms of currency.

Lack of interchangeability.

The new scheme means that there is no interchangeability between the respective currencies as in the case of metallic currencies having intrinsic value of their own.

The tail wagging the dog.

The practical difficulties in fixing paper exchanges are very many though not insuperable. It presupposes that exchanges and prices are being fixed in the interest of external trade which in case of some countries forms only a very small portion. It is the dog that should wag the tail and the tail should not wag the dog.

Hindrance to trade with gold-using countries.

Unless all countries adopt this goods standard the trade with gold standard countries becomes impeded. At present each country thinks that it is an inalienable privilege to control its credit and currency mechanism in its own interests.

Highly intractable monetary phenomena.

The present-day economic difficulties are not the creation of the gold standard. Monetary difficulties might have aided and accelerated the influences arising out of highly intractable non-monetary phenomena such as tariffs, quotas, exchange restrictions, reparations, war-debts, sheltered wages and confiscatory taxation. The new monetary policy called the goods standard will not lead the world out of the wood. It is lacking certain essential features of stable money. A compensating money of contract is needed and this can be secured if the purchasing power of contractual monetary incomes is protected against the effects of a rising retail price-level as long as production and unemployment increase under the stimulus of rising wholesale prices.

No demonetisation of gold.

An improved gold standard would not render necessary the demonetisation of gold needed by the goods standard. No alteration of the existing machinery would be needed if the gold standard can be restored.

No clean slate.

This scheme aims wisely at attaining the ideal of international stabilisation of exchanges and the synchronic development of production and consumption in national territories.

As this scheme cannot be promulgated on a clean slate the present-day monetary difficulties created by excessive investment by creditor countries cannot be solved. Mutual stabilisation credits are needed so as to place the debtor countries on their economic feet. Finally the uniform application of the Tabular standard principle, *i.e.*, an index currency, has to be developed.

The Russian experiment.

Russia experimented with a goods rouble in 1922 and had to very soon abandon it in favour of gold standard currency. The goods standard has to be given up mainly because the accumulated national claims must be convertible into monetary claims without any loss in the foreign country. The accumulated short credits or foreign goods warrants will fall in value with the growing imports needed by the country and with the diminishing quantity of its exports.

PART THREE

MERITS OF THE SCHEME

Parallel expansion.

The scheme of the goods standard consists in expanding basic currency along with production and creative business requirements of the community.

Actual circulation of money.

It aims at the circulation of currency in the hands of the masses. This coterminous increase in the quantity of goods and credit (the latter of which is based on the constant circulation of the standard yard-stick currency) would fix values, stabilise prices and aid the maintenance of prosperous business conditions.

The barter basis of the scheme.

The resort to barter basis of trade on which the scheme is conceived is already in existence under the gold standard scheme. The Canadian Dominion has been bartering away excessive wheat for the unwanted coffee holdings of the Brazilian Republic. Russia is supposed to be organising similar exchanges between its oil and Brazilian coffee.

Producer as the controller of currency.

It makes provision for the control of the expansion and contraction of currency and credit by the Central Bank. It takes away this control from the hands of the money-lender and dealer who control the monetary metal, viz., gold. The real producer now stands as the controller and creator of basic currency. The control of gold over nations and men has been a tyrannous feature depriving every human being of a fair profit and the means to live in comfort during the transitory period of life on earth. As all the monetary gold at present mined would form, if melted, into a block or cubic mound thirty-one feet long, thirty-one feet high and thirty-one feet wide it is apparently insufficient to act as standard monetary metal for vastly increasing business requirements of the modern scientific world. It is no use pyramiding credit on a small pin-point of gold until it becomes top-heavy and crashes to the ground. The true ideal of banking, namely the permitting of entire business of nation to run on smooth lines, will be secured under the scheme.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

THOUGHTS ON PROGRESS

5. *Modes of Progress*

Here we take up the all-important discussion regarding the modes of progress. The modes, as generally understood, fall into the following categories : (1) Conservative or no-changer, (2) Reformatory or partial changer, (3) Reactionary or hazardous and (4) Revolutionary or total-changer.

(1) The Conservative mode is a mode which is intended to keep up well-secured through all times and under all circumstances the interests either acquired or already enjoyed, either fancied or real, by an insistence on a rigorous adherence to the accepted tradition, the tried policy, the established ways or customary manner of thinking or working. Such an insistence carries with it a peculiar dread of departing openly and effectively from anything which may pass as traditional, hereditary or customary. The conservative mode is either articulate or inarticulate. In the inarticulate mode of conservatism there is to be no exercise of any fresh thought or play of any new reason. As a matter of fact, conservatism in its extreme form is impatient and intolerant of all reason and all thinking. A person adhering to this mode is expected just to blindly follow the prescriptions taken for granted as a regular routine with an implicit faith in an authority as interpreted by a set of persons who are supposed to be its privileged custodians. In its articulate mode conservatism allows neither the freedom of thought nor the freedom of speech, nor of action, which is in any way prejudicial to its own existence and safety. The utmost freedom which it allows or which it may be taken to allow is petitioning to the spokesman of the authority that is not to be challenged, or enlightening oneself through interrogations

and replies, clever or foolish, or a favourable interpretation or advocacy of its cause. It is not a fact that conservatism, either articulate or inarticulate, is inwardly unaware of the change of circumstances calling for an alteration in the mode or new adjustment. But the peculiarity of conservatism is that it denies itself the courage of admitting the change as a fact or recognising or declaring any departure or new adjustment made as made. Such concealment or non-declaration of the change as a fact is bound to produce a cowardliness or effeminacy amongst those who are really guilty of it and a sense of self-deception which affects the life, action and character of those who are guided or governed by them. Thus conservatism entertains within itself some vested interests, well-intentioned or otherwise, that have an easy run so long as there is no clear detection, nor any open and violent opposition and criticism against it. Conservatism as a mode has an advantage over other modes in that those to whom it applies are habituated to it and have thereby a natural disposition to abide by it for their self-preservation and enjoyable living under given circumstances. But, at the same time, it carries within it the seeds of disruption on account of its rigidity, impenetrability, inadaptability, incompatibility, cowardice, narrowness of outlook, inadequacy of means and exclusiveness in spirit. Conservatism is either narrow or liberal, tolerant or intolerant, non-assertive or assertive. Narrow in so far as it does not pay the deserved amount of attention to other traditions and well-tried methods, and liberal in so far as it encourages an expansion within itself. Tolerant in so far as it is non-interfering with other conservative modes, and intolerant in so far as it cannot brook any idea of a change which has not received its sanction, though on a mere semblance of compatibility with its authority. Non-assertive in so far as it keeps its principle to itself, and assertive when it imposes its principle on others either by coercion or by persuasion. As a woman has her need in spite of her whims, caprices, wiles,

guiles, dependence and unreason, so is conservatism, inspite of its shortcomings and dangers. It is useful to the normal and smooth course of life, but it becomes upset at the onrush of a new flood of ideas or of a bewildering set of circumstances. In spite of all its bright points, its defect lies in the fact that its underlying process is blind and unconscious, cowardly and self-deceptive, and that it tends to produce a dull monotony and uniformity in all its creations.

(2) The first step from conservatism towards progress is the mode called Reformative. The Reformative mode is a mode which is intended to introduce some new interpretations or partial alterations to meet the exigencies of time or of thought without disturbing the main structure of conservatism that it takes to be good and useful. Reformation, as commonly understood, is a doctrine of slow-changes, of such changes that may be calculated either to strengthen or to improve the foundation of the main structure or to enhance the beauty and utility of the existing edifice of human institutions. Thus reformation is a course by degrees, it being marked by an anxious consideration at each step to ascertain that the measure is not such as to be inconsistent with the main principle of Conservatism. Thus it may be clearly seen that reformation, however highsounding its name may be, partakes yet, in its main principles, of the nature of Conservatism as such. It is also cowardly in so far as it bewares of the safety of the old structure, and inadequate in so far as it has not the plan of an altogether new structure in its conception. Thus reformation is, on the whole, a repairing or embellishing or interpretative business differing from conservatism in so far as it has an eye to the usefulness of a somewhat different kind and has an adaptability within a limited scope. There are reformations and reformations. The old bottle may crack by constant pouring of new wines into it. Its main drawback lies in the fact that it tends to delude the people into the belief that

there has been no change in spite of the whole set of alterations. Thus reformation is tethered to a post; the freedom of thought or action which it allows is that of a convict-overseer within prison walls. It also fails to give a free scope to thought, or a free play to reason and action in so far as it insists on building or rebuilding on an old foundation. The Reformer in his main character is still nothing but a skilful interpreter of conservatism and he is a pleader on the defensive and this may well explain how even Gladstone, being a Protestant and Reformer of the Catholic Church was inclined to write a 'Bedrock of Christianity' in defence of his inherited faith. Reformation is guilty to a greater extent, in a sense, that instead of harbouring self-deception peculiar to conservatism, it practises with deliberate intention a deception on others, more harmful in its ultimate consequences, because it prevents the people to recognise the magnitude of the changes that may have palpably appeared. Its bright point, however, is that it does not disturb the fabric by introducing a course of thought or action which is inconsistent therewith. But there is no getting away from the fact that the net result of a Reformatory mode is just the creation of an apparently new but unsound form of conservatism. In India, for instance, there have been many voices of protest, strong or feeble, through all ages against caste from Buddha downwards, nay, even from still earlier times, and with what net result?

History will bear out that these protestations from reformers have served just to produce a tension calculated to divide the amoeba-like organism of caste from one into two, from two into four, from four into eight, and from eight into countless—the depressed ever remaining depressed and untouchable—and that the protestants themselves have come to form separate castes even more rigid and bigoted than those who have lived under it. The reformatory is an evolutionary mode, yet delusive, and ultimately ineffectual, serving as it does to contribute to the very cause which it seeks to modify.

(3) The Reformatory mode assumes the character of the Reactionary when it has to feel its strength in the teeth of strong opposition. Thus understood, Reaction is but a logical step from Reformation. A Reactionary mode is vindictive as it intends to pay the opponent in his own coin. When a person or a number of persons cherishing certain whims or ideals, imperfectly conceived, meet or have to meet certain opposition or repression from persons representing a so-called established authority, they have recourse to reaction as a mode of self-expression. The reactionary mode consists rather in a counteraction of an action adopted on the part of an established authority to suppress or crush all ideas of change or reform incompatible with its inherited ideas. The reactionary mode is bound to assume the form of a rebellion, open or insidious, organized or isolated, and attempts immediately not at the disruption of the authority itself but at the change of hands. Thus the reactionary mode rather aims at persons than at the system represented by them. It may be, the feeling of a reactionary is genuine, and the motive which actuates him is laudable, but the ideas that guide him are not his original conceptions; these are apparently caught somehow from the air, rather imbibed or borrowed than generated within himself. Considered in this light, though a visionary, a reactionary is a mere imitator and a copyist, and can be expected only to have, if at all, a very imperfect idea of a new construction. His thought is taken up by spite and violent condemnation, and, given to follow its own course, it becomes a terrible menace to the peace of those who love to follow the path of least resistance.

The relieving feature of the reactionary mode, however, is that it serves to awaken the sleeping humanity to certain stern realities of life or truth and bestir it into action with a view so to change it that it would be able to meet the emergencies when they arise. Its regrettable feature, on the contrary, is that it mistakes the man for the machinery and does not

realise that so long as the machinery at work continues to be where it is, it will serve only to replace a benevolent tyrant by one more high-handed and malignant. Its immediate motive is rather disruptive than constructive, rather dreadful than hopeful.

(4) The Revolutionary mode is the ultimate step from the Reactionary. Here the form of expression is more pronounced, the action more organized, the plan of construction more potent, and the method of demolition more effective. Revolution, as distinguished from mere Reaction, serves to bring into bold relief the central idea that lies ensconced behind the reaction. A revolution may terminate in precipitate action simply as a stronger expression of reaction or may lead to an altogether new order of things. Viewed in this light, the Revolutionary mode is nothing but an awe-inspiring expression, through concerted action, of a demand felt alike in the innermost depth of humanity and seeking some suitable mode of self-satisfaction.

Revolution may be either retrospective or prospective in its aim and principle. Retrospective, when it tends to put the hand of the clock backward, by trying to bring back an idealized past or original state of things that never existed, and progressive, when it tends to put the hand of the clock forward by holding before mankind an ideal state that is yet to be. The Reactionary feature, however, continues. For, although it attacks the system and aspires to bring a new order into existence, it has to remove the present body of vested interests, the strong champions of the old or existing order. In this sense, a revolution may be regarded a logical consummation of the prospective step of humanity that finds its first expression through reformation. Each revolution starts with a complete dis-satisfaction for the existing state of things, imperfectly read or understood, and with the fascination either for a glorious picture of the past poetically drawn up, or for a glorious picture of the future vividly

imagined. Thus its chief defect lies in its imperfect study of the present and its usefulness. Its brighter side, however, is that downing with the present and its dull monotony and uniformity, its oppressiveness and iniquity and lack of vigour for creative purpose, it tends to usher in a new order which is a self-conscious expression of fulfilment, of self-willed action, marked by the masculine vigour of art and life and the conscious realization of other possibilities.

(5) These four tried modes have each its historical justification and each of these may even be shown to be consonant with what happens in the external order of nature. I can quite realize that each of them has its great usefulness in its proper sphere of application and even that each is needed, to some extent, to advance the cause of humanity. The mode of progress that I have in view is one that intends to increase more and more the latent potentialities of humanity for the satisfaction of its manifold needs of existence and the diversification of the types of its creation, without contradicting in essence the idea and purpose of the tried method of the past or of the present. It is to fulfil by increased degrees the possibilities of humanity by supplementing what is already achieved and adding more meaning and vigour to things existing. In a word, it is to contribute to the totality of human existence, experience and achievement.

It requires us first to see that other modes are being tried in right earnest and carefully watch how and why these fail of their purpose and then try to discover the present special need which, when satisfied, will better equip mankind to draw together more closely for common ends of life. It does not prescribe any single remedy for all time to come and does not lay stress on a single course of action, however fascinating it may appear on account of a powerful advocacy. It requires us to understand that the strength that is acquired is greater in value than the strength which is used up. It needs an increased and all-sided strength—physical, moral,

realise that so long as the machinery at work continues to be where it is, it will serve only to replace a benevolent tyrant by one more high-handed and malignant. Its immediate motive is rather disruptive than constructive, rather dreadful than hopeful.

(4) The Revolutionary mode is the ultimate step from the Reactionary. Here the form of expression is more pronounced, the action more organized, the plan of construction more potent, and the method of demolition more effective. Revolution, as distinguished from mere Reaction, serves to bring into bold relief the central idea that lies ensconced behind the reaction. A revolution may terminate in precipitate action simply as a stronger expression of reaction or may lead to an altogether new order of things. Viewed in this light, the Revolutionary mode is nothing but an awe-inspiring expression, through concerted action, of a demand felt alike in the innermost depth of humanity and seeking some suitable mode of self-satisfaction.

Revolution may be either retrospective or prospective in its aim and principle. Retrospective, when it tends to put the hand of the clock backward, by trying to bring back an idealized past or original state of things that never existed, and progressive, when it tends to put the hand of the clock forward by holding before mankind an ideal state that is yet to be. The Reactionary feature, however, continues. For, although it attacks the system and aspires to bring a new order into existence, it has to remove the present body of vested interests, the strong champions of the old or existing order. In this sense, a revolution may be regarded a logical consummation of the prospective step of humanity that finds its first expression through reformation. Each revolution starts with a complete dis-satisfaction for the existing state of things, imperfectly read or understood, and with the fascination either for a glorious picture of the past poetically drawn up, or for a glorious picture of the future vividly

imagined. Thus its chief defect lies in its imperfect study of the present and its usefulness. Its brighter side, however, is that downing with the present and its dull monotony and uniformity, its oppressiveness and iniquity and lack of vigour for creative purpose, it tends to usher in a new order which is a self-conscious expression of fulfilment, of self-willed action, marked by the masculine vigour of art and life and the conscious realization of other possibilities.

(5) These four tried modes have each its historical justification and each of these may even be shown to be consonant with what happens in the external order of nature. I can quite realize that each of them has its great usefulness in its proper sphere of application and even that each is needed, to some extent, to advance the cause of humanity. The mode of progress that I have in view is one that intends to increase more and more the latent potentialities of humanity for the satisfaction of its manifold needs of existence and the diversification of the types of its creation, without contradicting in essence the idea and purpose of the tried method of the past or of the present. It is to fulfil by increased degrees the possibilities of humanity by supplementing what is already achieved and adding more meaning and vigour to things existing. In a word, it is to contribute to the totality of human existence, experience and achievement.

It requires us first to see that other modes are being tried in right earnest and carefully watch how and why these fail of their purpose and then try to discover the present special need which, when satisfied, will better equip mankind to draw together more closely for common ends of life. It does not prescribe any single remedy for all time to come and does not lay stress on a single course of action, however fascinating it may appear on account of a powerful advocacy. It requires us to understand that the strength that is acquired is greater in value than the strength which is used up. It needs an increased and all-sided strength—physical, moral,

mental, social, economic, political or spiritual—without laying undue emphasis on any particular kind of strength. It demands us so to train up ourselves in life, thought, action and expression that we can meet all alike and none will go away disappointed from us.

So the main point in the proposed mode is rather meeting than either succumbing or overpowering. The Buddhist or the Christian missionary is not to impose his religion and its paraphernalia upon a Santhal or a Munda, for that would be just to overwhelm him with an awe for a creation which is not his own. The right spirit should be that when a preacher of a so-called superior religion approaches, as he should, the Santhal or the Munda, he should do so not so much to convert as to be converted, not so much to teach as to learn, in short, not to deprive him of the joy of his own creation. It calls us for meeting each other and increasing the possibilities of such meetings for mutual understanding, co-operation, and welfare.

I have already indicated that each of the five conditions—unlikeness, conflict, harmony, unity and beatitude—suggests a peculiar mode of progress and that each of these modes, considered *per se*, is inadequate to ensure the cause of progress as here defined. On the other hand, the training should be of such a character that mankind will be enabled to realise all of these conditions as possible moments of human life and existence. There is no ground whatsoever for an absolute claim. As the professed orthodox may be shown to be heterodox in some respects and on some occasions so the heterodox may equally be shown to be orthodox in certain ways and actions. So far as it is practicable, the convention of profession and initiation is to go, and the spirit of self-realisation of all human possibilities is to take its place. If to hold fast to conservatism is to deny the idea of progress and to practise self-deception so to placate reform is just to endorse the force of conservatism and to be guilty of

practising deception upon others. If to have recourse to a reactionary mode is to replace a benevolent despot by a malevolent one, to have recourse to the revolutionary mode may be equally shown to be more iniquitous in that it may end in the supersession of a benevolent despot by a malevolent one and of a more expedient system by one less expedient. The chief excellence of the proposed mode lies in the recognition it gives to each of these modes and it affords a greater and greater scope for the increased realisation of human possibilities in the matter of existence and creation.

B. M. BARUA

SLAVE OF LOVE

Thou mine ! Thou mine ! oh love unseen—

Oh is this, mouth-word mere,

I fly all round on word-pride wings,

But heart is sore and sere.

Oh Love on me but mercy shed

And be of life the sweetest death

In life of pride, as wisdom veil'd

I'm but a word-made wraith.

Oh Love, thy slave to be

Is th' despot liberty

Death in thee, the truest life

The sweetest peace in life-strife.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE ALLAHABAD UNITY CONFERENCE

The Indian delegates to the Second Round Table Conference, having failed to come to any understanding between themselves regarding communal differences, the task naturally had to be decided by His Majesty's Government. The Communal Award of the Premier of His Majesty's Government was not favourably received in India and Mahatma Gandhi raised his voice against the most dangerous part of the Award by deciding to fast himself unto death in case the portion of it relating to the Hindu Community was not changed. The result was the famous Poona Pact which was accepted with commendable promptness by the Prime Minister. The country was filled with a spirit of hopefulness and optimism and the psychological moment was fully taken advantage of by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Abul Kalam Azad who started negotiations for inter-communal unity.

The Unity Conference to which were invited the representatives of all the important organizations of the country met in Allahabad and appointed a representative sub-committee on November 3, 1932, to frame a scheme satisfying communal claims on the basis of which a unanimous decision could be arrived at. That Committee after 14 days' labour and deliberations on important matters of difference between various communal organizations, came to an agreement. That agreement was published and it was decided that the representatives of the organizations, who were parties to the agreement should put it before their respective organizations to find out if it was acceptable to them with or without modifications.

These representatives met again at Allahabad on December 10, 1932, and all possible amendments to the November

formula were moved and after a thorough discussion the committee adopted the November Agreement without any material alterations. The main aspects of the formula may be summarised as below :—

(1) The Conference demanded full control over the Government of India including defence, foreign relations and finances to the Indian people with only such safeguards, for a short period fixed by statute, as may be shown to be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India and the Conference thus rightly pinned its faith to the historic Delhi Pact entered into between two lovers of unity on behalf of India and England.

(2) With reference to residuary powers, it was agreed that the powers to be exercised by the Indian and Provincial Governments being exhaustively scheduled, the powers so scheduled and divided should not be withdrawn from the Provincial Governments by the Indian Government and a subject not mentioned in the schedule should belong to the Indian or Provincial Government according to the relevancy and closeness of connection with the scheduled subjects. The power of final decision regarding doubt about subjects not scheduled is to be vested in the Supreme Court. A committee was to be appointed to draw up the schedules.

(3) Certain provisions have been mentioned which are to be kept in view by the committee to be appointed to draft the clauses relating to 'Fundamental Rights.' Freedom of conscience, liberty of the press and occupation, equal rights of access to places of public resort, etc., have been guaranteed to people of all classes irrespective of caste, creed, race and colour.

(4) Protection of religion, culture and personal laws have been guaranteed to all communities. It is provided that if two-thirds of the members of any legislature representing a particular community object to a Bill on religious or social grounds or as affecting their fundamental rights ($\frac{1}{8}$ in the

latter case), they can lodge a protest with the president who shall forward it to the Governor-General or the Governor and the latter can withdraw or give his assent to the Bill. The propriety of such a measure can be tested further in the Supreme Court.

(5) Recruitment to the army including air and naval forces is to be open to all nationals irrespective of caste or creed, who possess the necessary qualifications. In considering these qualifications, military traditions will be taken into account, but the fact that a person seeking recruitment has no military tradition will not be a bar to his recruitment.

(6) In the formation of the cabinet of the Central Government as far as possible Muslims, Sikhs and Indian Christians shall be included by Convention and the claims of important minorities are guaranteed in Provincial cabinets.

(7) No person will be disabled for admission into public services merely because of considerations of caste, creed, community, race or sex and appointments will be made by non-party public service commissions, Central and Provincial. In all Provincial Public Service Commissions important communities of the Provinces will be represented.

(8) *Central Legislature.*—In the Central Legislature provision has been made on the basis of a modified form of joint electorates for 32 per cent. seats for Muslims, 42·3 per cent. for Sikhs, 2 per cent. for Indian Christians and one seat for Anglo-Indians in connection with British Indian provincial seats.

Joint Electorates.

It has been agreed that all elections shall be through joint electorates, but for a period of ten years a modified form of Maulana Mohammed Ali's formula shall be in force. The formula is that out of candidates securing 30 per cent. votes polled of his community, one who gets the highest number of

total votes polled on the joint electoral rolls shall be elected. If there is no candidate securing 30 per cent. votes polled of his community, then out of two candidates securing the highest number of votes of their community, one who secures the highest number of votes polled will be declared elected. If any community wishes to give up the system in favour of pure joint electorates in any province, it shall be at liberty to do so and after 10 years the arrangement will automatically yield place to pure joint electorates.

Trial of Muslim Cases.

The question that Muslim cases of marriage and divorce should be tried by Qazis has been referred to a committee which will report to the unity sub-committee.

Sind.

Sind has been agreed to be formed into a separate province subject to certain safeguards for the Hindus, *i.e.*, 37 per cent. representation in the Legislature, joint responsibility of ministry and inclusion of at least one Hindu in the Sind Cabinet. After 10 years if the Hindus so desire the reservation of seats for them shall be on the population basis and they shall have the right to contest additional seats. 60 per cent. of the seats to public posts will be filled by open competition on the basis of merit alone and 40% will be reserved for redressing communal inequalities. A Conference of Sind leaders met in January, 1933, to appoint a committee which considered ways and means for making good the deficit disclosed in the Brayne Report and considered the question of placing the Report of the committee before the people of Sind.

Punjab.

The Punjab Cabinet will include at least one Hindu and one Sikh member. If any legislative or administrative

measure undertaken by the Ministry, which will be jointly responsible, will be objected to by more than $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the members of all the minority communities as being discriminatory or injuriously affecting their interests, it can be withdrawn by the Ministry. Failing that, it will be referred to a Tribunal whose decision will be binding upon the Ministry and the latter will vacate office if it does not accept the findings of the Tribunal. The seats for special constituencies shall be reserved as follows :—

For Muslims 51%.

For Hindus 27% .

For Sikhs 20%.

For Indian Christians, 3 seats.

For Anglo-Indians and Europeans, 1 seat.

The total number of seats of the Council is to be 200.

Bengal.

In Bengal there shall be joint electorates with reservation of seats. The Muslims will get 51% of the seats and the Hindus and others included in the general electorates will get 44·7% including in both cases seats for special constituencies. Reservation of seats and special constituencies will be only for 10 years. In this case the Muslims want a reservation of 51% irrespective of the fact that the Anglo-Indians and European Commercial interests may or may not agree to reduction of their seats which the Bengal Hindus are not prepared to accept. Negotiations are proceeding with the latter on this point.

An analysis of the agreement shows that it falls short of the ideal as unadulterated joint electorates have not been immediately agreed upon and communalism has been imported to some extent in the public services, in the appointment of Provincial Public Service Commissions and in the

formation of Cabinets. It has nonetheless to be admitted that the agreement provides the best basis for communal unity and has been endorsed by all parties except a few dissentients who do not count much. This does not apply to the case of Bengal where negotiations are not yet over. It should be remembered that complete unanimity and endorsement by all members of all possible organizations can never be possible. To reject the agreement simply because it has not been endorsed by a few Muslim communalists is wrong, because such a unanimity has never been secured to any measure in the history of the world and we have no reason to judge the welcome accorded to the Pact with reference to an impossible test.

It is also true that it involves a tinge of communalism, but that tinge is to disappear automatically after a period of 10 years. The agreement is a decided improvement upon the Communal Award of the Prime Minister which failed to satisfy any community whatsoever except perhaps the British Commercial interests in Bengal. As Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar said in his speech at Allahabad on December 23, 1932, "We must consider the present movement (the Unity Conference) in two aspects. They are the spirit of unity and the mechanical adjustment based on it in view of the Premier's award and the coming constitution. I need hardly say that the former aspect is by far the most valuable. This is permanent while the other is transient and intended to be modified from time to time."

The Unity decisions are very favourable to the Muslims and Mr. Jinna's 13 points have been fully conceded to them and the demands of their Lucknow Conference have also been given to Muslims and their representatives will not be chosen by the majority community solely and it was because of this grievance of theirs that it was provided in the agreement that a successful Muslim candidate must secure at least 30% of the votes polled of his community. There is no reason now for the Muslims to reject the agreement and it is a matter of

great satisfaction that all the important Muslim representative organizations have accepted it.

There is no doubt about the fact that the Hindus have been called upon to make the greatest sacrifice according to the terms of the agreement. Touching on this aspect of the agreement, the President of the Unity Conference in his speech referred to above remarked, "Now, my Hindu brothers and sisters, let me admit to you at once that the sacrifice we are making is the greatest.....considered merely subjectively, it is a great sacrifice that we are making but this sacrifice we are making is a self-sacrifice spontaneously made with a view to recreate the Indian nation and in this view I have no hesitation in adding that it will elevate and integrate the Hindu community in the process. We must not forget that ours was a nation which welcomed, protected and admitted to a footing of equality the persecuted Jews, Christians and Parsees. The soul of ancient India so long hibernating owing to abnormal times and conditions is now up in all its purity, vigour and grandeur and it is our sacred duty to recognize this great phenomenon and glory in it too."

The question of Bengal is not yet settled. The Muslims in demanding 51% representation in the Bengal Council irrespective of the fact whether the Anglo-Indians may or may not be persuaded to give up a few of their seats have no doubt gone back upon the position they took in November on this issue at Allahabad. Their attitude is unjustifiable specially when important Hindus of Bengal are reported to have told them that the latter will do their best to get for them their 51% quota of seats. The Muslims should also remember that they did not get statutory majority in Bengal under the Premier's Award. If they persist in this attitude and if the ship of India's unity dashes against the Bengal rock and founders, the Muslims will stand to blame. They will have separate electorates everywhere and the Premier's Award will stand, but the whole country will suffer, for as Pt.

Madan Mohan Malaviya remarked in his November speech at Allahabad, "If we allow this decision to stand and do not come to an agreement, you have separate electorates, but you have not the power either in the provinces or in the centre. You will not have the power to touch the army. You will not have power over the finances. You will not be able to build up national activities in the different directions. You will continue to be in the unfortunate and deplorable position in which you are." The Hindus of Bengal in accepting the position apparently stand to lose, but in reality that is not so. They should eventually agree because in agreeing to 51 % representation for Muslims, they have agreed to the principle. The difference is regarding details of procedure in securing this majority for the Muslims and the Hindus, if they yield, will not be worse off than under the Award of the Prime Minister. The surrender would do them no harm, while hesitation on their part involves a suicidal and disastrous abdication of sacred functions and duties in this great national crisis. If the decision is agreed upon, the Prime Minister, it is hoped, will accept it as a substitute for his Award and then all parties will stand to gain.

The noble efforts made by Pt. Malaviya and others at unity should not be allowed to be frustrated merely on the Bengal question and the leaders will no doubt exercise their personal influence in Bengal in persuading the people there to accept the unity decisions. Never before in the history of India was there such enthusiasm and spirit of sacrifice in the various communities as at the present juncture. If the unity is not achieved now, this opportunity once allowed to slip away may not come for long. It is this point that should be kept in view in discussions on the Bengal question by the parties affected. In the eventuality of unity proposals being ratified, the Premier is bound by the terms of his Award to accept the decision.

KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA

DIVINE IMMANENCE AND HUMAN FREEDOM

Of all the objects of God's creation, man is the highest and holiest in as much as he was created in God's own image and so above all beings he is required to manifest in a pre-eminent degree the highest attributes of his creator—the God within him in whom he lives, moves and has his being. But though created in God's own image, man has his limitations and imperfections, though these are not permanent barriers to his progress, but only serve as incentives to the same. Men are not so many machines, but spirits—they

“ Look before and after
• And pine for what is not.”

This search for ‘ what is not ’ impels man to work and without it he would have been as lifeless as a lump of clay or a log of wood, without any desires to fulfil or evils to fight. In short, man is not a damned creature of God, but has in him infinite possibilities by realising which he can ascend to the kingdom of God and find a place by His side.

My remark that by a proper use of his powers man can realise the divine in him—nay, he may even become one with God is liable to misinterpretation. The critic may observe : “ How can the finite become one with the infinite, when the latter always eludes the former's grasp ? ” But I should like to meet my critic by saying that the Infinite does not elude our grasp if we only know how to seek for Him. There is no unbridgeable gulf between the finite and the Infinite, as the former is only a partial manifestation of the latter. To put the matter more precisely, we may say, that the finite is the shadow and the Infinite the reality. But the shadow is meaningless without the reality and the former exists only because the latter casts it. So the objection that the finite

can never attain to the Infinite is indeed based on a misunderstanding of the real nature of the finite. Once we realise that the finite derives its very existence from the Infinite, the false antithesis between the finite and the Infinite disappears and we are convinced that we can attain to the Infinite only if we know how to seek for Him. The Infinite will elude our grasp so long as we believe in our false independence and cling to our baser passions and selfish desires. But the moment we realise that the lower self is not our real self and that it is the veil which hides our real self, we no longer cling to our baser passions and selfish desires, but seek for our real good which the realisation of our true self alone can give. In fact, in such a moment when we realise our utter helplessness, we no longer boast of our seeming independence, but calmly and cheerfully submit to the will of the Infinite, who alone can give us perfection and happiness. This is why Hinduism ascribes the three attributes of Sat (goodness), Chit (reality), and Anandam (bliss) to the Infinite whom it calls Brahman.

Having realised the unreality of the antithesis between the finite and the Infinite, let us turn to the next question : whether man has freedom to will and if so, whether such freedom is compatible with divine Immanence in the world process.

Let us begin by inquiring about the philosophical significance of the word 'immanence.' Does it signify identity, pure and simple, or is it something else ? When I say A is immanent in B, do I really mean that A and B are the same thing or I simply mean that though A is in B, A is not B alone but something more than B ; or to put the same thing otherwise, B is not the whole of A, but only a part of it. In fact, the word 'immanence' cannot signify identity pure and simple because there cannot be any such thing as pure identity. Even identity implies difference as we shall shortly see. When I say A is identical with B, I do not mean that A and

B are identical in all respects or that there is no difference whatsoever between A and B. As a matter of fact, no two things can be identical in the sense of pure unity, because such identity would make knowledge impossible. If Reality would have been pure unity without difference, such a Reality would have been unknown and unknowable. The distinction between the subject and the object, the knower and the known can never be obliterated as without it knowledge itself becomes impossible. Even in those states of our soul when we stand face to face with God and realise our utter helplessness before Him, the distinction between the knower and the known remains in some form, though such distinction is not sharp enough to make us despair of attaining to the object of our worship.

So when I say that God is immanent in the world process, I do not mean that He is lost in the world process or that he and the world are one in all respects. Crude Pantheism points not to the ultimate unity of God and the world, but to the close identification of the two. It is why Pantheism is unacceptable as a philosophical theory, the proper theory being Pantheism. It is Pantheism alone which says that God is both immanent and transcendent—that He is in the world process and yet not the world process alone, but much more than that.

The true meaning of Divine Immanence seems to be fully brought out in the Hindu conception of God as Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. As Brahma, He creates the world, as Vishnu, He redeems it and as Siva, He judges it. These three attributes of creation, redemption and judgment are inseparable from one another and form the fundamental aspects of the creative process.

The Hindu says : " God is everywhere. He is present in all things though according to degrees." As Sir Radhakrishnan puts it : " Hindu thought is not afraid of asserting the presence of God in all things. It has no faith in a

transcendent God distinct from the world, living in a monotonous solitude of His own."

The Vedantic formula 'Tat tvam asi,' 'That art thou,' is not to be interpreted as gross pantheism. It only points to the essential unity of the self with Brahman, to the divine origin of man in whom the divine spark shines at all times and under all circumstances. No doubt the divine spirit does not manifest in all men equally and as a matter of fact it cannot be so. To say that all men are equally divine is to obliterate all distinctions between the good and the wicked, the wheat and the chaff and assert the unreality of spiritual progress. Turning next to the question of human freedom, we find that it is not inconsistent with the omnipotence and omniscience of God. Freedom is the essential nature of man as spirit. We momentarily feel that we are free to choose. The cards are laid bare before us and it is for us to select from amongst them. Man is free to choose—he can lay his hand on the good or the evil as he pleases. To deny freedom to man on the ground that it is inconsistent with God's omnipotence is to place the axe at the very root of the tree of morality. Do we not feel the stings of conscience and the pangs of repentance when we go off the right course? How could we feel repentant for our wrong-doings, if we were not morally free? The very fact that we repent for our unrighteous ways—nay, the very fact that we recognise such ways to be unrighteous, shows that good and evil, virtue and vice are in our keeping and that we can direct ourselves as we please. Every man is free to will—he can choose good ways and become divine or he can identify himself with his lower self of passions and prejudices and degrade himself to the level of beasts. The higher we rise in the ladder of progress, the nearer we approach to God. The union of the divine and the mortal in the persons of Jesus, Krishna, Buddha, Muhammad and many other saints clearly shows that there is a community of nature between man and God. The man who

lives in God is not afraid of identifying his personality with that of God and saying: "I am Brahman" and "Brahman is I."

God is the indwelling spirit of the universe.—He is the 'Natura Naturans' of Spinoza, but though He is the ultimate background of the Universe, He does not consume the Universe. As Brahma, he freely creates; as Vishnu, He redeems the objects of His creation and as Siva, He judges them. He creates the Universe not that He needs it or would be imperfect without it, but because He gives free play to His eternal activity. Having created the Universe, He also redeems it and distributes rewards and punishments to His creatures according to their merits or demerits. God is not an irrational being who can do and undo anything by His divine fiat. If there are laws of Nature, there are also laws of God. He is a just distributor and not an all-powerful despot, as Calvinist theology represents Him to be. How can God who is the very heart of love be supposed to select some people for salvation and send others to eternal perdition by His capricious will? If He is the very embodiment of goodness, love and justice "exceeding abundantly above all we can ask or think" how can we think of Him as distributing rewards and punishments in His creatures according to His capricious will?

The Hindu rightly believes that men enjoy happiness or suffer pain according to their karma. Just as the laws of the physical world are unalterable, so are the laws of the spiritual world. There are Christian thinkers like Dr. Martineau and others who find it difficult to believe in the law of Karma and re-birth, as they think that no man can be held responsible for what he did in his former life, as rewards and punishments can be based only on conscious doings and as no man has any knowledge of what he did or did not in a life prior to the present life, there cannot be any question of atoning for the sins of the past life. Dr. Martineau's objection to the law of Karma is indeed based on a misunderstanding. True it is

that man can be punished only for his conscious doings, but were not the actions done by a man in his past life done consciously with a full knowledge of their consequences? The law of Karma is not a mechanical law as Christian thinkers think it to be. It is the law of moral causation and it alone can account for the inequalities that we see among men in the world. The Hindu believes that God is no respecter of persons and that all men must equally pay for their sins.

The Christian doctrine of Atonement in the person of Jesus who sacrificed his life for the sake of fallen humanity is opposed to the law of Karma. The Hindu finds it difficult to subscribe to the proposition of one man suffering for another man's sins, as it makes the moral order of the Universe unreal by keeping men under the happy illusion that however much they may go on sinning, they would be ultimately saved by the saving grace of God.

God can save only the sincerely repentant and those who have given up their evil ways. To think that however much one may go on sinning, he will be ultimately saved by the saving grace of God, is to make God's justice a mockery. As Sir Radhakrishnan puts it: "That one should suffer for another's sins is intelligible, whatever be its validity. But does not the situation become paradoxical, if not grotesque, when the sinner complacently accepts that another should suffer for his sin? The view deludes the unthinking into the false notion that they might continue their careers of crime, for God would some day send some angel or Son of His to bear the sin of the world. The way in which orthodox Christian doctrine regards the suffering and death of Jesus, the guiltless victim, is conceivable, only if God were a well-made weighing machine. According to the Hindu view love of God and effort on the part of man are both necessary for moral growth."

THE CHILD WORKER IN INDIA

In spite of the fact that during the last decade we have had several legal enactments designed in some manner or other to protect the interests of the Indian working classes, but little has as yet been done to give adequate protection to children of tender years who are still engaged in industrial occupations. In other countries the very idea of the legal protection of labour arose from the circumstance that, during the earlier phases of industry, women and children were being ruthlessly exploited to such an extent as to seriously menace the future of the industrial population in those countries. The protection of adults followed only later on, when it began to be perceived that, if the protection of children was justified on the ground that they were not in a position, because of their tender years and consequent lack of experience, to strike a bargain on equal terms, then the economic weakness of the working classes in general also constituted a powerful argument for the state to step in and enforce certain minimum conditions in adult labour contracts.

In this country, however, affairs seem to have taken a somewhat different course. All that has yet been done for the protection of the child worker in India may be summed up as follows. Under the Indian Factories Act of 1922, the daily hours of the children are limited to six, and a rest period of half an hour is obligatory if their daily hours of work exceed $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours; and no child should be required to work continuously for more than 4 hours. The Act further prohibits the employment of children for a period of $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours during the night; and no child can be employed in more than one factory on the same day. Under the Act children are persons between the ages of 12 and 15. The extent of protection thus granted

has been considerably widened owing to the generous manner in which the provincial governments have employed the powers given to them under section (II) (3) (B) of the Factories Act, the main object of which was to protect children even in small factories which but for the local Governments' notifications under the clause above, would have remained outside the scope of the Act. In addition to these provisions of the Factories Act, the Indian Government has also passed an Act to prohibit the employment of children under 12 in ports. The Indian Mines Act of 1923 prohibits the employment of children under 13. All these legislative changes were the direct result of India's association with the I. L. O., and the Indian Acts have only given partial effect to some of the recommendations of the International Labour Conferences.

Now the protection granted by the above Acts covers only three points. The first concerns the age of admission of Indian children into industrial employment, which is now fixed at 12. The second deals with the number of hours per day during which they might be permitted to work, and the third point is about employers being prohibited to employ children during the night. Important as all these three points are, it cannot be gainsaid that the present legislation as regards the work of children still leaves a great deal to be desired. For one thing it must be remembered that the present protection extends only to "factories" within the meaning of the Indian Factories Act. However lax might be the administration of the Factories Act, still the possibility of Factory inspectors unexpectedly entering the factory premises for inspection has undoubtedly acted as a powerful check against the illegal exploitation of child labour in these factories. But, we must not forget that, in the present state of India's industrial development, the number of "factories" which come under the definition of Factories Act is still extremely limited; the result is that the fraction of child

workers who are protected under the existing legislation is infinitesimally small, to render that protection more universal, it is imperative that it should be extended to a much wider category of juvenile workers. The evidence elicited by the Whitely Commission has brought to light the heartless manner in which child labour is being exploited in the numerous smaller industrial establishments which are outside the purview of the Indian Factories Act. In seasonal and unregulated factories children are exposed to much untold misery and suffering which the Indian Factories Act can at present do but little to abate or eliminate. Speaking of the unregulated factories where any number of workers may be employed, even as many as seven or eight hundred, the Whitley Commission has noted the preponderance of the labour of under-aged children, *i.e.*, children well below the regulation age of 12, for such workers in factories coming under the Factories Act. By way of illustrating the evils associated with the employment of children in these unregulated factories, the Commission refers in some detail to the numerous industrial establishments set up in various parts of India for mica cutting and splitting, wool cleaning, shellac manufacture, *beedi*-making, carpet-weaving and leather-tanning. In the mica factories nearly 30% of the workers are children. Quite small children are employed, the only control over their work being their own ability to use the sharp knife necessary for splitting mica. The following extracts from the evidence taken by the Commission in the mica-mining area of Bihar and Orissa is typical.

“We were rather struck with the number of young children whom we saw. Is there any lower limit of the age of a child whom you take into employment?”—“There is no lower limit.....we say the children may come if they like and they will get so much per pound for the mica they split. If they do not make too much waste, we let them go on.”

“That is the only control there is?”—“Yes.”

"We have just come from a factory where we saw a large number of small children employed."—"Children go there to learn the art of splitting. If they do not learn it in their infancy, they do not become very good splitters."

"A regulation prohibiting the employment of children under 12 would mean that they would have to learn it at a later age, from 12-15 instead of, say, from 7-12?"—"If one wants to learn the art of splitting well, one should begin learning it in one's youth."

(Member of the Commission): "That is an argument that has been used through the ages in respect of every increase in the age at which children may be employed."

The condition of children in the *beedi* factories is not much better. Accommodated any how in crowded groups in filthy ill-ventilated rooms the atmosphere of which is laden with dust and disease-germs, these children work all through the day and often late at night with the help of the murky and smoky indigenous lantern. The Commission was convinced that this was a sweated industry on the basis of extremely low wages and extremely long hours. Speaking of the condition of children in this industry, the Commission observe:

"The paramount matter for concern in a number of areas, particularly in the Madras Presidency, is the question of child (*i. e.*, boy) labour. In many cities large numbers of young boys are employed for long hours and discipline is strict. Indeed there is reason to believe that corporal punishment and other disciplinary measures of a reprehensible kind are sometimes resorted to in the case of the smaller children. Workers as young as five years of age may be found in some of these places working without adequate meal-intervals or weekly rest-day and often for ten or twelve hours daily for sums as low as two annas in the case of those of tenderest years. This recalls some of the worst features of child apprenticeship in England prior to the passing of the first

Factory Act, particularly when it is realised that many of the parents of these child workers are in debt to the employers. As a result they are not in a position to inquire too closely into the treatment meted out to their children or to do other than return an absconding child. Although it is impossible to give even an approximate figure of the numbers of such child workers in the provinces where this type of labour is most prevalent, we are confident from the evidence submitted to us, as well as from our own personal observations, that it is sufficiently large in certain areas to constitute an evil which demands immediate remedy."

It is possible to multiply instances of this kind taken from other unregulated factories. But there is one feature in the child labour situation which is even more revolting than all the others put together. The long hours, the low wages, the insanitary conditions and absence of social amenities, the absolute non-provision of any arrangements for educating the child-worker or looking after his health, bad as all these are they pale into insignificance when compared with the system of child slavery which is even now a part of India's industrial system. It is some consolation to remark that once the attention of the public was directed to this enormity by the Whitley Commission, the Government of India have been prompt in taking action to put a speedy end to it. The Bill for the abolition of the pledging of child labour which Sir Frank Noyce introduced in the Legislative Assembly on the 5th September, 1932, is an assurance to us that the Government of India are not likely to defer action on the other equally urgent recommendations of the Whitley Commission. Evidences of this kind of child slavery were found in such widely separated areas as Amritsar, Ahmedabad, and Madras. What made the offence take on an even darker hue was the fact that these children thus sold to slavery are usually subjected to particularly unsatisfactory working conditions. To quote the Commission's own words, "where the child is not the son

of a near relative of the weaving master, he is normally the child of a man who, in return for a loan of money from the weaving master, contracts out the labour of his child at so many rupees (7-9 etc., according to the age of the child) per month. The duration of the contract which is sometimes set out in a formal document, would appear to be determined by the repayment of the loan...It was clear to us from the evidence that these children were in the position of being obliged to work any number of hours per day required of them by their masters. They were without the protection of the law as regards their physical fitness to labour, the number of hours they might be required to work without any intervals, or indeed any of the more elementary protections afforded by the Factories Act in respect of child workers, and they were subjected in some cases to corporal punishment...We are convinced that here, as in the *bidi* factories, official regulation is required primarily in the interests of the child workers." The factory-owners shelter themselves behind the opposition of the master weavers to any restriction in hours, and the children continue their blind-alley occupations. On the normal-sized loom, there are four workers, the master weaver, a boy of 14, and two boys under 12. In this connection it will be remembered that the I. L. O. started in 1922 an investigation into the working conditions of children in the Kerman carpet industry in Persia, and as a result of the inequities thus revealed, prompt remedial measures were taken by the Persian Government. The results of child labour in the Amritsar industry were identical, and a doctor practising in Amritsar has found evidences of deteriorated physique among the carpet factory children including deformation and abnormal curvatures in the legs and back from sitting for long hours in cramped positions.

There is yet one more feature associated with child labour in India to which reference must be made. Dewan Chaman Lall in his book "Coolie" cites the case of the Rt.

Honourable V. Srinivasa Sastri having discovered in the days when he was a school master, that in the house adjoining his own a large number of children used to go in every day ; sometimes at night he used to hear their pitiful cries. On making enquiries, he found that the adjoining house was a lace-factory in which little children of tender years were made to work unusually long hours. The cries he heard were caused by the administration of the whip to these children when, owing to extreme exhaustion, their heads were bent in sleep. The Labour Commission observes that "corporal punishment of the children and other disciplinary measures of a reprehensible kind are sometimes resorted to in these factories." It is an open secret, as has been brought out in the evidence taken by the Commission, that even adult workers are not spared this kind of humiliation ; and we can, therefore, imagine what degree of protection the little mites could have against their tyrannical employers.

In making their recommendations as regards unregulated factories, the Commission refers to the workers in them as "the least protected and the most helpless of the workers of India," and there can be no doubt that an extremely strong case has been made out for the extension of legal protection to this class of workers and especially to the children engaged in the industries cited above. Nor is this all. The conditions prevailing in the non-industrial occupations are, if anything, more harmful to mind and body. If you go into any bazaar in India, you cannot fail to be struck by the large number of children who are there employed as salesmen's assistants, porters and general servants. In any attempt to regulate conditions in non-industrial occupations, the main trouble would be to select the categories of occupations to which any set of regulations might apply. An analysis of the various national laws on this subject would reveal that the non-industrial occupations upon which some restriction or other has so far been placed in so far as child labour is concerned,

are divisible into two main groups : (1) *general employment*, i.e., in any occupation not specifically referred to by name in the law ; and (2) *special occupations*, or those which, because they are dangerous or unhealthy, or may endanger morals or education, or for some other reason, are subjected to special treatment. Non-industrial occupations are not regulated to the same extent as is industrial work ; and that for obvious reasons ; and it is only in about 17 countries that *general employment* is regulated. Nevertheless, among the various countries of the world, we have to-day a considerable body of laws on the subject, covering most of the matters in need of regulation. If there is a certain lack of uniformity in these laws, in contrast with the uniformity that exists among the various national systems of industrial law, the variations in the former case may be ascribed partly to the diversity of non-industrial occupations, and partly to the absence of any definite standard such as those set for industry, agriculture, and maritime work by the Conventions of the I. L. O. In the special occupations above referred to, in which State Regulation is more universal, such occupations usually include employment in commerce, shops and offices, public entertainments, street trading, bars, public houses, hotels, etc., and all that we would require in India is some sort of a simple regulation to secure the health, education, physical fitness and morals of the juvenile worker and to safeguard the child's pecuniary profits. The Whitley Commission was precluded from its terms of reference from enquiring into conditions in non-industrial occupations ; otherwise we might have had much useful light thrown on this now obscure subject ; and arguing on the analogy of other countries, we could have expected some urgent recommendations on the lines already adumbrated. The International Labour Office has now supplied us with valuable guidance in the matter, and Article 9 of the Draft Convention concerning the minimum age of admission of children in non-industrial

employment tentatively prescribes ten as the minimum age for Indian children for admission into the "general employment" category, and fourteen for admission into the "special employment" category, consisting of occupations considered dangers to life, health or morals. Liberal exceptions are provided to meet the special conditions prevailing in India; and it must be remembered that this Article was passed by the last International Labour Conference after a vigorous and exhaustive discussion initiated by the representatives of the Government of India; and that the special circumstances in India have thus been fully taken into account by that body. It is therefore to be hoped that the Government of India will ratify this Convention as early as possible as the first item in their new programme to protect "the most helpless section" in India's labour population.

There can be no doubt that the speediest way to ensure the well-being of India's juvenile workers is the adoption by the Government of India of the programme already sketched by the I. L. O. From the outset the International Labour Organisation was expressly required by its constitution to take an active interest in this problem; the Preamble to Part XIII of the Peace Treaty lays down, in the list of objects to be dealt with by the Organisation, "the protection of children and young persons" as well as that of women, and the sixth principle set forth in Article 427 of the Peace Treaty is as follows :

"The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limits on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development."

As early as 1919, during the First Session at Washington, the Conference adopted a first Draft Convention concerning the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment, which was fixed at fourteen years. But it was declared at Washington that "the Conference should

pronounce in favour of the limitation of the age of admission to agricultural, commercial and other occupations." And, in fact, a second Convention was adopted at Genoa in 1920, which also limited to fourteen years the minimum age of admission of children to employment at sea. A third Convention, adopted at Geneva in 1921, prohibited the employment of children of less than fourteen years of age in agricultural employment save outside the hours fixed for school attendance. A fourth Convention, adopted in the same year, prohibited the employment as trimmers and stokers of young persons under eighteen years of age. And finally, we have a fifth Convention adopted at Geneva in 1932 to regulate the admission of children into non-industrial occupations.

It is time that the various organisations in India interested in the welfare of children started a "children's crusade" to bring about the removal of the various industrial evils alluded to in the course of this article. Apart from the fact that the Indian child-worker is a veritable poem of pity, we must remind ourselves that no industrial system under which wealth accumulates and humanity deteriorates can stand a country in good stead in the long run. The fortunes of our civilisation, as Prof. L. P. Jacks has told us, depend in the major degree on the character, ethical and economic, of its industry. Let us agree to wipe out this blotch on the fair name of Indian Industry, and thus give ourselves the assurance that we shall not forget ethical considerations in our pursuit of national wealth.

P. P. PILLAI

SOME ASPECTS OF IBSEN STUDY

"I will let in fresh air," says Lona in *The Pillars of Society* and that appears to be the life endeavour of Ibsen. He felt that the atmosphere of the world was too close and stuffy, and as such he determined to knock out the walls if windows were not possible. It is not that he was the first to have perceived this insistent need of the Soul. Others had felt before him, the first outburst coming in the form of the French Revolution. This taught people to appreciate the beauty and dignity that is in the face of every created being, against the aristocratic values of life. Then came the great European cataclysm of 1848, resulting in a Dano-German War of 1864 and a cultural movement known as *kulterkurf* in Germany dislodging old and worn-out ideas of Christianity. It was at this time that Sören Kierkegard was tilting against the collective or family instinct of man. Darwin was recreating the general outlook on life by his philosophy of Evolution. Himself choked by falsehoods of the world and nurtured on such ideas, Ibsen rightly tried to knock out the walls and fill the lungs of humanity with fresh air.

It is sometimes suggested and on the strength of the author's own statement that his business was only to question and not to answer, *i.e.*, his art was merely destructive and he could not give anything of real value to the world. But it appears that this is not wholly true. He no doubt destroyed with fury and it was in this dirt and dust that one lost sight of the silhouette of his beautiful edifice. There was construction even in the very method of destruction. Science may heighten the pleasures of our physical life, but it cannot give peace and happiness to the soul. For it something else is necessary and that is Love. Ibsen again and again suggested, which none else

had done with equal emphasis, that Love is not only the panacea for the ills of life, but the only lever to raise you up to your godly height. A storm-tossed despairing man may have his haven in love; a wicked man may have his dross transformed into gold by love. Peer Gynt having led the wildest form of life thought he was lost for ever, and when he came back at last staggering into the presence of Solveig, he asked her in his desperation where he was. She says, "In my faith, in my hope, and in my love." Her life was made as beautiful as a song in his expectation and he found eternal peace in her lap. A fallen creature like Krogstad becomes noble as soon as he wins the hand of Mrs. Linden and out of sheer charity he returns the forged document to Nora with which he had so much persecuted her. Johan wins Dina and returns the letters to Bernick with which he could make a hell of his life. Stensgard returns the forged bill to Chamberlain Brastsberg in the hope of getting Thora. Ibsen thus not only definitely and positively propounded this theory of the ennobling and vitalising power of love, he also unhesitatingly showed that want of love or imperfect love was the real source of tragedy in life. Helmer intensely suffered, because he had never loved Nora truly, he had never given his whole to her. John Gabriel Borkman became a wreck of life, because he had sacrificed true love of Ella and married her sister Gunhild for position and power. Hedda Gabler, in spite of all her grace and fascination, could not love truly and she perished in her own hands. Ibsen penetrated deeper. Some sceptic might have risen and cried—Is the love of a woman essential? Men may love beauty in another form, say Nature or Art, and will not that suffice? Ibsen unequivocally said 'No' in his last play *When We Dead Awaken*. Professor Rubek got a model of his choice in Irene and he sculptured a figure in her likeness calling it Resurrection. This Irene had stood before him in all her young naked loveliness. He had gazed upon her and glorified her in his art.

But when the work was finished, he simply said, "Well now, Irene, I thank you from my heart. This has been a priceless *episode* for me." The girl at once left him. That piece of sculpture made him famous throughout the world. But when he attempted another with different other models, he failed hopelessly. The life in him was gone. He became dead to all intents and purposes. He married but to no use. In one of his wanderings, he met Irene again, the ghost of her former self, one who had stood naked, for show, on hundreds of platforms. But the meeting brings life into them again. She had been seeking him and he her, though unconsciously. She accuses him of an indifference worthy of an *artist*, but unworthy of a *man*. She says she gave him her "Young, living soul" and that left her empty within. She complains "when I had served you with my soul and with my body, when the statue stood there finished—then I laid at your feet the most precious sacrifice of all—by effacing myself for all time." "And you, the artist," she continues, "had so lightly and carelessly taken a warm-blooded body, a young human life and worn the soul out of it, because you needed it for a work of art. I hate the artist and in you most of all. When I unclothed myself and stood for you, then I hated you, because you could stand there so unmoved, or at any rate, so intolerably self-controlled. And because you were an artist and artist only and not a man! We two let slip all that life and its beauty." Prof. Rubek says that he indeed forfeited *life* and he saw it clearly when he awoke again in the loving presence of Irene. Art or Nature may be good, but, the "love that belongs to the life of Earth—the beautiful and miraculous life of Earth, the inscrutable life of Earth," that is indispensable for life. And Woman, embodiment as she is of all the grace and sweetness that is in creation, is the fittest object of love for man. Hence the playwright's repeated attempts to adjust the relationship between Man and Woman.

Comilla Collet, a frail unhappy-girl, had noticed the festering condition of love and she had raised a meek voice of protest in her *The Sheriff's Daughters*. Bjoernson took up the subject and brought it to the forefront by demanding the same moral standard for women as for men. Ibsen was awfully pained and he began operating upon society with the unfeeling but steady hand of a skilled surgeon. He tore off the crust of lie that had settled upon life and exposed the rotting wound of humanity. The world was convulsed and heaped execrations upon him. Ibsen established in Nora that a woman was not a doll, a squirrel, a lark,—she was a human being, first of all, then a wife and a mother. Helmer could not keep her, for he could not give her freedom, the birth-right of every human being, and she left him waiting with gaping eagerness for 'the miracle of miracles.' In *Ghosts*, Mrs. Alving is made to live a life of shame in legal marriage for the sake of respectability, but this show of hollow respectability ends in her complete spiritual ruin. In these Ibsen clearly demonstrated that shows and appearances lead but to the paralysis of the soul which is the real thing. Love to endure and to glorify must be based on the solid rock of truth and freedom, and then alone life can have its bliss. In *The Lady from the Sea*, Ellida although married to Doctor Wangel and having two daughters, still longed and yearned for a stranger from the sea. The stranger came and offered to take her away and so long the doctor tried to prevent her from leaving him she showed her determination to get away. But when he gave her right to choose and with responsibility, she at once became his, heart and soul, and dismissed the stranger for ever. When Wangel asked what caused the transformation in her, she replied, "Oh, do you not understand that the transformation came—that it had to come—when I could choose in freedom." If freedom is essential in love, truth is not less so. Mutual confession and absolution and absolute frankness are the only solid rock on which the edifice of true marriage can

be reared. Ibsen therefore very cleverly hints that couples like Mrs. Linden and Krogstad, Mrs. Sorby and Werle are alone expected to have happy conjugal lives. Hialmer and Gina are made "to help each other" and bear the sorrows of life together after Hialmer had known everything about Gina's past and after Gina had given him freedom to leave her if he chose.

Ibsen's principle of love is such as will hold good in all times and climes, but the details will be hardly understood by Indian women who rarely have any 'past.' But even among them, who would not like to be a Nora to shake off a doll's life and become a human being?

Having established for once that love can flourish only on freedom and truth, he goes on to prove its infinite power of transfiguration and sacrifice. Rebecca West, in *Rosmersholm*, a scheming girl holding advanced views comes to Rosmer, a clergyman of a very high and ancient family to win him over to her own side, so that her cause might get an unbounded impetus. She comes and falls in love with him who was already devoted to his wife Beata. West makes Beata to believe that her husband loves her. Beata with a view to make her husband happy throws herself into a stream and leaves the way free for him. Rosmer knew nothing about the plot and after her death which was supposed to be accidental realised that he had actually loved West. When later on, it came to light that West was the real cause of the death of Beata, Rosmer could not possibly marry her; but life without her seemed empty. He proposes to throw himself also into the stream. West transfigured by his truthfulness and devotion forgot her cause, forgot herself; both went and perished, arm in arm, together.

Religions may look askance at all such relationships, but Ibsen did not care a straw for them. He knows they are based on creeds and shams. He wants truth to invest life with beauty and happiness. These legal or religious marriages do

not mean anything, they are only temporary states, unless they have something better than paper parchments to sustain them. Nora leaves her wedded husband in the teeth of all moral homilies. Mrs. Alving is prepared to marry her son to his half-sister Regina. Ellida defies her husband and openly yearned to meet her lover, a stranger from the sea. Rebecca truly loves the married Rosmer. Prof. Rubek even hates the name of his wife Maia and proposes to live happily and beautifully with his model Irene. To crown all, Erhart takes away two girls with him, Mrs. Fanny Wilton and Miss Frida Foldal and begins life with them. When Fanny was asked if she acted wisely in taking that girl Frida with her, she calmly and considerately replies—"Men are so unstable, Mrs. Borkman. And women too. When Erhart is done with me—and I with him—then it will be well for us both that he, poor fellow, should have some one to fall back upon." When asked again what she would do herself, she said "Oh I shall know what to do, I assure you."

From all these it is increasingly clear what Ibsen's conception of love and marriage was and what amount of truth and freedom he wanted in order to make life happy and beautiful. Naturally he shocked the old world and he was persecuted and cursed, but such has been the fate of prophets.

Shaw refers in *The Philanderer* to an Ibsen club of which 'womanly women' could not be members. Others also might suppose that Ibsen's women with so much of rebelliousness in them could be anything but sweet or graceful. But Ibsen depicts all women to be deep-rooted in the Eve who could coax, cajol and flirt, and at the same time a New Woman, sick of the veil of soul-killing conventions and longing furiously to emerge a human being, pure, loving and sublime. Ibsen was convinced that this man-made world was rotten. He was out to recreate the world with the help of Super-Woman, as Shaw subsequently wanted to do it

with the help of Super-Man. He felt choked in the society "which is not a human society," as he said, "but a society of males." He wanted to make it human and healthy. He wanted to let in fresh air.

It is not only his interpretation of life that is original and fresh, but the method of the presentation of the theme is equally unique. Apart from the high and unbroken seriousness that informs even his comic characters like old Hialmer, apart from the dire grimness of situations and the lightning revelations of life that have replaced the ordinary method of arousing fear by blood-shed, apart even from suspense and irony which are abundantly in evidence in his plays, it is the method of start which is Ibsen's own. Shaw said that it was the element of discussion which was his original contribution to literature. But it is not discussion that constitutes the real beauty of his dramas. Others have suggested that it was he who introduced stark realism into art. But 'realism' had long long ago been adumbrated in England by Lillo and Moore. So it is neither discussion nor realism which form the distinguishing feature of his art, it is the start which imparts to it the dignity and intensity unknown before. Ibsen begins at such a point of the life of an individual or individuals that the event shoots up to the goal without the slightest digression or diversion of any kind. His manner is not of exposition as is common with all the playwrights of the world, but his is of retrospection, characters unfolding their stories, inevitably like so many agonised confessions, as they are driven headlong towards their end. As a matter of fact, his prose dramas are genuine lyrical poems with ideas compact, emotions piling upon emotions, the past pushing upon the present, the present pointing towards the future. His works present a magical blend of the imaginative and the realistic, the lyrical and the dramatic. And it is this which has made his art a thing of eternal beauty. It is never flashy, it is always convincing. Starting

at a crucial point, the characters are swung in the ring of climax, till a new life and a new world are revealed to them. But this revelation does not come from without, as a sort of miracle, it ever comes from within, and hence it is so convincing.

Even in the little details, Ibsen never strains our credulity. In *The Wild Duck*, little Hedvig is persuaded to take hold of the pistol to shoot the duck with and it is this which provides her with an easy means to commit suicide immediately after. Hedda wanted to burn the manuscripts, and for which she herself had got the fire trimmed up. The Indian Girl was to sail and the people were heard hauling it out to sea. Of course, now and then, we feel a little monotonous sameness in the method of bringing about the *denouement*, i.e., by bringing in some disruptive element as Krogstad in *A Doll's House*, Young Werle in *The Wild Duck*, Rebecca in *Rosmersholm*, Ella in *John Gabriel Borkman*. Besides, whenever any documentary evidence is necessary as a proof of guilt, it is ready either in the form of a letter or a bill, although we could never have an idea of its existence. Nevertheless, his art is beautiful, not merely lyrical in its intensity and dignity, it is crushingly convincing. It is splendid not only in its larger strokes, it is perfect in the little details.

With all his profound and almost uncanny comprehension of the veracities of life, he was not blind, as some have pointed out, to all that is picturesque and lovely in nature. But these, in his works, do not seem to have an independent existence of their own, they are rather vitally bound up with human life, now accentuating, now illuminating some depth of our desires and passions. Helpless Oswald dies with the beautiful dawn peeping into his room and he himself crying "The Sun, the sun"—a picture which not only symbolises the natural yearnings of the young body for the pleasures of the world, but also intensifies the tragedy, by contrast, of

the day breaking and a life passing out. Engstrand comes into the room dripping with rain, for to him it is 'God's rain,' and this is not only emblematic of the perfectly true life which was his, highly objectionable though in the eyes of the world, but intensely soothing and refreshing in its effect. Bernick stands in a dark room with his mind also steeped in darkness, and all of a sudden, the blinds of the door and the windows go up revealing the street flooded with illumination. He starts back with horror, as if he had been in accord with that darkness, shuddering at the very light of truth. Rubek and Irene perish in the glaciers of the snow-clad mountains among the clouds with thunders pealing and storm-gusts hurtling, for they were too late to attain to the summit of life that shines in the sunrise. Instances may be multiplied to show that Ibsen had a keen eye for the picturesque, but he conceived them so intensely that they no more appeared as frills, they became symbolical in a high degree. He had equally a keen ear for music, but it traversed the 'sensual ear' to appeal to 'the spirit ditties of no tone.' Nora was confronted with a question of life and death; she was desperately struggling, and there were the sweet enchanting bars of Tarentella being played, luring her, keeping her up, now in fear, now in hope of the adoration of her husband. The overstrung and morbid Borkman finds solace in music and to him a piece of metal sings 'only to come up in the light of day and serve mankind.' If the heard melodies gave him solace, those unheard broke to pieces the heart of Miss Ella.

.. Thus it appears that Ibsen was searching for truth and beauty everywhere, in the deeps of life, as well as in the externals of Nature. If he destroyed with the foresight and fearlessness of a prophet, he as well created with the sublime imagination of a poet. If he was grim and relentless in his purpose, his heart leapt up with joy at all that was picturesque and musical in Nature. Though looking at dolls in his tray

always placed on his writing table, he saw that life was not drollery, human beings were not dolls. With infinite fondness for little children, he valued everything that was noble and dignified in character. He did not merely indulge in artistic vacuities, he gave to humanity love to sustain them and to uplift them. Love was to him powerful as truth, irresistible as beauty, delicate as a flower, old as the stars, young as the dawn and sweet as music. It was above politics, above religion. It was life itself, it was Providence. Surely he let in fresh air.

B. K. SINHA

SOCIAL LIFE IN JAINA LITERATURE

PART II

Marriage ; Polygamy

After the completion of education and when he was of age, a prince was given separate lodgings and was married. The marriage was of course a very grand affair in which large numbers of presents were given to the bride and the bridegroom. From all the accounts it appears that polygamy was common. Kṣatriya princes are always described as marrying a number of wives on the same day.¹ A householder of Rājagrha named Mahāsayaḡa had thirteen wives ; when he took from Mahāvīra the vows of a householder, he limited himself to these thirteen wives only.² Some stories are told incidental to marriage. A merchant of the city of Campā had a pretty daughter named Sukumārikā. In the same city lived another merchant named Jinadatta who once while passing by saw Sukumārikā playing on the roof of her house ; he was so struck with her beauty that he called on Sukumārikā's father and prayed for her hands in marriage with his son Sāgara. Her father said that she being her only daughter from whom he could not bear to be separated even for a moment, he could agree to the proposal only if Sāgara would become his "son-in-law living in the house." Jinadatta returned home and told Sāgara everything and the latter kept quiet. Then on an auspicious day Jinadatta's party went to the house of the girl and Sāgara was married to her. To Sāgara the touch of his bride seemed sharp like the edge of a razor or sword, etc. When the groom's party left after the nuptial feast and Sāgara entered the bridal

¹ Cf. *Jñāta*, p. 39A.

² *Upās.*, viii. 233, 235.

chamber and lay down on the couch, the touch of the bride seemed to him sharp as before ; after a while as she fell asleep, Sāgara went and lay down on another bed but soon after she awoke and joined him on his bed, and he again felt her stinging touch. When she fell asleep again he opened the doors of the chamber and ran for his own house " like one released from the cultches of Death." Next morning as the bride's mother asked the servants to take mouth-toilet to the bride and groom, they found Sukumārikā seated alone in the chamber in a pensive mood. On questioning her the servants learnt that Sāgara had left while she was asleep and they reported the matter to her father who went in wrath to Jinadatta's house and demanded if it was fair and proper for Sāgara to have left his bride in that manner. Jinadatta went into the house, questioned his son, and received the reply that Sāgara would prefer death to going back. The girl's father thereupon returned home ashamed and comforted Sukumārikā by promising to find a husband for her who would love her. Some time after he saw a wretched beggar and with the help of his servants tempted the beggar into the house with promises of a meal, bathed and decked him out and married him to Sukumārikā, but the beggar also felt her sharp touch and ran away. When her father was informed of this he fell into despair and advised her to occupy herself in the kitchen. After some time she met a nun and eventually turned a nun herself.¹

It does not appear to have been the uniform custom for the wedding to take place in the house of the bride, for in the story of king Vaiśramaṇadatta of the town of Rohiḍaga we find that while out on horseback for a ride he happened to catch a glimpse of Devadattā, the beautiful daughter of a householder of the same town named Datta, who was playing with a ball on the roof of her house ; the king was pleased with her good looks and sent messengers to Datta asking for her hand in marriage

¹ *Jñāta*, pp. 200A-204B.

with the prince-regent Puṣyanandi ; the proposal was agreed to and Daṭṭa married his daughter to the prince having taken her with his family-party to the house of the king.¹

As is natural in polygamous society, jealousy was not an uncommon feature in family-life even in high places. King Simhasena of the town of Supraṭiṣṭha had "five hundred" queens of whom Śyāmā was the chief and the king's favourite. The king was so fond of Śyāmā that he neither cared for nor took any notice of the other queens. The mothers of the neglected queens came to learn of the unhappiness of their daughters and plotted among themselves to put queen Śyāmā to death. When queen Śyāmā became aware of the plot she was terribly upset and sat brooding pensively in the wrath-chamber (*kova-ghara*). When the king heard of this he came to Śyāmā and promised that he would see that no harm befell her. He caused to be built a great mansion resembling a mountain-peak outside the town and after the lapse of some time issued invitations to the mothers of the neglected queens who, on coming, were provided with accommodation in the mountain-peak house and were lavishly entertained. After some days the king went with a large number of his men to this house in the middle of the night, shut all its doors, and set fire to it. His mothers-in-law were thus all killed.²

Revatī was the chief among the thirteen wives of Mahāsayaḡa, a householder of Rājagṛha, of whom mention has already been made. Once it so happened that as she lay awake in the middle of the night thinking of household affairs, the thought occurred to her that she was not able to enjoy thoroughly the usual connubial pleasures with her husband owing to her twelve co-wives. She decided to kill them by some means or other and waited for opportunities. In course of time she despatched six of her co-wives by means of weapons and the rest

¹ *Vipāk.*, pp. 92B-96A.

² *Ib.*, pp. 88B, 92B.

by means of poison, appropriated to herself their wealth, and lived in thorough enjoyment.¹

Irregularities in Married Life

Among the various irregularities in marital relations may be mentioned keeping of concubines, illicit intimacy with respectable wives, and visiting other women ;² in some places well-attended and well-attired girls were paraded ;³ and, girls were brought up for immoral purposes.⁴ Br̥haspatidatta, a priest in the employ of king Udayana of Kauśāmbī, used to enter the king's harem at all times in discharge of his priestly functions and in course of time formed an illicit intimacy with queen Padmāvati ; the king surprised the two intimates when on a visit to the queen and discovering the intrigue inflicted capital punishment on the priest.⁵

In the various directions given to the ascetics in the texts in order to warn them against the worries of the world and against the wiles of women, are mentioned incidentally some aspects of married life, viz., the amorous intimacies between husband and wife, their quarrels, and the way in which a woman orders her husband about.⁶

Home Life

A few graphic tales are told giving glimpses of home-life. In Campā lived three Brahman brothers who were wealthy and learned. The three wives of these brothers were of the names of Nāgaśrī, Bhūtaśrī, and Yakṣaśrī. Once as the brothers sat together chatting, they decided that as they had enough means they should enjoy the ease and comforts of life and instead

¹ *Upās.*, viii. 288-289.

² *Ib.*, i. 47.

³ *Ācārāṅga*, II. xi. 16.

⁴ *Upās.*, i. 51.

⁵ *Vipāk.*, pp. 62A-63B.

⁶ *Ācār.*, II. ii. 1.8 ; 3.8-11 ; *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I. iv. 2.

of having their meals separately they should all dine in the house of one of the brothers by turn. Once it was Nāgaśrī's turn to entertain the others and she cooked a curry with much oil and many flavouring ingredients, besides other minor dishes. When she tasted the curry after cooking it, she found that it was bitter, pungent, and uneatable; fearing that her sisters-in-law would ridicule her owing to the failure of the dish, she put it aside and cooked another. After the meal the brothers went about their work and the other two wives returned each to her own home. A few days after, a young monk named Dharmaruci came to Nāgaśrī's house while out on his alms-begging tour; the housewife remembered of the curry she had put aside and gave away the whole of it to the monk who, according to the rules of the Order, showed it to his Superior but the latter, on inspection of it, declared the curry to be uneatable. Dharmaruci thereupon went to a lonely spot to throw away the curry and noticed that some ants died immediately after eating it; he felt remorseful at the prospect of so many ants losing their life and in order to preserve them he ate up all the curry himself and dropped down dead. When he did not return for long, a search for him was instituted by his Superior and when the monk's corpse was found out, the Superior explained the cause of his death. When the people heard of the matter they blamed Nāgaśrī for her improper alms and when the talk reached the ears of the Brahman brothers, they beat Nāgaśrī and turned her out of the house, and she wandered about in the streets in utter destitution.¹

A rich merchant of Rājagrha had four sons and their wives. It occurred once to the merchant that in order to find out who among his daughters-in-law would be able to look after his family and wealth after his death he should test them. Therefore he summoned his kinsmen one day and in their presence handed to each of the daughters-in-law five grains of *śālī* rice

¹ *Jñātā*, pp. 196A-199A.

which he asked them to keep and return to him when asked. The first of the daughters-in-law thought that there was plenty of rice in the house from which she would be able to return his trust and so she threw away the grains ; the second one husked the grains and ate them up, the third wrapped them up and put them by carefully, thinking there must be some reason for his trust ; but the fourth one prepared a plot of land, sowed the grains, reaped a crop, and repeated this process for four years at the end of which she had a big harvest. After four years the merchant asked for the return of his trust and pleased with the youngest wife appointed her to manage his household.¹

Courtesans and Eunuchs

The texts mention some highly accomplished courtesans and they are described as perfect in beauty, versed in the seventy-two arts, endowed with the sixty-four qualities of a courtesan, giving to enjoyment in the twenty-nine ways, excelling in the twenty-one erotic qualities, skilled in the thirty-two ways of entertaining men,² learned in the eighteen provincial dialects, dressed charmingly like the home of Eros, and skilled in singing and dancing.³ The courtesan Kāmadhvajā of Vāṇijagrāma, it is said, was available for a thousand coins and was granted the umbrella and yak-tail as the mark of royal favour ; she used to drive about in a *kañṇi*-chariot and was at the head of "many thousands" of courtesans.

Some stories are narrated in connection with courtesans. Ujjhitaka, the son of a merchant, was intimate with Kāmadhvajā but as queen Śrī was suffering from a disease, king Mitra of Vāṇijagrāma turned Ujjhitaka out of the courtesan's house and kept her for himself. Ujjhitaka pined for her and succeeded after some time in visiting her in secret ; while on a visit to

¹ *Jñātā*, pp. 115A-118B.

² These numerical details, says the commentary, are to be understood as set out in works on Erotics.

³ *Vīpāk.*, pp. 21A-22B.

the courtesan the king once caught the two together and ordered Ujjhitaka to be put to death.¹ Under nearly the same circumstances Śakaṭa, the son of a merchant of Sāhañjani, offended the minister Suṣena in respect of the courtesan Sudarśanā; Suṣena reported the matter to king Mahācandra who asked him to punish Śakaṭa in any manner he chose and Śakata was put to death.² In the city of Indrapura lived another famous courtesan named Prthiviśrī who had captured by her art and charms many wealthy men of the city.³ Mention has already been made of the courtesan Devadattā of Campā. We come across also a eunuch named Priyasena of the city of Indrapura who was brought up by his parents to carry on the profession of satisfying the carnal desires of men.⁴

Clubs ; Wine-drinking ; Meat-eating

The house of a courtesan was used as the meeting place of young men's clubs (*goṭṭhī*). These clubs are described as having been granted licenses by the king, independent of the control of parents and relatives (of members), given to much dissipation, and as possessing considerable funds;⁵ these clubs had poetic names, for one in the city of Campā was called the "*Lalitā*." Vātsyāyana also describes a *goṭṭhī* as having its meeting place in the house of a courtesan (*Kāmasūtra*, I. iv. 8).

Drinking wine and other intoxicants and eating meat, fish, and eggs seem to have been very common in society.⁶ Of intoxicating drinks, six varieties are named, *viz.*, *surā*, *madhu*,

¹ *Vipak.*, pp. 33B-35B.

² *Ib.*, pp. 57A-58A.

³ *Ib.*, p. 100B.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 36-37A.

⁵ *Jñātā*, p. 205B—"attha naṃ Campāe Lalitā nāma goṭṭhī parivasati, naraṃ vi-diṇṇa-viyārā amma-pū-niyaya-nippivāsā vesa-vihāra-kayaṇikeyā nāṇāvīha-aviṇaya-ppahāṇā aḍḍhā..."

⁶ Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 178.

prasannā, *madya*, *śīdhu*, and *maireyaka*.¹ The householder Ānanda, on taking the vows, limited himself to only one kind of liquor, *viz.*, one made from the gum resin of the Olibanum tree.² Not only men but women also were addicted to drinking. When Mahāsayaga, the householder of Rājagṛha was practising penances in his sanctum, his wife Revatī who was a thoroughly vicious woman, came to him in a state of intoxication with reeling steps and dishevelled hair, entirely divested of her upper garment, and attempted to divert his mind by tempting him with an exhibition of her physical charms. She was also in the habit of taking meat with wine and ordered her servants to kill two bulls everyday out of the herds belonging to her ancestral property, even after her husband had taken the vows.³ Utpalā, wife of a hunter named Bhīma, had the craving of eating with wine the meat of various limbs of cattle which her husband helped to satisfy by going at midnight to a cattle-shed of the town and cutting off various limbs of cattle which he gave her.⁴ King Puṣyanandi of Rohiḍaga was devoted to his mother, the dowager-queen Śrī, whom he used to shampoo and bathe with his own hands and himself bathed and took his meal after the dowager-queen had finished her bath and meal. This aroused the extreme jealousy and anger of queen Devadattā, the wife of Puṣyanandi. Once while the dowager-queen was asleep in peace on a secluded bed after drinking wine, queen Devadattā found her alone, went to the kitchen, heated an iron-bar red-hot, seized it with a pair of tongs, and going to her mother-in-law thrust it into her mouth and killed her on the spot. The servants heard the dying-yell, ran to the scene of occurrence, saw

¹ See Hoernle's trans. of *Uvāsag.*, p. 156, p. 323. Kauṭilya describes the methods of preparation of these and other varieties of liquor and lays down that "Liquor shops shall contain many rooms provided with beds and seats kept apart. The drinking room shall contain scents, garlands of flowers, water, and other comfortable things suitable to the varying seasons" (*Artha-Sāstra*, II. xxv). See also *Kāmasūtra of Vātsyayana*, I. iv. 10.

² *Upās.*, i. 39.

³ *Ib.*, viii. 240-254.

⁴ *Vipāk.*, pp. 26B-29A.

queen Devadattā escaping, and reported the whole matter to the king who ordered the execution of the murderer.¹

An egg-dealer named Niṇṇaya of the town of Purimatāla had many servants who collected from the wood in the outskirts of the city, the eggs of many kinds of birds and beasts which were fried, cooked, and sold in shops on the high street.² A cattle-dealer named Chappiya of the town of Chaggalapura had many animals confined in a pen which his servants used to kill and cook and sell on the high street.³ Siria, the kitchen-superintendent of king Mitra of Nandipura, used to prepare many kinds of curry and soup of meat and fish and bring them to the royal table together with many kinds of green vegetables.⁴ Mention is made of five kinds of preparation of meat, fish, etc., viz., frying, roasting, drying, salting, and cooking; meat was also prepared cold-, air-, *jamma*-, and *ghamma*-cooked, or mixed with *kāla* or *heraṅga* or curd or the juice of *āmalaka* or other fruits; five kinds of cooking-processes are mentioned, viz., in flat, round, deep, and frying-pans, and on charcoal; names are given of about twenty kinds of fishing instruments.⁵

How common were liquor-drinking and meat-eating we can realise from the directions given to the ascetics to keep away from feasts, etc., to which many Brahmans, ascetics, and beggars came and in which liquors, fish and meat were served to all; in these feasts or in private houses it was not uncommon for ascetics to get intoxicated and then to be tempted to sensuality by women or eunuchs.⁶

Popular Festivals; Music and Dancing

.. The chief popular festival was one held in honour of Indra; whenever there was a popular uproar we find people enquiring

¹ *Vipak.*, pp. 96A-99A.

² *Ib.*, pp. 42A-43A.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 55B-56A.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 83A-84A.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 27A, 33B 43A and 35.

⁶ *Ācār.*, II, i- -3.2; 4.1; 4.4.

if a festival of Indra was coming out. Public entertainments were also provided by story-tellers, pantomimes, songs, dances, dramatic plays, matches, boxing, acrobatic feats, etc., where men, women and children of all classes assembled, dressed in fine clothes, and made merry.¹ In the accounts of the luxurious living of the rich, we rarely miss the detail of their being surrounded by dancing girls who danced and sung to the notes of ringing drums placed on their head. There was entertainment-halls where performances were given by boys and girls of singing and dancing. Many kinds of drums, cymbals and stringed instruments were in use.² Dancing was in mass where the dancers exhibited various forms of salutation and imitated the shape of many kinds of animals, creepers and flowers. They grouped themselves in the form of letters of the alphabet, imitated the movements of waves, reproduced the form of flowers, ornaments, etc., and depicted natural phenomena such as sunrise, sunset, moonrise, moonset, and also the movements of other stars and planets. They arranged themselves in various ways, sometimes contracting sometimes expanding, rising and falling, both slow and fast; and, they also imitated the movements of animals and the shapes of eggs and various other objects.³

Painting and Sculpture

The art of painting seems to have been considerably developed and also the art of portrait-making. The story is told of a prince named Malladatta, son of the king of Mithilā, who ordered his servants to make an art-gallery (*citta-sabhā*), in his pleasure-garden, depicting feminine charms. Artists were called and they started work; it occurred to one of the painters that just as he could paint an animal by seeing only

¹ *Ācār.* I. viii. 1.8; II. xi. 18.

² See Barnett's trans. of *Antagaḍa*, p. 44, n. 2.

³ *Sthānāṅga*, p. 393A (*Āgam. Sam*); *Rājapraśnīya*, 24; *Jivabhigama*, p. 240B (A.S.); *Anuyogaśāstra*, p. 227 (A.S.).

a part of its body so he should try to paint a likeness of the princess Mallī, the elder sister of Malladatta, who was a celebrated beauty and whose big-toes only the artist had seen. Acting accordingly he painted a full-size likeness of the princess. When the gallery was completed the prince came to inspect it accompanied by his foster-nurse. Going round he came upon his sister's portrait and so exact was the likeness that he was abashed and immediately withdrew. The nurse enquired what the matter was and the prince complained that his sister who was his senior should not have come to his pleasure-haunts and the old nurse assured him that it was not she but only her portrait.¹ Owing to her great beauty a sharp rivalry sprang up among the neighbouring princes for Mallī's hand in marriage and a battle was fought between her suitors on one side and her father who had refused to give her to any one of them. Her father was defeated and his city was besieged. Mallī caused to be made a golden image of herself with a hole in its head which she stopped with a lotus. She put the image in an inner chamber in the *aśoka* garden of the palace, lying in a reclining position on a jewelled bed, and every day she used to open the hole in the head, put a morsel of food inside it, and stoppered it with a lotus. After sometime she persuaded her father to admit the besieging princes into the city and surrender her to them. When the princes came, they were taken to the garden where they had a view of the golden image of Mallī behind a screen; they took the image to be Mallī herself and overpowered by her charms remained long gazing at it. Then Mallī came there and removed the lotus-stopper whereupon a horrid stench sickened the princes, and addressing the princes Mallī said, "If a golden image becomes so disagreeable because of the putrefaction of a morsel of food put into it daily, then how much more repulsive must the human body be which is full of saliva, vomit, bile, fæces, etc."²

¹ *Jñātā*, pp. 142A, 143A.

² *Ib.*, pp. 126B-147B.

A minister named Subuddhi of king Jitaśatru once made a statement to the latter that pure matter can be changed into impure matter and *vice versa*, and in demonstration of the truth of his statement he passed some pitchers of water through a process of repeated filtration. This water was drawn from a moat outside the city and was foul and dirty, but after the filtration and having been scented, it was served on the royal table.¹ Mention is found of toilet-saloons where barbers catered to the toilet requirements of customers ; these saloons were called *alamkāriya-sabhā*.² The story is told of Citta, the toileter to king Śrīdāma of Mathurā who was instigated by prince Nandiśena to cut the king's throat while shaving him. Nandiśena who was anxious to seize his father's throne, promised half of the kingdom to the toileter if the plot succeeded, but the latter was frightened and divulged the plot to the king.³

A rich jeweller (*maṇiyāra-setṭhi*) of Rājagṛha named Nanda dug with the king's permission a great tank outside the city and, on four sides of the tank, he set out a charming woodland. On the south bank of the tank he set up a great dining-hall (*mahā-ṇasa-sālā*) where many paid cooks used to prepare meals which were distributed to Brahmans, mendicants, guests, and the poor ; on the east bank he set up a great art gallery (*citta-sabhā*) where specimens in various colours of woodwork, clothwork, painting, drawing, threading, sculpture, and craftsmanship were exhibited ; many seats and couches were placed there and many paid actors performed there ; the citizens of Rājagṛha came there and seated on those seats and couches, saw, heard, and enjoyed the performance of actors. On the north bank he set up a great toilet-saloon (*alamkāriya-sabhā*) where many paid toileters performed toilet-work for many poor people and mendicants ; on the west bank he set up a great hospital (*tegicchiya-sālā*) where many paid and skilful physicians treated many diseased and destitute

¹ *Jñātā*, pp. 173B-176A.

² *Ib.*, p. 88A ; *yasyām nāpitādibhiḥ śarīrasatkāro vidhīyate* (Comm.).

³ *Vipāk.*, pp. 70A-71A.

people, and many paid nurses served them with medicine and diet.¹ The story may have no foundation in fact but the existence of such institutions of charity for the benefit of the poor may be illustrated by it.

Medicines, Diseases and their Treatment

Of the science of medicine, we have the following details. It was divided into eight branches, *viz.*, care of the young, surgery, extrodution of foreign matter from the body, treatment of the body, antidote of poisons, witchcraft, alchemy, and a aphrodisiasis.² Treatment was by rubbing with oil, rubbing with powder, oil-drinks, vomiting, purging, sprinkling, branding, medicated baths, oil-enema, head-bath, purging by drugs, opening veins, scraping, cutting, bathing the head with oils, as also by the administration of chemicals, barks, roots, bulbs, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, bitters, pills, drugs, and mixtures.³ Meat was largely prescribed as diet by physicians.⁴ "Sixteen fearful diseases" were commonly prevalent, *viz.*, asthma, cough, fever, inflammation, intestinal colic, fistula, piles, indigestion, optic and cerebral neuralgia, loss of appetite, pain in the eye, pain in the ear, itches, dropsy, and leprosy; in the case of women, *yonisūla* is always added to this list.

Trade and Commerce

Reference to trade is frequent and many instances are found of maritime commerce, disaster at sea, merchandise, river-ports,

¹ *Jñātā*, pp. 178B-180A; cf. the Girnar Inscription of Aśoka: "*Dva cikicchā katā, manusa-cikicchā ca pasucikicchā ca osuḍhāni ca yāni manusopagāni ca paśo (pa) gāni ca yata yata nāsti.savrata hārāpitāni ca ropāpitāni ca*"—"Twokinds of treatment have been provided for, *viz.*, treatment for man and that for animals; wherever medicinal herbs for the treatment of man and animal were not available, they have been caused to be taken and planted." Fa-hsien saw such hospices in Pāṭaliputra and Hiuen-Tsiang saw them in the kingdom of Kānyakubja.

² *Vipāk.*, p. 75A.

³ *Ib.*, p. 14.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 75.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 18.

etc.¹ Stamped coins were known ;² rings and seals were inscribed with the owner's name ;³ use of forged documents, receiving stolen property, engaging the service of thieves, smuggling of contraband articles, use of false weights and measures, adulteration of food-stuffs, and houses for gambling and drinking are mentioned.⁴

The Police; Torturing of Prisoners

The police was often high-handed; when a merchant died at sea it was not uncommon for his minor children to be driven out from his house and his property looted by those in power.⁵ Crime was common and justice was severe. Imprisonment in jails of criminals was attended with many rigours ; from one story we learn that a merchant who was put into prison, used to be supplied with food from his home which a fellow-prisoner of his wanted to share and as the merchant refused, the other prisoner suffered from hunger and thirst;⁶ it would seem that prisoners were generally expected to shift for themselves in the matter of meals.⁷ The merchant just referred to procured his release from prison by paying a fine with his own money and that of his relations. The story of Duryodhana, the jail-keeper (*cāragapāla*) of the city of Simhapura is interesting as it narrates the ways in which prisoners were tortured.⁸ Duryodhana used to pour hot liquids or animal's urine down the throat of prisoners after felling them on the ground and opening their

¹ *Vipāk.*, pp. 32A, 57A ; *Jñāta*, pp. 132 ff. 227 ff.

² *Uttar.*, xx. 42.

³ *Upās.*, i. 31 ; vi. 164.

⁴ *Vipāk.*, p. 33B.

⁵ *Vipāk.*, pp. 32B, 57A.

⁶ *Jñātā.*, pp. 86B-87A.

⁷ Hiuen Tsiang's observation is interesting in connection with prisoners : " when the crime is brought to light the offender is imprisoned for life ; he does not suffer any corporal punishment, but alive and dead he is not treated as a member of the community." (Watters, Vol. I, p. 172).

⁸ *Vipāk.*, pp. 65B-69A ; cf. *Kaṭṭiya*, IV, viii.

mouth with an iron rod ; he placed blocks of stone on their chest, put a rod on the stone, and made others work the rod up and down ; he let them down head downward into wells; he cut their skin and applied alkaline oil to it; he drove nails into the joints of the body; he drove pins into their nails and then made them scratch the ground; he cut their skin, wrapped them up with grass and wet skin, put them out in the sun, and when dry, pulled the grass or the hide off.

Crimes and Modes of Punishment

Impalement was a common form of punishment.¹ In scenes of execution we find the prisoner being led through the streets, surrounded by soldiers, bound over with his head bent down, his ears and nose cut off, his body smeared with oil, his hands tied to his waist, a garland of red flowers round his neck, his body rubbed over with powder, and small bits of flesh were torn off from his body.² An announcement of the details of the crime was made on every cross-road that the convict passed through and he was also flogged there.³ A realistic touch was sometimes given to the mode of punishment, for we find it described that an adulterer was made to embrace a red-hot female figure made of iron ;⁴ a plotter who had attempted to take the life of the king and seize the throne was made to sit on a red-hot iron throne, hot liquids were poured on him as coronation bath and he was made to put on a crown, necklace and other marks of royalty, all heated and blazing.⁵

Theft, robbery, purse-cutting, and burglary were perhaps the commonest offences. Robbers' bands and robbers' villages were very well known⁶ and the depredation of robbers sometimes became so severe that inhabitants of the countryside had to

¹ *Vipak.*, p. 36A.

² *Ib.*, pp. 23B-25A.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 40B-41B.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 58B.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 65A : Cf. *Arthasāstra*, IV, viii.

⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 38A-40A ; *Jñātā*, pp. 226A ff.

join in a body and seek the king's protection.¹ Statecraft consisted of conciliation with, punishment of, causing division among, and bribing, the enemy. King Mahabbala of Purimatala once sent an expedition against the robber chief Abhagnasena but the king's forces were defeated and destroyed by the latter. On the advice of his Officer of Police (*damḍa*), the king attempted other means with a view to bring his adversary under his power. He sent costly presents to the robber chief as also to his counsellors and thereby secured their confidence. After some time the king built in his city a house resembling a mountain-peak and announced a ten days' festival ; he sent messengers to the robber chief inviting him to the festival and enquiring whether gifts should be brought to him or he could like to come himself. The robber chief was deceived by this courtesy and came to the city to join in the festivities ; he was lodged in the mountain-peak house and was entertained lavishly for some days ; after the chief's suspicions were allayed by this display of hospitality, the king one day ordered the doors of the city to be closed and the chief to be seized alive and brought before him. When this was done the king ordered the chief to be publicly flogged and then put to death.² In this literature we generally find the rulers of the people to be keen in doing justice when it is sought but there is an account of a tyrant who squeezed money out of his subjects by various levies and impositions and was thoroughly insincere in his dealings with the people.³

Popular Superstitions

The people were great believers in astrology, charms, prognostication, magic, witchcraft, and black art, and there were many people who made their living by practising these arts.⁴

AMULYACHANDRA SEN

¹ *Vipāḷa*, pp. 46B-47B.

² *Ib.*, pp. 38A-41B, 47B-53A.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 11A-12A.

⁴ *Sūt.*, II. II., 27, 62 ; *Uttar.* xvii. 18.

THE REALITY OF OXFORD

I. The old order changeth.....

I was standing in the doorway of Elliston's Café looking for the hundredth time at the crowd of undergraduates there. They were drinking coffee, eating biscuits, smoking: in the background the radio-gramophone crooned out the latest dance tune—"Underneath the arches I dream my dreams away." Hearties were there in abundance: healthy young men full of spirits, Rugger players, ice skaters, and tennis blues. Just by the central pillar sat a blonde-haired Swedish girl, one of the lovely "horde of Vikings" who come from Scandinavia to wreak havoc in the hearts of the susceptible. A yellow Sikh turban showed at one side, and the vivid green of a saree. In one corner lounged some precious young men, a Rupert Brooke lock falling over one eye, an exotic orange tie, a still more exotic blue shirt. Three young men by the window were arguing fiercely—coffee forgotten. Some "undergraduates" were sitting in groups together, or with the men, many attractive and very different from the legendary "blue-stockings" of pre-War days who called forth the gibes of the University. Women at Oxford still suffer from those who cling to the idea that worsted stockings, pincenez, shapeless dresses combined with a bad figure and a worse complexion are the hall-marks of the women students.

I thought of the many "last day of term" episodes that had taken place there: the riot of excitement at finishing work that often found expression in singing with the music or beating time with a combination of tea-cups and teaspoons, or throwing lump sugar at neighbouring tables.

I thought of the League of Nations Union lunches—more sober affairs—when students gather to eat, talk, and hear an address afterwards.

Through the window was the Martyrs' Memorial. Beyond that were the grey stone buildings of Balliol. At one side ran Broad Street, with its streams of traffic. A solitary undergraduate was walking across the road, carelessly dressed, bareheaded, wearing the popular rough brown tweed coat with the leather elbow patches. In one hand dangled a gown, insignia of University membership. The old grey flannel "bags" and coloured sweater were in the best (or worst) tradition of the University. Oxford has been dubbed "The home of lost creases."

Yes, I was in Oxford after all—the Oxford of 1932. And I could not help but think that as much history was being made, as many ideas being discussed, round the tables of Elliston's Café as in the lecture rooms of the University.

Oxford is still the city of dreaming spires, but the dreaming spires are no longer its chief pride. They are just a background for far more important things. No one can forget that a few paces from the quiet cloisters of All Souls' College lorry and car and omnibus congest the High Street. If you walk far enough beyond Magdalen Tower, over the bridge and the gardens and the willow-bordered river, you will come to Cowley. This village of hundreds of workpeople, a forest of new houses, schools and cinemas, is where Sir William Morris manufactures his motor cars.

In just the same way, no undergraduate now can forget that he is a unit in the modern world. Three years at Oxford is no longer three years of monastic seclusion for the rich and leisured. I dare say fewer poets of the "twilight in Oxford" variety have been bred in the town these last few years. Everybody knows only too well that a flight from reality is not possible today when the Hunger-Marchers come through on their way to London, and the Air Squadron manoeuvres above the libraries. Oxford, the home of poetasters and lost causes, has altered its ways.

There are still moments when the growing darkness of a winter evening shadows the quadrangle of the "House" and we are suddenly aware of the beauty of it all. But there is work to be done, a career to be planned for most of us : it is all a lovely stage on which we are privileged to stand. Like painted scenery, it will soon be taken away, so that the real background of our lives may show itself.

There are very few who care to lose themselves now in the atmosphere of the Middle Ages and forget the world. They receive moreover scant attention. The energy of present-day Oxford bubbles over into political clubs and finds vocal expression in the study groups. It flocks to hear Lindsay and wrangles with Cole at his Marxist class. I have heard a German Rhodes Scholar arguing on the conception of totality, an American try to convince the class that Marx was a philosopher, and did not come down to real facts, an Englishman attempt to get at the truth behind the theory of value—all in a one-hour class. I have often sat too in the pleasant sitting room of the home of Professor Zimmern—the first Professor of International Relations—with a group of students discussing problems of today. A Pole argues with a German—Madame Zimmern who gathers the circle together is herself a Frenchwoman. Indians talk with Americans, a Chinese butts in, an English girl and an Italian pick up the thread of conversation. It is the custom for a visitor to give a short talk, rather to begin the discussion than to lecture on his own point of view. A Chinese educationalist, a Jugo-Slav, and a Pole are among the latest speakers. Everyone criticises, suggests, tries to understand and appreciate. The informal circle round the fireplace is never still.

I have dealt with this group in more detail than is perhaps warranted by the size of the article because it does show clearly one very marked side of Oxford life that is fortunately developing. Personal contact with professors can give so much more than merely listening to their lectures ; they are

the men who, if they take the trouble to meet their students unofficially, will leave their imprint on the generation passing before them. Jokes about the owlish hibernating Oxford professor and his absent-minded ways have become quite stale with repetition. But it is not in this way that I am complaining. To many of us, the greatest harm seems to be wrought by those quite sane, many brilliant, lecturers who speak like an oracle from their desks to a roomfull of students about whom they know nothing, and will not attempt to know anything. At the most, they are acquainted with a few members of their own particular college. Prof. Zimmern, Mr. Harlow of Rhodes House (to mention two with whom I have come into contact, are typical of a new school of thought that is growing up in the one-time home of exclusiveness.

Oxford—any university—is a community of young people, not a beehive of book students. The Oxford of today which refuses to be lured by the calm of mellow buildings is going to be of far greater use to the future than the scholastically inclined students of the past. When Gandhi fasts in India, when Manchuria is a scene of conflict, when disarmament is having a hard struggle to survive, and the unemployed, reaching alarming proportions, march footsore and hungry into the town—is it any wonder that the “dreaming spires” are of minor importance? The problems facing the world today are so great that there is little time for dreaming even in Oxford.

I do not forget that in the past Oxford sent out many famous men of action. Politicians have always been bred at Balliol. F. E. Smith electrified the Union in the same way as later (only then as Lord Birkenhead) he was to electrify the House of Commons. Lawrence of Arabia used to run for exercise round Jesus Quad. The white marble body of Shelley, unearthly and strangely beautiful, lies in a dim corner of University College. In the latest undergraduate novel “Storm in Oxford,” there is a dedication to the memory

of Percy Bysshe Shelley, who came up to Oxford in '17 and was dismissed for professing atheism only a year later.

But in those (mainly) quieter days of the past, the type of undergraduate was very different from today. The undergraduate with little or no money of his own has entered into the preserves of the rich and fortunate. Quite a considerable number of the men now—even a larger portion of the women (about 75%) who have stiffer competition for entrance—are students only because of State, School, or College scholarships. There is bound to be a change of outlook: a more practical view of education.

Culture is still loved in Oxford for its own sake and is perhaps all the more vital for being subordinated to, or rather combined with, a realisation that a man does not live by sitting over a manuscript or taking a degree. We have seen the funny side of the Oxford accent; even that has lost its glamour. Our love of tradition, which is the very air that Oxford breathes, is no mere following in what has gone before. It is more a determination to use what is good in the old, but only in so far as it is to be useful in constructing the new.

Everywhere here the new and the young is piercing through the old and the dead. I walk on many days down the Turl, past the famous flower shop with its windowful of roses—how many stories of romance could it not tell!—by the end of Market Street where the crates of fruit are unloaded. Through the grey arches of Jesus College shimmers a branch of green leaves. Lorries, cars, and omnibuses rattle up the Hugh; St. Cath's Lane has an electric sign "One Way Street." The stone walls and carven soaring tower of Magdalen still warm into life when a golden shaft of sunlight falls upon them. But underneath Tom Tower, an undergraduate in untidy clothes is reading a newspaper.

TO FAITH

1

Speak to me, Darling of my heart !
Speak, Fairest flower of my youth !
I yearn to hear thy gentle voice,
 Since the dawn of day.

2

I look to the moving Sun,
Fading in the crimson hue of even,
I look to the golden Moon
Bathing the world with her virgin beams,
I listen to the sighing winds
Passing swiftly over the dancing sea,
But still I cannot hear thee,
 Darling of my soul !

3

I hasten over the sandy beach,
In the sorrow of my own soul,
I dive into the snowy mist,
Thickening with the watery spray,
But still I cannot get thee,
 Joy of my soul !

N. N. CHANDRA

EAST AND WEST

Much has been written regarding the action and reaction of Eastern and Western mentalities on each other. It is believed that there is something in the nature of an antithesis between the subjective and immobile Eastern mentality and the objective and active Western mind. Much has been made of the rough-shod trampling on subtle mental states wherever the Western philosophy makes inroads into Asia. In point of fact a much more exact examination of actualities is necessary before the changes that are brought about in Eastern mentality by contact with the West are dubbed 'destructive.' It is inevitable that, when at a stage of evolution a factor enters which makes possible a leap forward, without the intermediate linked stages of progress being present, what is in reality a continuous movement should appear as movement at a tangent. Before the destructive effects of such contact are proved it is imperative to settle whether evolution with the direction which it has at present would not lead the Asiatic mind to very much the same stage that it reaches after contact with Western mentality, although in that case it does so by way of wrench. It has not been shown so far that either cultural or practical mental development is possible except by way of objective knowledge. It has been said that the East has not been able to bear the inroads made by the West. As a proof of the fact that it is an inroad and something to be resisted, it is pointed out that the commonest reaction to such a contact is the feeling of revolt "against European influence." It is however a moot point whether this supposed revolt is merely the irritation caused, as it happens to be in this case, by criticism, albeit indirect. Would it not be almost as just to have dubbed as "revolt" the resistance offered by the early

Nineteenth Century society in Europe to the advent of Science ? Is it not rather by final results that the reaction to such "inroads" should be judged ? The presence of the shock of contact does not necessarily mean the presence of insolubility. A further fact in favour of "the twain shall never meet" theorists has been the neither fish nor fowl variety of mentality which results in the majority of cases where the West has been, so to say, grafted on to the ancient gnarled stem of the East. Awful indeed are these first generations of the New Culture. It is often doubted whether these generations of botched humanity are anything but an excrescence thrown up and soon to be merged with their progeny into the ocean from which they were produced by a wanton and necessarily temporary churning. This is like speculating whether the just hatched chicken which still bears much of the rotundity of the egg and little of the clearly defined form of the full-grown fowl is not likely to step back and become an egg rather than steps formed and do the seemingly impossible by becoming fowl.

MEHAR DALAL

WESTERN INFLUENCE ON THE POETRY OF RABINDRANATH

Foreign influences probably get reduced in profundity and extent in case of men of letters gifted with original genius of the highest order, but Rabindranath Tagore furnishes an interesting study in Western influence. While discussing his poetry the facility with which he writes English, his intimate knowledge of English and other literatures of the West, his personal visits to the West again and again, and the anglicised atmosphere of his home have to be taken into consideration. His grandfather, Dwarkanath Tagore, commonly known as Prince Dwarkanath for his magnificent scale of living, visited England at a time when few of his countrymen undertook a journey across the seas. His elder brother, Satyendranath, was the first Indian Member of the Indian Civil Service. Another brother, Jyotirindranath, was interested in French literature and translated a large number of French works into Bengali. There is a liberal culture in his family and the Tagores are regarded as the leaders in arts, letters and fashions in Bengal.

In his younger days he was styled the "Bengali Shelley." Perhaps it was that he too like Shelley has the same lyric gracefulness and the same romantic idealism. His English education began when he was of a tender age.¹ He was never fond of schools, at least of those which existed in his younger days. More than once he has expressed his resentment against schoolmasters. He had a regular dread for schools and teachers.² Much of his education was done at home but Akshaychandra Choudhury, who was an intimate friend of his

¹ *Reminiscences*, p. 31.

² *Jivan Smriti*, p. 77.

brother Jyotirindra, made him interested in English literature.¹ Choudhury was an excellent reciter in English and used often to declaim to Rabindranath's delight.² At this period Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield" and Dickens's "Old Curiosity Shop" were his favourites.³ A tutor made him to translate the first one.⁴ He translated "Macbeth" under the same pressure.⁵

Akshay Choudhury's profound knowledge of literature was one of the most formative influences on Rabindranath's poetic genius. He makes no secret of his debt to this friend of his elder brother. Akshay gave young Rabindra his company ungrudgingly and Tagore says that he listened to him on many occasions going into a rapturous elucidation of or dissertation on some English poem.⁶ His father took him on a tour in the Himalayas and taught him books of the type of Peter Parley's "Tales."⁷ A reading of the racy translation of St. Pierre's "Paul and Virginia" made him shed tears, so fascinated was he with the story.⁸ Besides Akshay Choudhury, he had another literary friend, Priyanath Sen, who was "an expert navigator of all the seven seas of literature, whose highways and byways, in almost all languages, Indian and foreign" he traversed with ease.⁹ Sen's literary opinions, suggestive criticism and discriminative appreciation were of great value to Rabindranath.

Some of his earliest literary works include translations from Moore, Burns, Byron, Mrs. Opie, Shakespeare, Chappel, Shelley

¹ *Ibid*, p. 89, etc.

² *Ibid*, p. 24.

³ *Ibid*, p. 52, p. 92.

⁴ *Reminiscences*, p. 129.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 111.

⁶ *Jivan Smriti*, p. 90, pp. 129-30.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 64. p. 68.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 82; *Glimpses of Bengal*, p. 86, "When I was a child, illustrations of woodland and sea, in Paul and Virginia, or Robinson Crusoe, would waft me away from the every-day world.

⁹ *Reminiscences*, p. 214.

Tennyson, Arthur O'Shaughnessy, Christina Rossetti, Victor Hugo, Elizabeth Browning, Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, Buchanan and Edwin Arnold.¹ In 1878-79 he wrote a large number of articles on English literature for the "Bharati." He contributed in the same year to the "Bharati" articles on Russian literature, Chatterton, etc. Some stories in blank verse (Gatha) which belong to an earlier period of his life are influenced by Scott's metrical romances in the opinion of an English critic of his poetry.²

He went to England in 1887 for studies at the University of London and attended lectures on English literature at the University College, where he read Browne's "Religio Medici" with Professor Henry Morley, for whom he retained a deep respect.³ He read there also Herbert Spencer's "Data of Ethics."⁴ He enjoyed Morley's reading of "Coriolanus" and "Antony and Cleopatra."⁵ His impressions about English literature and the influence it exerted upon his mind are described in his auto-biography.⁶

"Our restricted life," says Rabindranath, "our narrower field of activity was hedged in with such monotonous formality that tempestuous feelings found no entrance; all was as calm and quiet as could be." So our hearts naturally craved the life-bringing shock of the passionate emotion in English literature. Ours was not the aesthetic enjoyment of literary art, but the jubilant welcome by stagnation of a turbulent wave, even though it should stir up to the surface the slime of the bottom...The spirit of this bacchanalian revelry of Europe found entrance into our demurely well-behaved social world,

¹ Bharati, Vols. I-V.

² Thomson, Rabindranath Tagore; Poet and Dramatist, 1926, p. 29.

³ Thompson, Rabindranath, pp. 19, 33, 1921. Thompson (1926) will mean his later work on Tagore, while Thompson (1921) means his earlier study of Rabindranath.

⁴ Reminiscences, p. 172.

⁵ Thompson, Tagore; Poet and Dramatist, p. 31.

⁶ Reminiscences, pp. 181-87; Jivan Smriti, pp. 129-34. Mr. P. R. Sen in Prabasi (Ashar, 1938, Vol. XXXI, Part I, p. 387) says that Rabindranath's genius received an impetus from English poetry before he left for England. (Western Influence and Bengali literature.)

woke us up, and made us lively. We were 'dazzled by the glow of unfettered life which fell upon our custom-smothered heart, pining for an opportunity to disclose itself.'¹ In his heart "the waves of this excitement kept beating from every side." The aesthetic enjoyment of literature began later when the assimilation of Western literature was more complete and better opportunities were afforded for its real understanding.

Rabindranath steeped himself in English classics and though he has sometimes perpetrated astounding errors in his judgment of English literature he has a great admiration for great English writers. Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has known the poet intimately for years writes, "His own study of the English language has been through the medium of great literature. He has steeped his mind with a poet's pure delight in the English classics. Therefore his refinement in English literary taste has remained sensitive and keen."²

European music impressed him during his first European visit. In his opinion, "European music seems to be intertwined with its material life, so that the texts of its songs may be as various as the life itself." The more he heard and learnt it the more he entered into its spirit and admired it, though he was perfectly convinced of the fundamental difference between Indian and European music.³ He thinks European music to be romantic and says, "Wherever I have been moved by European music I have said to myself: it is romantic, it is translating into melody the evanescence of life."⁴ By romantic he understands "the aspect of variety, of abundance, of the waves on the sea of life,

¹ *Reminiscences*, pp. 181-3.

² Introduction to *Poems from Tagore*, Macmillan, p. XXIV. In the opinion of Dr. James H. Cousins, Tagore's affinities in English literature are with Vaughan, Herbert Crawshaw, A. E. and James Macbeth Bain who are his "spiritual kindred" *Modern Review*, August, 1916.

³ *Glimpses of Bengal*, pp. 135-36.

⁴ *Reminiscences*, p. 191.

of the ever-changing light and shade on their ceaseless undulations." This fondness for Western music has been a characteristic of other members of his family also.¹

The knowledge of European music was helpful to him in the composition of his operatta, "The Genius of Valmiki." Dr. Thompson in his earlier book on Rabindranath regards it as a musical comedy,² while the poet himself speaks of it as "not what Europeans call an opera, but a little drama set to music."³ The play owes its origin to the enraptured recitation of Moore's "Irish Melodies" by Akshay Choudhury. The poems and pictures in a copy of Moore's work which was in the family library combined to conjure up for the poet a dream-picture of old Ireland. He had often felt a longing to hear and learn the real tunes. In England he did hear and learn some of them, but they did not conform to his imaginary conception of old Irish music. This glamour for what is known as the Celtic note appears again and again in his Symbolical plays. Some of the tunes of the songs in this play were adapted from English music.⁴ Dr. Thompson remarks that Rabindranath mingled Western tunes with Indian music and there are traces of English folk-lore.⁵

Akshay Choudhury's account of the forgeries of Chatterton fired Tagore's imagination and he thought of becoming a second Chatterton. He gave out one day that in the library of the Adi Brahma Samaj he had found an old manuscript of the poems of Bhanu Sing.⁶ But the language of the poems of Bhanu Singh like that of the Rowley Poems is artificial. Mr. Rhys likens this effort of Rabindranath "to the reproduction of mediaeval Italian romance by Keats."⁷ But while in Keats the mediaeval atmosphere has been to a large extent

¹ Reminiscences, pp. 128-29.

² Thompson, 1921, p. 14.

³ Reminiscences, p. 194.

⁴ Reminiscences, pp. 192-93

⁵ Thompson, 1921, p. 14.

⁶ Jiban Smriti, p. 98.

⁷ Earnest Rhys, Rabindranath: A Biographical Study, p. 15. Dr. Seal, Neo-Romantic Movement in Bengali Literature, Calcutta Review, 1891, p. 184.

reproduced through the witchery of his verse, Tagore has blended old Bengali Vaishnava lyrics with the language of his own time and therefore the charm of Vaishnava poetry is missed there.

Of the poems composed during this period "Kavi Kahini" resembles the "Alastor" of Shelley. Like Shelley's hero, Rabindranath's poet roams in search of some imaginary love, some ideal which he does not find on earth. The Shelleyan ideas of the woes of the world, the miseries of mankind, its future, the brotherhood of humanity, the unfitness of the world as an abode for poets, are all present in this immature poem. It is therefore not wrong to suppose that at this time the chief foreign influence on his poetry was Shelley.

The "Evening Songs" were composed when the poet's life had little acquaintance with the world outside, when he was busy wandering on the wings of fancy. Here his genius first freed itself from the shackles of conventional forms and the poet wrote as it pleased him. Critics, of course, accused him of mistiness. This charge was not wholly baseless. His poetry did in fact lack the backbone of worldly realities.¹ There was a kind of sadness and pain running through the poems which is also noticed in the poetry of young Shelley. In both there is the same kind of "pathos of the inexpressible and the anguish of vagueness." This kind of doubt and uncertainty Wordsworth and Keats also experienced. Wordsworth realised his real self, but Keats died too young to find happiness through a mature genius. The heart of Keats ached and a drowsy numbness pained his sense. Wordsworth was tired with unchartered freedom and the world became too much with him. The Bengali poet on the far-off banks of the Ganges felt the same kind of langour and despondency.²

¹ Reminiscences, p. 211.

² Dr. Seal notes the natural magic of Keats, the moral profundity of Wordsworth. Shelley's transfiguration of the inner life of the heart of humanity in the "Evening and Morning Songs," *Calcutta Review*, pp. 178-82.

The "Morning Songs" also belong to the period when the influence of Shelley was supreme. This was the time when out of a trivial incident, a phenomenon of nature—the wonderful radiance of sunrise—that he saw the world in its true light, bathed in beauty and joy and his heart gushed forth in a poem, the "Awakening of the Waterfall," which is the morning paean of his new consciousness. Henceforth he could peer into the hidden depths of eternal joy and could see in objects small, the great dance-rhythm of humanity and beautiful music pervading the whole universe. He dedicates his life in a poem, the "Echo," to a Loveliness which is not far different from Shelley's Intellectual Beauty—strange, unsech and inexplicable. This Shadowy One moves in everything but the poet cannot see it. Dr. Thompson says, "It was Shelley's search for a hidden loveliness that made the 'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty' a swaying influence on Rabindranath's imagination, during many years when he was feeling his way towards a definite experience of realised beauty within his life."¹ The poem "Manassundari" consummates this earlier conception.²

There has been a great tradition of child-poetry in Sanskrit connected with the divine child Srikrishna. It is as old as the Bhagabat. The Vaishnava poets of India found delight in singing of the childhood and boyhood of Krishna and the mediaeval poets of Bengal felt pleasure in narrating the younger days of Srichaitanya. But the child-poems of Rabindranath resemble Blake's "Songs of Innocence" and Stevenson's "Child's Garden of Verses" in their sweetness and rapture, in their insight into the child's little ways and thoughts. His vision of childhood recalls Wordsworth's famous ode on

¹ Thompson, 1926, p. 300. Rabindranath's admiration for Shelley with special reference to the Hymn to Intellectual Beauty, *Creative Unity*, pp. 18-21 (The Poet's Religion) also pp. 24-25 of the same. He presided over the Shelley Centenary Celebrations at the Rammohan Library in 1922.

² "You have appeared to-day as the world-poet," etc.

“Intimations of Immortality.”¹ Tagore says in the “Crescent Moon,” “Baby was free from every tie in the land of the tiny crescent moon. Baby never knows how to cry. He dwelt in the land of perfect bliss.” He says again, “The sleep that flits on the baby’s eyes.—Does anybody know from where it comes? Yes, there is a rumour that it has its dwelling where, in the fairy village among the shadows of the forest dimly lit with glow-worms, there hangs two shy buds of enchantment. From there it comes to kiss baby’s eyes.” These ideas seem to be allied closely to Wordsworth’s “Heaven lies about us in our infancy.” Another poem in the “Crescent Moon,” “Yet my memory is still sweet with the first white jasmines that held my hand when I was a child,” may very well be a parallel to Wordsworth’s “first affections” and “shadowy recollections.”

Rabindranath’s conception of the carefree life of the child is :

“Children have their play on the sea-shore of worlds..... On the sea-shore of endless worlds, children meet. Tempest roams in the pathless sky, ships are wrecked in the trackless water, death is abroad, and children play. On the sea-shore of endless worlds is the great meeting of children.” This idea is found also in Wordsworth,

“And see the children sport upon the shore,
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore.”

This land of the children in Wordsworth and Rabindranath bear a resemblance to the “Never Never Land” in Sir James Barrie’s “Peter Pan.” In many other ideas about the child such as its love of song, its love of stories, its love of adventure, its desire to play the man, the child growing into an adult Rabindranath resembles Wordsworth. Like him Tagore has the faith : “We indeed have leisure enough

¹ Cf. Plato, *Meno* (85-86) and *Phaedo* (72) and Vaughan’s “Retreat.” Also, “Our learning is only a process of recollection”—Church, *Trial and Death of Socrates*, p. 132.

in old age to count the days that are past, to cherish it in our hearts what our hands have lost for ever." Wordsworth

" We will grieve not rather find
Strength in what remains behind;
In the primal sympathy
Which having been, must ever be."

Of other similarities in the "Crescent Moon" with ideas found in English writers, Mr. Andrews points out the "End" which has thoughts akin to those in Lamb's "Dream Children."¹

Matthew Arnold has remarked, "Creative literary genius does not principally show itself in discovering new ideas, that is rather the business of the philosopher."² The Irish dramatist Synge observes, "All art is collaboration."³ George Moore says, "An original author assimilates and the influence disappears." In Tagore's case all this is quite true. It is to be concluded therefore that somewhere at some time he read certain things in the works of Western writers and these have without any effort on his part entered into the spirit of his poetry.

His dramatic poem "Nature's Revenge" resembles Browning's "Paracelsus" in more ways than one. English critics of Tagore are a little overdefinite on this point.⁴ The hero in Tagore is a hermit who tries to gain victory over nature by cutting away the bonds of all human affections and desires and in that way he seeks perfection. His meeting with a little girl brings him back to the realisation that the great is found in the small, the infinite within the bonds of the form, and the eternal freedom of the soul in love, and it is only in the light of love that limits are merged in the

¹ Modern Review, September, 1914.

² Essays in Criticism (First Series) —Function of Criticism.

³ Playboy of the Western World —Preface.

⁴ Rhys, Rabindranath, pp. 86-7; Thompson, Rabindranath, 1921, p. 26.

limitless. In the quest of the eternal truth man must not segregate himself from all that is around him. The joy of attaining the infinite within the finite from this time became an ingrained belief of Rabindranath. In one of his later songs he writes, "Within the finite, you are the infinite and sing your own song. Therefore your manifestation in me is so sweet." In one of his letters he wrote, "When we feel the flow of life in us to be one with the universal life outside, all our pleasures and pains are seen strung upon one long thread of joy."¹

Paracelsus aimed to conquer the world with knowledge. In trying to win perfect knowledge his aim was to serve humanity. But in spite of his mastery over knowledge he could not use it. There was a flaw somewhere. Only in the last moments of his life when the lamp of life was flickering faith dawned upon him that he had repressed life, love, and everything that was godlike in him. He died with the hope that the splendour of God's lamp "soon or late will pierce the gloom" and he would "emerge one day." In "Pauline," Browning wanted to tell the same thing. Aprile shut out knowledge in his search for eternal beauty. He was baffled. Then one day in the world of natural beauty he came upon the supreme message that what he had hungered for was God only—God the eternal love. The ascetic said, "Let my vows of sanyasi go. I break my staff and my alms-bowl. This stately ship, this world, which is crossing the sea of time,—let it take me up again, let me join once more the pilgrims."

The sanyasi, Paracelsus and Kacha (in the "Curse at Farewell") exalted knowledge over love and were failures. Rabindranath like Browning has the hope, "All is done and finished in the eternal heaven."² He thinks that he has no time to

¹ Rabindranath, *Glimpses of Bengal*, p. 163.

² *The Gardener*, pp. 116-18.

brood over the after-life and he is of an age with each. The eternal life to which Browning refers in the "Grammarian's Funeral" ("Man has forever") is the same as Tagore's belief that the worship that is not finished in this life will not be in vain.¹ His dramatic dialogues are psychological studies in verse like Browning's "Dramatic Idyls." "They are," says a student of Tagore's poetry, "studies of Men and Women placed in very difficult emotional situations. It is not drama, because there is very little movement. One might almost say that it is an instantaneous cross-section of a powerful dramatic movement—something like a snapshot of a real drama. We get only a glimpse. We see the actors only in one particular situation. Nothing happens—we just see them."²

In a talk with Dr. Thompson, Rabindranath expressed his admiration for Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn." "The idea appeals to me," he said.³ The influence of Keats's ode-form is apparent in that superb and magnificent poem "Urvashi" where the poet's love of an eternal or ideal beauty finds its most glorious expression. The imagery here used is not very different from that found in the "Hymn to Proserpine" of Swinburne. Tagore says,

" Like some stemless flower, blooming in thyself,
 When didst thou blossom Urvasi ?
 That primal spring, thou didst arise from the
 yeast of the ocean,
 In thy right hand nectar, venom in thy left,
 The swelling, mighty sea, like a serpent tamed
 with spells,
 Drooping his thousand, towering hoods,
 Fell at thy feet !
 White as the kunda-blossom, a naked beauty,
 Adored by the king of gods,
 Thou stainless One."

(Thompson's translation, 1921.)

¹ Dharma-sangit.

² Thompson, 1926, p. 169.

³ *Ibid*, p. 300

Swinburne writes,

“ Our mother, a blossom of flow’ring seas,
Clothed round with the world’s desire as the raiment
And fair as the foam,
And fleeter than kindred fire, and a goddess,
And mother of Rome.

.....

Her hair heavily laden with odour and colour of flower
White rose of the rose-white water, a silver
Splendour of a flame,
Bent down unto us that besought her, and
Earth grew sweet with her name.

.....

Came flushed from the full-flushed wave and
imperial her foot on the sea
And the wonderful waters knew her, the
Winds add the viewless ways,
And roses grew rosier and bluer the
Sea-blue stream of the bays.”

In Indian mythology, there is of course no allusion like this except that the goddess Lakshmi was born out of the waves when the great churning of the ocean took place : ¹ Rabindranath seems to have in mind the Greek idea of the birth of Venus or the Scandinavian conception of Freya.

The Keatsian worship of Beauty is noticed in the lyrical drama “Chitra.” Rabindranath’s conception of the beauty of a perfect feminine form is allied to the pre-Raphaelite ideas. The life of Arjun becomes complete when his “goddess hidden in a golden image” bares her whole soul to him and he replies, “Beloved, my life is full.” It remains however a puzzle whether Rabindranath idealised Chitra like Shelley apostrophizing Emilia Viviani in “Epipsychidion” as the incarnation of an ideal beauty or he merely told in a new way an old story. But it is certain that Rabindranath perceived

¹ Wilson, Vishnu Purana, Bk. I, Ch. IX.

like Keats, "Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty." Dr Thompson thinks that the play is not without symbolism.¹ It is however difficult to find anything like that in it. On the other hand it is contended that the work is mere sex-play, the frank desire of the youngman for young-eyed beauty.² Chitra was once the cause of controversy between two different schools of literary critics and it would be better not to rake up old quarrels.

In their love poetry Shelley and Rabindranath are alike.³ Shelley believed in love more strongly than any other English poet as the only thing that would bring happiness to earth. Rabindranath's "Life of my Life" in the "Gitanjali" is similar in sentiment to Shelley's "Life of Life." Shelley did not live long enough to give sufficient expression to his faith in love but Rabindranath has grown in the faith. His idea of "one in many" when he writes,

" We are all the more because we are many,
For we have made ample room for love in the
Gap where we are sundered.
Our unlikeness reveals its breadth of beauty radiant
With one common life,
Like mountain peaks in the morning sun."

has a Shelleyan note. Shelley says in the "Adonais,"

" The one Spirit's plastic stress
Sweeps through the dull dense world, compelling there
All new successions to the forms they wear ;

¹ Rabindranath, 1921, p. 24.

² Benoy Kumar Sarkar, *Love in Hindu Literature*.

³ A French critic writes of the Love Poems of Tagore : " Nothing in our European culture,—our poetry, philosophy or art, is unknown to Rabindranath Tagore. If the taste of this Indian man of letters has nothing to gain in refinement from contact with us, his sensitiveness has become broadened and enriched through his gleanings from our European authors : Keats, [Shelley, Heine, Verlaine, etc.,—to mention only the poets. Their delicately sensitive and sorrowful verse has, no doubt, troubled the serenity of this young Hindu.....It is not improbable either, that he may have plunged, cursorily at least, in] the vast waves of Whitman's lyric verse."—*Modern Review*, June, 1918, translated by Indira Devi.

Torturing the unwilling dross that checks its flight
 To its own likeness, as each mass may bear ;
 And bursting in its beauty and its might
 From trees and beasts and men into the Heaven's light."

The idea of "one in many" is not Shelley's own. It is as old as Plato. Dante also gives expression to it in the "Vita Nuova." Similar ideas are found in Wordsworth :

" Workings of one mind, the features
 Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree,
 Characters of the great Apocalypse,
 The types and symbols of Eternity,
 Of first, and last, and midst, and without end; "

Of striking similarities between Rabindranath's poems and those of English poets may be mentioned the patriotic poems in the "Naibedya" and the sonnets of Wordsworth, the "Year's End" of Tagore and the "West Wind Ode" of Shelley, Browning's "Rephan" and Rabindra's "Farewell from Heaven." In certain other aspects of his poetry, he has a kinship with Western poets and thinkers. A prominent note in his poetry is that current of thought which some of his critics label as the "Jiban devata" doctrine.² Rabindranath's idea is that his relationship with this earth is age-old. In one of his letters he writes, "The world is ever new to me ; like an old friend loved through this and former lives, the acquaintance between us is both long and deep. I can well realise how, in ages past, when the earth in her first youth came forth from her sea-bath and saluted the sun in prayer, I must have been one of the trees sprung from her new-formed soil, spreading my foliage in all the freshness of a primal impulse."³ On another occasion he wrote, "It feels strange to be reminded that only thirty-two Autumns have

¹ Prelude, Bk. VI.

² Ajit Kumar Chakravarti, *Kavya Parikrama*.

³ *Glimpses of Bengal*, pp. 91-92.

come and gone in my life ; for my memory seems to have receded back into the dimness of time immemorial ; and when my inner world is flooded with a light, as of an unclouded autumn morning, I feel I am sitting at the window of some magic palace, gazing entranced on a scene of distant reminiscence, soothed with soft breezes laden with the faint perfume of all the Past.”¹ Rabindranath says, “ O you ever-old, you are for ever making me new. Always you have been with me, you will be with me always.” This sounds like Wordsworth when he wrote,

“ Life continuous, being unimpaired
That hath been, is and where it was and is
There shall endure.”²

Or like Alice Meynell when she says,

“ Down through long links of death and birth,
From the past poets of the earth,
My immortality is there.
.....
My thoughts are blessed
With relics of the far unknown
And, mixed with memories not my own.”³

Christian influence has been diagnosed in his life and work as some poem in the “ Gitanjali ” have the same note as the teachings of the Bible.⁴ It is true that Rabindranath has written an essay on Jesus Christ, but in his family Christianity has never been looked upon with favour.⁵ The rhythm of the “ Gitanjali ” translations have a resemblance with the language of the Psalms in the Bible. But Whitman and Edward Carpenter also wrote in a similar manner.

In spite of his understanding of European culture and civilisation Tagore seems to have an aversion for the West.

¹ *Glimpses of Bengal*, p. 144.

² *Excursion*, Bk. IV.

³ *A Poet's Song of Derivations*.

⁴ *Thompson*, 1921, p. 100.

⁵ *Auto-Biography of Devendranath Tagore*, p. 15.

In one of his letters, he wrote, "Curiously enough, my greatest fear is lest I should be reborn in Europe!"¹ Yet he is not blind to Western influences. In "Nationalism" he says, India is no beggar of the West. And yet even though the West may think she is, I am not for thrusting off Western civilisation and becoming segregated in our independence. Let us have a deep association. If providence wants England to be the channel of that communication, of that deeper association, I am willing to accept it with all humility. I have great faith in human nature, and I think the West will find its true mission."

Endowed as he is with genius of a very high order, his works have brought much of the spirit of Western literature to the land of his birth. He has formed a connecting link between the East and the West not only by the popularity of the translations of his writings in the languages of Europe but also by the Western influences so apparent in them. At a reception held in his honour in England, after the award of the Nobel Prize to him, Rabindranath said, "I have learned that though our tongues are different and our habits dissimilar, at the bottom our hearts are one. The monsoon clouds that generated on the banks of the Nile, fertilize the far distant shores of the Ganges; ideas may have to cross from East to Western shores to find a welcome in men's hearts and fulfil their promise. The East is east and the West is west, God forbid that it should be otherwise but the twin must meet in amity, peace, mutual understanding; their meeting will be all the more fruitful because of their differences; it must lead both to holy wedlock before the common altar of humanity," and he in his writings is the living embodiment of these ideals.

JAYANTA KUMAR DAS GUPTA.

¹ Glimpses of Bengal, p. 106.

Reviews

The Mahābhārata—(Southern Recension) critically edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras. Vols. I and II, Ādiparvan. Published by V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, 292, Esplanade, Madras.

The Mahābhārata is a monumental work in Sanskrit and a great record of Indian culture. It is often styled the 'Fifth Veda' and has more than one recension in different parts of India. Bengal also possesses one recension of which notice has already been taken by scholars. Prof. P. P. S. Sāstri has brought us under obligation by his critical edition of the South Indian Texts of the Mahābhārata. This is a step towards removing a long-felt want. The learned editor has consulted five manuscripts (all collected from Southern India) and added variant readings in the foot-notes. But what has really contributed to the useful features of the edition is the addition of an exhaustive index of subject-matters. A word index of so important a work is also a desideratum. There are many knotty points in the texts of the Mahābhārata which require some amount of interpretation. It is not too much to expect that Prof. Sāstri will give us in his introduction a historical survey of the whole work, touching upon many interesting social and political features of India as depicted in this great *Itihāsa*.

P. C. C.

Rukmini-Haran-Nat. Written by Mahapurush Sankardev in 1532 A.D. Edited by Srijut Ambikanath Borah, M.A., Lecturer in the Calcutta University, and published by the Calcutta University. With Introduction in English, pp. 7 to 17; and in Assamese, pp. 19 to 36. Text, pp. 1-64. Glossary, pp. 65-67. 1933.

We congratulate Mr. Borah on bringing out this excellent edition of the most popular Assamese Vaishnava drama, under the enlightened auspices of the Calcutta University, who deserve the gratefulness of all Assamese people for their continued interest in the promotion of Assamese literature, best evinced by the fitting place awarded to it in the scheme

of vernacular studies, and by the publication of *Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese Manuscripts*, and the six volumes of *Asamiya Sahityar Chaneki*. Mr. Borah has edited the book on up-to-date and scientific lines; the text has been collated from several manuscripts, and all archaic terms explained in the Glossary. The Introduction in English deals with Sankardev's first adoption of the dramatic medium for the propagation of Bhagavatism; the introduction of painted scenes, where Mr. Borah claims priority for Sankardev over his compatriots in India and Europe; Sankardev's creation of the Assamese romantic drama involving distinct departures from classical Sanskrit models, mainly illustrated in the continued association of the Sutraddhar through the whole length of the performance, whereas in Sanskrit dramas the Sutraddhar appears only once in the beginning to explain the drift of the play. The adoption of Brajabuli as the medium of Assamese Vaishnava dramas was necessary for imparting a sanctity to the characters who are invariably selected from the epics and the puranas, and besides, it was traditionally attributed to be the language of Brajadhama, the Land of Srikrishna, and was used by most of the Vaishnava writers of Northern India in the glorification of Srikrishna. All these matters have again been elaborately treated in the Assamese Introduction. The two Introductions bear sufficient evidence of the editor's acquaintance with the existing literature on the Indian drama, with which he has attempted to present the evolution and nature of Assamese drama in their true perspectives.

The eclecticism displayed by Mr. Borah and the Calcutta University in selecting this drama for publication has been a most judicious one, as *Rukmini-Haran-Nat* has an additional significance besides being mere instrument of religious propaganda. The romance of Rukmini is a national theme, as she was the daughter of King Bhismak, who figures in Assamese traditions as the ruler of Kuntin or Sadiya. Sankardev, with subtle and intuitive knowledge of realities, exploited the vast potentiality of the theme of Rukmini in imparting the flavour of nationalism to the exotic materials of Vaishnava propaganda. The same story has been handled by him in a narrative masterpiece entitled *Rukmini-haran* which is Assamese to its very core.

Old Assamese dramas form a unique branch of our literature, waiting for the treatment in the hands of constructive literary historians, and we would ask some enterprising scholar to bring them out under one cover. Can we not expect Mr. Borah and the Calcutta University to undertake this much needed venture?

S. K. B.

Life and Teachings of Muhammad—This little pamphlet contains two Lectures delivered at different places by Annie Besant. The lectures were delivered with the express purpose of absolving the great Prophet of Arabia from the popular prejudices entertained against him in the Western World. We think that the object of the writer has been more than fulfilled and the Prophet as described in the pages of this little book stands before us in his true colour, and in his glory and real character. Besant's observation that "the introduction on Sale's Koran is a long libel and slander" is a correct estimate, and all kinds of false allegations were made against the prophet, most of which came from the conquered people as a natural consequence of the conquest made by the Saracens and the Moors when they conquered Europe. The first part of the book describes very graphically the awful condition of chaos into which Arabia was plunged when the prophet was born. Human beings were sacrificed before the idols worshipped by the people and even human flesh was taken as food. People lived a life of unchastity and profligacy, and every feeling of humanity was trampled under foot. The teachings of the prophet began amidst such scenes and surroundings, and it is a strong evidence of the inspired character of his mission when we find what admirable effect his teachings produced among his followers amidst such degrading environments and gradually effected great change among the people of Arabia. That people bore passionate love and devotion towards him and reposed unmeasurable trust in him—was of no mean consideration when the state of the country is remembered.

In the 8th century, the followers of the Prophet took up astronomy, first in translations into Arabic from great Hindu works, but it afterwards led to new discovery which later passed on to Europe. They then studied mathematics and showed wonderful skill in architecture. Annie Besant thinks that as there is practical identity of the Adwaita Vedanta with the presentment of metaphysics in Arabic, the study of the Muslim Doctors from 8th to 14th century would lead to fruitful result or reconciliation between the faith of the Muslims and the ancient religion of the Hindus, and this may prevent hostility between the different faiths. In Ethics also, Besant finds another point of union, where most exquisite moral teachings lie embedded.

In her second lecture Annie Besant mentions some of the objections and prejudices against the teachings of the great Prophet which she rightly concludes to be due to ignorance. One or two such prejudices and misunderstandings may here be stated to show how Besant tries to meet them. Many people entertain the idea that Islam was spread by the sword and it consequently led to bloodshed and caused religious wars. But Mrs.

Besant thinks that the Pagan Arabs terribly persecuted the earlier Muslims which took the form of horrible and unbearable physical tortures. It was purely in self-defence that the Prophet took up the sword. Another prejudice is to the effect that Islam sanctions polygamy. But Besant is of opinion that as unbridled licentiousness and profligacy were rampant in the country at that time, the Prophet limited the number of wives to four. Is it monogamy, Mrs. Besant asks, when there is outwardly one legal wife, but several mistresses out of sight ?

Towards the close of the pamphlet, Mrs. Besant quotes from the works on philosophy which greatly inculcates attainment of knowledge as the one great end of man. " The ink of the scholar is more valuable than the blood of the martyr." This love of knowledge led to the foundation of a great Philosophy and a great University. There is an Appendix at the close in which there is a beautiful poem about Being and Non-being much in the tenour of the Vedantic thought.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Sree Chaitanya and his Message of Devotion, by Dr. H. W. B. Moreno. It is a little book containing a brief account of the career of the Lord Gauranga from the date of his advent to the disappearance of his " mortal coil " at Puri. It has been written in a simple, plain, easy and flowing style, sympathetic in its vein, and it breathes purity and inward devotion.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Viveka-Chudāmani—Translated into English by Mohini Mohan Chatterjee, F. T. S., and published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

It is well-known among the Advaitists that Sankara's *Viveka-Chudāmani* gives, within a compass of about 600 stanzas, everything connected with the main position of Vedānta. The stanzas have been neatly rendered into English making them available to all whose knowledge in Sanskrit is meagre. So far as we have been able to examine, the translation is mostly accurate and faithful to the text. We would like to see this handy volume in the hands of all lovers of Vedānta. The get-up of the book is very good and is free from printing mistakes. First the Sanskrit text is given and below it its translation. The price is fixed at Rs. 2 only.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Ourselfes

KAMALA LECTURE FOR 1931.

Dr. Syed Ross Masood has been appointed Kamala Lecturer for 1931 on the usual conditions, the subject of the lectures being "Educational Reconstruction of India."

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SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE PRIZE IN ANTHROPOLOGY.

The Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Prize in Anthropology for 1931 has been awarded to Dinendranath Ray of the 6th-year Anthropology class.

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DATES FOR THE NEXT D.P.H. EXAMINATIONS.

The following commencing dates have been fixed for the D.P.H. Examination for 1933 :—

8th May, 1933—Part I of the Examination.

22nd May, 1933—Part II of the Examination.

* * *

DATES FOR THE I.E. AND B.E. EXAMINATIONS.

The following dates have been fixed for the I. E. and B. E. Examinations for 1933 :—

- .. I. E., Section A..... 7th July, 1933.
- I. E., Section B....., 17th July, 1933.
- B.E., Non-professional (C.E.) 7th July, 1933.
- B.E., Non-professional (M.E.) 17th July, 1933.
- B.E., Professional (C.E.)... 17th July, 1933.
- B.E., Professional (M.E.)... 17th July, 1933.

* * *

THE DEBENDRANATH-HEMLATA GOLD MEDAL 'FOR 1932.

Applications are hereby invited from candidates for the competition for the Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for the year 1932.

The competition for the medal is limited to M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., M.D., D.L., M.E., M.O. and M.S. of not more than three years' standing, and the standard of physical fitness shall be determined by the examination of the health of the competitors by the Students' Welfare Department of the Calcutta University as well as by application of such tests as may be decided upon by the Committee appointed for the purpose by the Syndicate.

Such applications from the entrants for the competition must reach the office of the Controller of Examinations, Calcutta University, by the 15th April, 1933.

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COPY OF A LETTER, DATED THE 6TH JANUARY, 1933, FROM THE PRESIDENT, COLORADO SCHOOL OF MINES, GOLDEN, COLORADO, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR, NEW DELHI.

The Colorado School of Mines offers for the School year 1933-34 one Scholarship to your country upon the proper recommendation of your Bureau of Education.

This scholarship exempts the holder from payment of all laboratory and tuition fees, with the exception of deposits, matriculation and student fees, and certain fees in Geophysics. This scholarship is for a period of four years or any part thereof, provided that the student maintains a satisfactory scholastic standing and complies with the general rules and regulations of the School. The value of the tuition and the laboratory fees will average approximately \$250 per year or \$1,000 for the four-year courses. This scholarship makes no provision for living or other expenses.

The School of Mines offers courses leading to degrees in mining engineering, metallurgical engineering, geological engineering, and

petroleum engineering. This School also offers elective courses in coal mining, fuel engineering, geophysics, and the production and utilisation of cements, refractories, clays and other non-metallic minerals.

Applicants for scholarships must satisfy the entrance requirements as specified in the catalogue, pages 22 and 23. Their scholastic standing should be at least in the upper one-third of their high school, preparatory, or college classes. They may have recently completed their secondary or preparatory education, or they may have had several years of college work. Either will be accepted. They should be vigorous, both mentally and physically, and should possess character, courage, determination, force, and the ability to think clearly. Specifically, the applicant should possess scholarship and also those other qualifications essential to the making of an engineer. Students already in attendance at the School of Mines are not eligible for the scholarship.

These scholarships are offered for two reasons: first, that the young men receiving them may be benefited by the educational advantages offered by one of the oldest, most thorough, and best known mining schools in the world; second, that the School may attract to itself young men of the true engineering type, thereby making it possible to send to all parts of the world trained engineers who will be a credit to the country from which they come and to the School from which they have graduated.

We, therefore, solicit your co-operation in the selection of a young man of the type mentioned for this scholarship. May we ask that you communicate with the proper educational authorities and, should you have an applicant possessing the qualifications suggested, will you please recommend him for this scholarship. We should receive your recommendation of the applicant to be considered not later than August fifteenth.

You will find in the catalogue sent you under separate cover the details of entrance requirements and award of scholarships.

I thank you for your co-operation in this matter.

A. R. WADIA,
Secretary, Inter-University Board,
India.

COLORADO SCHOOL OF MINES, GOLDEN, COLORADO.

Requirements for Entrance.

Candidates for entrance to the freshman class must be graduates of a four-year accredited high school or must have completed equivalent courses of at least fifteen units under other satisfactory conditions.

Unit Course. A unit course of study is defined as a course covering a school year of not less than thirty-six weeks, with five weekly periods of at least forty-five minutes each.

Fifteen units are required for entrance, of which ten are specified and five may be chosen from a list of electives.

Specified Units.

Essentials of Algebra	...	1
Advanced Algebra	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
Plane Geometry	...	1
Solid Geometry	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
English	...	3
History	...	2
Chemistry	...	1
Physics	...	1
		<hr/>
Specified Units	...	10
Elective Units	...	5
		<hr/>
Total Units for Entrance	...	15

Elective Units.

History	...	2
English	...	1
Modern Language	...	2
Trigonometry	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
Mechanical Drawing	...	2
Commercial subjects	...	2
Latin	...	2
Shop Work	...	1
Biology	...	1

Other subjects taken in high school may be accepted by special permission of the Dean.

Entrance by Certificate.

A graduate of an accredited high school in the State of Colorado will be admitted without examination upon the presentation of proper credentials from the principal of his high school, provided he had completed the specified units required for entrance and ranks scholastically in the upper third of his class. Applications of those not in the upper third will be given careful consideration and each application will be acted upon individually. Application blanks for entrance will be furnished on application to the Registrar.

Graduates of accredited high schools or approved preparatory schools in other States will be accepted in the same manner as graduates of accredited high schools in Colorado.

Entrance by Examination.

Candidates who do not enter by certificate will be required to pass entrance examinations. These examinations are held in Golden at the beginning of each semester.

For the benefit of any student who cannot conveniently take the examination in Golden, arrangements may be made so that he may take the examination under the direction of some responsible person at or near his own home.

Conditions—Special Students.

No students are admitted who have not fulfilled all of the entrance requirements, nor are any undergraduate students permitted to enroll as special students.

Advanced Standing.

Applications who have partly completed the course in technical or scientific schools or colleges of good standing are admitted without examination upon the presentation of proper credentials. Due credit is allowed for the successful completion of work which is equivalent to that given in the Colorado School of Mines. Drawings, laboratory note books, and catalogues of the institutions attended should be submitted with applications for advanced standing. All credits are evaluated by the Advanced Standing Committee. Application blanks will be furnished by the Registrar on request, and should be returned to the Registrar at least one month prior to the date of registration.

No transfer student will be accepted at the Colorado School of Mines who has been dismissed from any other school of collegiate standing because of poor scholarship until his probation period at that school has expired. He may then be admitted on probation for one semester.

* * *

STUDENTS' WELFARE COMMITTEE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1931.

During the year 1931 the activities of the Students' Welfare Scheme were considerably modified in accordance with the recommendations of the special Committee appointed by the Senate. The posts of the two Superintendents and that of a separate After-care Officer were retrenched with effect from 1st June, 1931. Mr. D. P. Banerjee, M.B., was, however, relieved of his duties as a medical examiner and requested to help the Secretary in following up and keeping under observation students suffering from serious diseases or defects. As in the previous year, the health examination was restricted to 1st-year students of Colleges in Calcutta and students attending non-aided recognised High Schools. The Medical Board attached to the Committee visited the following Colleges during the year :—

- (1) Asutosh College,
- (2) Narasingha Dutt College, Howrah,
- (3) City College,
- (4) Vidyasagar College,
- (5) Bangabasi College,
- (6) Presidency College,
- (7) St. Xavier's College,
- (8) St. Paul's College,

and the following Schools :—

- (1) Narikeldanga George High School,
- (2) Seal's Free College (High School).

The number of students examined during the year was, 260, bringing the total to 23,453.

Although the direct control of the Calcutta University Rowing Club is now vested in a separate committee, the Students' Welfare Committee has to bear the costs of running the Club. During the year an Inter-collegiate Rowing Competition, the first of its kind in the annals of the Club, was held in the Canals. Five crews from different colleges entered for the event. The Vidya-sagar and the Scottish Church Colleges were seen in the final and the latter ran out winners. The Scottish Church College is to be congratulated on its well-earned success. Thanks are due to the authorities and the Officers of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works for the great help which they gave us by placing at our disposal the grounds attached to their premises and for the arrangements which they made to receive and entertain the guests who braved the weather to witness the final. The Committee puts on record its great admiration for that noble patron of sports, the Hon'ble Raja Sir Manmathanath Roy Chaudhury of Santosh, who, in spite of considerable inconvenience, put off his departure from Calcutta specially to be present on the occasion. It is hoped that, under the new system of management, the University Rowing Club will become more popular with the students.

At the request of the authorities of the Exhibition attached to the Swadeshi-Mela held at 137, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, illustrative charts and posters dealing with the different aspects of the health and welfare of the student population, were exhibited. A large number of pamphlets on "Food" by the late Dr. Rai Chunilal Bose, Bahadur was printed and circulated among the students. A second pamphlet on "Hints on the Care of the Eyes" was prepared during the year and is ready for distribution. We are glad to announce that arrangements have been made with prominent Optical Firms in Calcutta to supply spectacles to students recommended by the Students' Welfare Committee at concession rates. We take this opportunity of conveying our thanks to these firms for their help and co-operation. We hope that the authorities in charge of the different

institutions and the students will take the fullest advantage of this arrangement.

As previously mentioned, colleges and schools were examined during the year. Separate reports on the health of the students attending these institutions were sent to each of them. These reports included lists of defective students with the defects and diseases stated against their names and roll numbers together with recommendations for the management of these cases. Defect cards were also sent to these students individually by the After-care Officer. The number of defect cards issued during the year was 1,094. A large number of students was recalled for re-examination and out of these 131 were kept under observation.

The class of cases kept under observation was as follows :—

Heart	...	...	...	...	22
Lungs	...	...	...	...	24
Eye	...	...	...	...	38
Spleen	...	...	...	...	10
Mal-nutrition	...	...	...	...	24
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	13
TOTAL					131

Out of the cases re-examined six cases of Tuberculosis were detected and confirmed by special X-ray and sputum examinations. Of these two were advised to suspend their studies at least for a year. One of them died in May, 1932, one has been lost sight of, the remaining four are still under observation and keeping good health. The Committee is thankful to Dr. S. P. Bhattacharyya, M.D., a member of the Committee, for re-examining three of the above-mentioned cases and also for the arrangements which he made for admitting into the Carmichael Hospital of Tropical Diseases three students sent to him on different occasions for treatment. Of those students who failed to satisfy the Heart Test, about twenty were recommended to follow a system of graduated exercise. Most of them showed marked improvement during the period of observation, and they are to be thanked for their whole-hearted co-operation.

During the year thirty-three cases of defective eye-sight were specially re-examined and proper glasses were prescribed for them by Mr. D. P. Banerjee, M.B., the After-care Officer. Over two hundred recommendations were issued for supply of spectacles at concession rates and 8 pairs were supplied to needy students free of cost.

Six students applied to the Secretary requesting him to make suitable arrangements for treatment of surgical diseases. The Committee is greatly indebted to the Principal, Carmichael Medical College and Hospitals, for accommodating these students, and also to Dr. Subodh Dutt, M.B., F.R.C.S., etc., of the same Hospitals for the help which he rendered by examining several cases referred to him. The Secretary kept under observation about 250 students of the Mitra Institution, Bhowanipore, with a view to study the rate of growth of the Bengalee students.

Findings of Medical Examination.

The following Table shows at a glance the findings of medical inspection of pupils attending the High Schools and Colleges in Calcutta during the year 1931.

				College students, incidence per 100.	School students, incidence per 100.
Mal-nutrition	...	...	...	24.5	19.9
Skin diseases	...	...	...	21.9	11.8
Enlarged tonsils and adenoids	...	...	...	45.7	60.4
Heart	...	...	...	5.6	1.7
Spleen	...	...	...	7.9	2.5
Liver	...	...	...	1.8	1.5
Caries	...	...	...	11.3	14.4
Pyorrhoea	...	...	...	1.7	2.9
Visual defects	...	...	...	34.5	17.0

On comparing these findings with those of other years there appear to be fewer cases of mal-nutrition both among the School and College students.

There is a marked increase in the incidence of enlarged spleen among both the classes of students. The incidence of enlarged tonsils and adenoids also shows a sudden and marked increase. School students seem to suffer less from mal-nutrition, defective vision and diseases of the heart, but a larger number among them suffers from caries, pyorrhoea and enlarged tonsils and adenoids.

During the year better arrangements were made for "after-care" work. The authorities in charge of the Carmichael Medical College Hospitals and of the Carmichael Hospitals for Tropical Diseases provided facilities for the treatment of students referred to them by the department. Arrangements have also been made with different optical firms in the city to provide spectacles at concession rates to students recommended by the Committee.

*A preliminary study on the rate of growth of
Bengalee Students.*

In the last Annual Report it was pointed out that there was not much difference between the Bengalee child and the children of other countries at the age of 7, but from that period onwards the Bengalee child constantly lags behind as far as weight is concerned, till at the end of his school career he is decidedly inferior in weight to the English student, though he attains nearly the same height. Further studies brought out the fact that the average Bengalee College student at 18 is much lighter than a student of the same age of any other nation. This finding led me to take up the study of the rate of growth of the height, weight and ponderal-index of the Bengalee student as compared with that of the student from other countries. I shall first study the rates of growth in stature of the German, English, Japanese, Philipino and Bengalee students. Of these, the adult

Philipino approaches nearest the Bengalee adult average. The Japanese are shorter as a race, whereas the English and the German are far taller than the Bengalees. The figures for the English are taken from the report of the Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health for the year 1927 ; those for the German, Japanese and Philipino have been taken from Martin's *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie* and the figures for the Bengalee students have been worked out from our own data.

The figures for different age-groups are shown in the following table :—

Age.	German.	English.	Japanese.	Philipino.	Bengalee.
6	118	107·5	106	109·5	...
	121·5	113	112	113·5	118·5
8	127	119·5	116	117	121
9	131	123	117·5	121	125·5
10	135·5	128	120	124·5	131
11	139·5	132	124·5	130	135
12	145·5	137·5	130	136	141·5
13	150·5	140·5	133·5	140	147·5
14	156	145	139	147	153
15	162·5	154·5	145	154	162
16	166	165	150	158	164
17	168·5	166	155	160·5	165·5
18	171	171	157	161	166

From the above table I find that

•(1) The total gain in height for these nations between the ages 7 and 18, i.e., a period of 11 years is as follows :—

German	...	...	49·5 cm.
English	...	...	58 „
Japanese	...	...	45 „
Philipino	...	...	47·5 „
Bengalee	...	...	47·5 ..

or an average of 49·5 cm. in 11 years, *i.e.*, approximately 4·5 cm. per year.

(2) The rate of growth is not equal throughout the period. The major part of this increase in height takes place between the ages 11 and 16.

(3) The English, German and Japanese show a further increase in height beyond the age of 16, and in all these cases there is a period of comparative arrest at the age of 12 or 13.

(4) In the cases of the Bengalee and the Philipino the gain in height during the period 11 to 16 is more or less equally distributed, and in both it suffers an arrest after the age of 15, which is more marked in the case of the Bengalee.

The figures for the corresponding weight for these age-groups are given below :—

Age.	German.	English.	Japanese.	Philipino.	Bengalee.
7	23·7	20·7	19	20·3	21·1
8	26·2	23·2	19·6	21·2	22·1
9	27·8	24·9	21·8	23	24
10	30·6	27·1	23·5	25·8	26·5
11	33·1	29·4	25·9	28·4	28·4
12	37·1	32·4	28·2	31·1	31·9
13	41·6	34·8	33	35·1	36·1
14	46·1	39·1	38·8	41·4	38·8
15	51·7	45·1	42·2	45·4	47
16	56·2	53·6	45·6	47	48·9
17	59·2	55·8	49·7	48·9	49·8
18	63	58·5	50·4	51·2	50·8

(1) Thus the total gain in weight for the different peoples is as follows :—

German	...	...	39·3 kg.
English	...	...	37·8 "
Japanese	...	...	32 "
Philipino	...	...	30·9 "

or an average of 3 kg. per year.

(2) The total gain during this period is the lowest for the Bengalee and the highest for the German.

(3) The rate of increase is not equally distributed throughout.

(4) Between the ages 15 and 18 an increase over and above the normal of 3 kg. per year, is well marked among the German, English and Japanese students. This increase is not found among the Bengalee students.

(5) Between the ages 11 and 15 the gain in weight among these different nations is fairly equally distributed. The Germans, however, show a greater increase in weight. The Bengalees, on the other hand, show a smaller increase, which is particularly marked in the age-groups 13 and 14.

These two tables considered together lead me to the following conclusions :—

(1) That in the average Bengalee student the progress of growth is suddenly arrested at the age of sixteen.

(2) That throughout the growing period, the gain in Body weight is proportionately less than the increase in height.

This is very well shown in the chart of the Ponderal Indices of the peoples. The figures on which these curves are based are given in the following table :—

Age.	German.	English.	Japanese.	Philipino.	Bengalee.
7	2·37	2·44	2·42	2·39	2·33
8	2·33	2·38	2·32	2·36	2·32
9	2·32	2·38	2·38	2·35	2·30
10	2·32	2·34	2·38	2·38	2·27
11	2·30	2·34	2·38	2·35	2·26
12	2·29	2·32	2·34	2·31	2·26
13	2·29	2·33	2·40	2·34	2·24
14	2·30	2·34	2·44	2·35	2·22
15	2·29	2·30	2·40	2·32	2·24
16	2·30	2·28	2·38	2·28	2·23
17	2·31	2·30	2·38	2·28	2·22
18	2·33	2·27	2·35	2·30	2·23

The peculiar features of the curve for the Ponderal Index of the Bengalees are :—

(1) The steady and unbroken fall of the Ponderal Index throughout the period 7 to 16.

(2) The absence, in particular, of the sudden rise in Ponderal Index between the ages 12 and 14, shown by the other nations.

As this Index is pre-eminently a nutritional index and is extremely sensitive to all factors governing nutrition, I am led to conclude that some unusual strain, acting about this period, arrests this normal tendency to increase in Ponderal Index among the Bengalees. What this particular strain is, I am unable to specify at present. Most likely it is a combination of the three main factors which adversely affect nutrition, viz., faulty feeding, faulty exercise and over-work. I draw the attention of the guardians and authorities to this phenomenon with a view to impress on them the urgent necessity of keeping their wards in the best possible condition as regards diet, exercise and work during this period.

The incidence of diseases and variations in measurements among students coming from the different districts of Bengal and residing in Calcutta.

For a long time I have had the idea of undertaking a survey of the incidence of diseases among students coming from various parts of Bengal, district by district. Up till now we have examined over 23 thousand students and the total mass of material that has to be sifted and tabulated is enormous. The present office staff is very much over-worked and it is not possible at present to do justice to the valuable data that have been collected. That is the reason why the purely scientific or statistical side of the work, the value of which cannot be exaggerated, has not so long been taken up for proper investigation. Of over 45 different items entered against each student I have chosen only a few for a preliminary study.

The items chosen are :—

- (1) Ponderal Index
- (2) Enlarged Spleen
- (3) Enlarged Liver
- (4) Affections of the Heart
- (5) Affections of the Lungs
- (6) Adenoids
- (7) Genitalia (Hydrocele, Varicocele, etc.)
- (8) General defectives
- (9) Height
- (10) Weight
- (11) Cephalic Index

Of these the last three are of anthropometric interest. At the outset I must, however, point out, that the results obtained are not a picture of the general Bengalee population. They are based on the study of a selected group, *viz.*, the class which supplies students to the University. The incidence of the different elements composing this class is as follows :—

Brahmins 31% , Kayasthas 28% , Baidya 8% , other Hindus 19% , Mahomedans 7% , Christians 2·5% and unknown 4·5% .

Ponderal Index.

The distribution of Ponderal Index shows a low Ponderal Index for students from Midnapur, Howrah, 24-Parganas, Khulna and Bankura in South-west Bengal ; Maldah and Pabna in Northern Bengal ; and Chittagong in Eastern Bengal. Students from Eastern Bengal show a Ponderal Index above the average ; as also those from Northern Bengal with the exception of Pabna and Maldah. On the whole there is a rise in the Ponderal Index as we travel from South to North.

. The lowest Ponderal Index is for the district of Midnapur, *viz.*, 2·9 and the highest for the district of Tipperah 2·27.

Enlarged Spleen.

The average incidence of enlarged Spleen for the whole of Bengal is 2%. The districts which show an incidence of over 4.5% are Burdwan, Bankura, Midnapur, 24-Parganas, Nadia, Rajshahi, Bogra and Chittagong. Dacca and Barisal (Buckergunge) show a particularly low rate .5 and 1 per cent. respectively. On the whole the districts of Eastern Bengal, excepting Chittagong, show a low incidence. The Districts of Northern Bengal show a very high incidence, the highest being at Bogra 7.7%; South-west Bengal has also a fairly high incidence, the lowest being at Calcutta 1.7% and Hooghly 2% and the highest at Nadia 6.4%.

Enlarged Liver.

The districts which show a low incidence in the occurrence of enlarged Liver are Bankura and Hooghly in South-west Bengal, Buckergunge and Dacca in Eastern Bengal and Maldah, Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling in Northern Bengal. The districts which show a high incidence are Midnapur in South-west Bengal, Dinajpore and Bogra in Northern Bengal, and Mymensingh, Noakhali and Chittagong in Eastern Bengal.

Affections of the Heart.

The average incidence for the whole of Bengal is 4.5%. 24-Parganas show a particularly high incidence of 11.3%. The districts of Bankura, Hooghly, Howrah, Jessore and Khulna show a fairly high incidence, *i.e.*, above 6%. The districts of Murshidabad and Noakhali seem to be the least affected, giving a percentage of 1.4% and 1.3%, respectively.

Affections of the Lungs.

The average incidence for the whole of Bengal is about 5%. The districts which show a high incidence are Dinajpore in Northern Bengal and 24-Parganas, Khulna and Jessore in South-west Bengal. The districts which show a moderate incidence

are Birbhum, Burdwan and Nadia in South-west Bengal. The incidence of Pulmonary disease in Eastern Bengal is uniformly low.

Adenoids.

The largest number of cases of Adenoids was found at Buckergunge. It is fairly common also in Burdwan, Mymensingh and Chittagong.

Genitalia.

Under this head have been grouped cases of Hydrocele, Varicocele and Chronic Orchitis. The first forms the preponderating factor and the distribution given will correspond mainly to the prevalence of hydrocele. The districts which are the most affected are Rangpore, Dinajpore, Malda, Nadia, Murshidabad, Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan, Howrah and Hooghly, *i.e.*, those districts which are adjacent to the province of Behar and Orissa. The Southern districts—Midnapore, 24-Parganas and Khulna—show a moderate to low incidence, while all the districts of Eastern Bengal, except Chittagong, show a very low incidence.

General Defectives.

In this class are included all affections and ailments which need immediate medical attention and treatment, excepting visual and dental affections. Large proportions of these diseases are what are termed “ Minor Ailments ” and though they do not seriously affect life, they are sources of constant worry and trouble. This criterion is therefore a fair guide to the general health of a district. Judged by this standard, the districts of Bankura, Howrah and Hooghly are very unfavourable districts. All the districts of Eastern Bengal, with the exception of Chittagong, seem to be healthy. In Northern Bengal, Jalpaiguri and Rajshahi seem to be favourable areas. In South-west Bengal all the districts, except Birbhum and Jessore, have a moderate to high incidence and are not healthy places.

Height.

The average height for the Bengalees is 165-166 cm. The Bengalees are a medium-sized people, and in no district is the average below that of medium stature, and similarly in no district does the average reach the limit of the tall people. A strain of comparatively tall people giving an average of 166-168 cm. is found to inhabit the districts of Hooghly, Nadia, Pabna, Rangpur, Birbhum and Chittagong. Comparatively short-statured people are found in the districts of Midnapore, 24-Parganas, Jessore, Buckergunge, Bogra, Dinajpore and Jalpaiguri. In all these districts the average is below 165 cm.

It would, therefore, seem that a comparatively tall people inhabit the central districts of Bengal.

Weight.

The average weight of the Bengalees is 50·8 kg. The districts where it falls below average are Bankura, Midnapore, Khulna and Chittagong, the lowest being Midnapore with 49 kg. The highest average is at Rajshahi with 54 kg.

Cephalic Index.

The average Cephalic Index is 79. The Bengalees are predominantly a meso-cephalic people. Mymensingh is the only district where a distinctly dolicho-cephalic average is found, *viz.* 75·2. A meso-brachycephalic average of over 80 is found in the districts of Jessore, Faridpur, Khulna and Hooghly. The people of South-west Bengal are meso-cephalic and give averages between 78 and 80. The people of Eastern Bengal are on the whole dolicho-meso-cephalic and give averages which are below 78. In the Northern districts this tendency to dolicho-cephaly again reappears in the districts of Rangpur and Maldah. If we combine the distribution of Height and Cephalic Index we notice that in the central

districts of Bengal we meet with a strain which is above the medium height, *i.e.*, with a tendency to tallness and meso-brachy-cephalic, *i.e.*, with a tendency to brachicephaly. The district of Birbhum is an exception to the general distribution in South-west Bengal, a strain with a tendency to tallness and dolicho-meso-cephaly being met with. In Eastern Bengal the type shows a tendency to shortness and is mainly dolicho-meso-cephalic. This is most marked in the district of Mymensingh where the people are distinctly dolicho-cephalic and of short medium stature. In the district of Chittagong we meet again a tall meso-cephalic group.

A. CHATTERJEE,

Hony. Secretary.

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A PROTEST.

DEAR SIR,

In your issue for Nov.-Dec., 1932, p. 170, in the article, "Buddhism and Vedanta," the writer has misquoted from a little book I wrote twenty years ago to this effect :—I said as follows : "the late Professor Pischel wrote ..With Garbe and Jacobi I am convinced that Buddha as a philosopher is entirely dependent on Kapila and Patanjali." The present writer Swami Jagadīśwarananda quotes this *as if* I were expressing my own opinion. This is wrong even concerning my views in 1912, and to that extent I have not changed those views. I held and still hold, that both Garbe's and Jacobi's opinion as followed by Pischel were very immature and unbalanced on this point. In the first place it is unfit to speak of "Buddha" as "a philosopher," as German scholars or we understand the term, to wit, as a great pundit. Gotama Sakyamuni was immensely greater than any pundit; he was

a divinely inspired Helper of men. And he never bothered himself with erecting any system of word architecture to explain the cosmos, within or without. In the second place, had he been classifiable as a pundit, a "sophistes," a philosopher, he would certainly have never been "dependent" on any man, entirely or even in part. He was he: the man of a New Word, not the follower, not the dependent, save only of the Highest whom he worshipped as the sense of the right, of the better, of the 'ought' in man: "that Deity within my bosom," "Dharma."

This much I would say in self-defence concerning an article the merits in which I gladly acknowledge. In it the writer further errs, for me, in saying "Buddha said," where all we have is what the after-men have *made him say*. In both cases it is the way of citation to which I demur.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS



HIS MAJESTY THE SHAH OF PERSIA

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1933



HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH AT THE CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY ON 25TH MARCH 1933.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Let me begin by thanking you all for the welcome you have extended to me on the first occasion of my coming among you as your Chancellor, and you, Sir, particularly, for the warmth of the terms in which the University's welcome has been expressed. I fully recognised that, whatever may be the position in other countries, in India the post of Chancellor is no mere titular honour but a position carrying with it serious duties and responsibilities. It is for this very reason, as it seems to me, that there may be solid advantages both to the University and to Government in the statutory provision which requires one man to double the rôles of Chancellor and Governor. Embarrassing as the position may sometimes be to the holder it affords to either body an interpreter to the other of its aims and of its methods. University and Government alike have their definite responsibilities under the Act but, as both are prompted by the same ideal, "The advancement of Learning," there is no very obvious reason why these respective responsibilities should lead to antagonism. It will be my earnest endeavour while I am your Chancellor to ensure that the friendly relations of mutual understanding which

were established in the time of my predecessor shall continue and develop, and to that end I can assure you that the good offices which my dual capacity enables me to exercise will be at the disposal of both, to smooth over such differences as may from time to time arise and to promote the good of the University and of education generally in this Province, in both of which, alike as Chancellor and as Governor, I am keenly interested. Having this as my inspiration I am emboldened to express the hope that the University will find me not less sympathetic and helpful than my predecessor to whom the Vice-Chancellor has paid an eloquent and well-merited tribute this afternoon.

The Syndicate and Senate, as was only to be expected, have given expression to their sense of the menace which the cult of terrorism offers to the progress of true education and indeed to the advancement of the general interests of the country. I trust that they will not permit their disapproval to stop short at mere expression but that they will actively exert their influence over students and guardians alike to counteract the insidious poison of this pernicious doctrine. I would also take this opportunity most heartily to endorse what has fallen from the Vice-Chancellor this afternoon on the subject of the participation by students in active party politics generally. Interest in the social and political problems of the day is one thing,—the students of to-day are the voters of to-morrow and the study of the various problems of citizenship can hardly be taken up too early,—but active participation in the political conflicts of the day is quite another thing and cannot be indulged in without detriment to those qualities both of intellect and of character which it is the principal aim of a University education to foster. I would most earnestly appeal to all those whose studies are as yet uncompleted not to allow themselves to be diverted from the purpose which brings them together in schools and colleges into what must be to them at present the barren wastes of municipal or national polemics.

As we have been reminded by the Vice-Chancellor, the University has during the past year suffered serious losses by

death and by retirement. We remember with gratitude all these members of this Senate, distinguished in their various spheres, who have contributed to the good name of the University and thereby to the service of the country. Their memory cannot but stand as a challenge to the present generation to emulate their achievements and to equal or surpass them in their contribution to the changing requirements of the times.

We are particularly loath to lose the services of Professors so distinguished in their own line as Sir Venkata Raman and Colonel Green-Armytage. Sir Venkata Raman has already left Calcutta for Bangalore to join his new appointment as Director of the Indian Institute of Science. He is the first Indian to be selected for that post and though his loss will be a serious one to the University, we are glad to think that he is not cutting himself completely adrift from us. Colonel Green-Armytage is leaving India to take up an appointment of eminence in his profession in London and in his case we can only console ourselves with the thought that Calcutta's loss will be London's gain.

On the other side the University is to be congratulated on having secured the services of eminent lecturers from India and from outside to bring to our graduates the fruits of their own experience and research in many fields.

I join with the Vice-Chancellor in welcoming the munificence of Dr. Harendra Coomar Mookerjee whose generous offer takes a most practical form. It is no disparagement of previous benefactions to stress the obvious advantages—amid the conditions, especially, with which we are faced to-day—of an offer which provides stipends rather than gold medals and envisages practical as well as theoretical training. We are under a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Mookerjee : my hope is that others will be inspired by his example to make endowments of a similar character for vocational education.

The Vice-Chancellor has referred to certain important changes, favoured by the Senate, in the regulations governing the curriculum of the Matriculation Examination. Of these perhaps

the most far-reaching as well as the most controversial is the provision for instruction and examination through the medium of the vernacular. This is a matter of very great importance to the future of Bengal and one on which strong views are held and cogent arguments can be adduced on one side and the other. It is a matter calling for the most careful consideration of Government, but I shall make it my object to see that the proposal is dealt with as expeditiously as is consistent with the importance of the issues involved. Considerable discussion there is bound to be and I have no doubt that the Hon'ble Minister will give opportunity for the elucidation and, if possible, the solution in Conference of any points of difference or difficulty that may emerge.

I have learnt with interest that the University are studying the possibilities of Sir Daniel Hamilton's proposals for the employment of young men of the *bhadralog* class in co-operative work, rural reconstruction and the development of agriculture. I shall be glad to see the conclusions at which the University's Committee of investigation arrive.

So far, ladies and gentlemen, I have confined myself to commenting upon a few of the many points which caught my attention in the Vice-Chancellor's interesting address and I do not claim the merit of any great degree either of originality or of vision for the comments which I have felt prompted to make. I am free to acknowledge—and I do so with regret—that during the 12 months that I have been in Bengal I have been kept so fully occupied with other matters that I have not been able to devote to the province of University affairs the time and thought which I recognise the subject demands. I hope in the coming year and those that are to follow to be able in some measure to supply the omission not only in what may be regarded as the sphere of University affairs, but also in the sphere of Education generally,—for from what I read and hear and see I am convinced that there is much to be done : much, that is to say, that calls urgently for investigation and improvement : much that can only

be accomplished by the co-operation of all the authorities interested in the development of a sound educational system. That much has been accomplished in the past I do not doubt. It must be a source of gratification to all concerned in the administration and teaching of the University—and it is a matter of sincere satisfaction to Government also,—that in certain directions the University of Calcutta has made rapid and definite progress in recent years. In post-graduate teaching and research, development has been particularly fruitful. You have among you investigators who have earned reputations extending far beyond the boundaries of this province and country. You have provided the necessary facilities for many of your ablest graduates to continue their studies under expert guidance. All this is good and the University may justly be proud of it. But there are other aspects of our educational system which we cannot regard with complacency—aspects which vitally concern us as a University, as a Government, as a Province, as a people.

No one can study the latest general survey of Indian education, the report of the Hartog Committee, without being driven to the conclusion that while Bengal may lead all the provinces in the number of her educational institutions she no longer enjoys her old position of pre-eminence in the quality of the training these institutions impart. There is evidence which, I am afraid, we cannot ignore that Bengal no longer leads the way in education. It is the fact that in the open competitive examinations our youths no longer hold their own. Can one doubt that the standards of the Universities in some of the other Provinces are higher or that their schools and colleges are on the average better equipped and manned than ours? Leaving out of account comparison with other provinces, what do comparative figures for Bengal alone show? In the five years ending with the year 1931-32 our colleges increased by seven, from 44 to 51, but the numbers of students on the rolls fell during the same period from over 25,000 to just over 21,500. Does not this betoken a dissipation of effort? And if that is the

position with the colleges, the position with the recognised schools is still worse. The number of high schools in Bengal is greater than that of any two provinces put together, but their general standard is undoubtedly far too low. No school can give proper training which has not at its disposal adequate financial resources for staff and equipment yet the enormous number of our high schools reduces at once the average fee income and the average grant that is available to each so that most of them must exist precariously, unable to offer terms which the best teachers may justly expect or to provide the equipment necessary for a wide range of studies. This, I feel, is a very serious problem, for the results of the present system are not confined to the academic side. It is not merely that too many of our students come up ill-trained and ill prepared but that a great number of them finish their educational career without having had the least chance to acquire those characteristics of mind and character which alone can make them useful in the public life of their country,—independence of judgment, habits of discipline, of self-restraint and of co-operation, tolerance and understanding of other points of view, initiative and enterprise, readiness to shoulder responsibility, and the patience of true wisdom. In the future,—the very near future—when Bengal is called upon to undertake the responsibilities of an autonomous province, these are the qualities which she will demand of her sons and daughters. My fear is that if they are not developed in school and college they will not be developed at all.

And again, are we not now all coming round to the view that our present system of training, the somewhat narrow, uniform, literary training that is given in our schools, is responsible in some measure at least for the accentuation of our present economic and social difficulties, the widespread unemployment, the distress of the lower middle classes, the failure to create and take advantage of new avenues of honourable industry and business? Many boys come to school and go on to college because they cannot find anything else to do : but

when they pass out of school and college they are little better off and have the added grievance of an education that proves disappointing and deceptive.

I have alluded to the Hartog report,—Sir Philip Hartog is not one who need be suspected of being out of sympathy with Indian educational ideals and Indian Universities. Let me now give you a quotation from a book which I have recently been reading,—the “Life and Experiences” of one to whom this University owes much,—Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray. “The two Universities of Calcutta and Madras have become two huge factories for mass production of graduates. As if these were not enough, a number of new Universities have recently cropped up in quick succession.....This inordinate insane craze—almost a mania—for securing a degree has been working infinite mischief—it has become almost a canker eating into the very vitals of intellectual life and progress.” And he goes on to explain that “A serious drawback incidental to, and I am afraid almost inseparable from, the present ill-understood and misconceived notions of University training is that the young man thus turned out betrays, as a rule, lamentable lack of initiative, resourcefulness and pluck when he is thrown upon the world and has to fight his way through it. While there is a gain in quantity, there is a corresponding deterioration in quality.”

These are not my words : they have fallen from one whose own academic record is of the highest distinction and whose independence of outlook moreover no one would, I believe, question.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, these problems exist and no one can shut his eyes to their existence. I mention them to-day not because I have any ready-made solution,—still less in any spirit of criticism or with any intention of imputing blame. As I have said on another occasion, we have to a large extent inherited a system which has given good service in its day, but has now outlived the period of its maximum utility. The point

that I am anxious to make to-day is this :—in the system of our higher education three authorities are concerned—Government and the two Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. As matters stand no one of these can hope single-handed to solve even those problems with which it is itself primarily concerned. Taking the problem as a whole it is essentially a case for concerted action for a pooling of experience and ideas. Matters like the overhauling of the examination system, the reformation of the school curriculum, the re-organisation of school and college education generally, the possibility of linking up University activities with practical experience in industry and commerce,—these are but a few of the problems for the successful solution of which friendly and intimate discussion between the three authorities interested seems to afford the best if not the only prospect.

Take again a matter like vocational guidance, a subject to which the Vice-Chancellor has made reference to-day. Vocational guidance would seem to be a matter primarily for the Universities themselves, professing as they do to equip their students for the responsibilities of life, but here again I am far from saying that Government may not be able to help.

So far as Government are concerned, I know that Government are anxious to enlist the co-operation of the Universities to the highest degree. We have of recent years seen matters tackled in this way with satisfaction to all parties concerned. Let us have more of it. How we are to proceed as regards each particular problem will depend on the nature of the problem itself: for example, as regards the proposed changes in the Matriculation regulations I am inclined to think that a conference will be the best way of ensuring a thorough examination of the points at issue. Other problems may demand other methods: but what I am anxious to secure,—anxious, both as Governor and as Chancellor, and anxious, if I may say so, as a well-wisher of the rising generation in this Province,—is that,

however, we may decide to tackle these problems we may work together for their solution and avoid cross-purposes and misunderstandings in the pursuit of a common end. That is my message to the University to-day and as I indicated at the beginning of my address, I am willing and indeed eager to do all that is in my power in my triple capacity as head of the Government and as Chancellor of two Universities to secure the smooth and effective working of any machinery we may together devise for the examination and solution of the vast problems that are before us.

But in looking to the future I must not forget the present or those who to-day have received in doctorates, medals and diplomas the hall-mark of a University training. To them I offer my sincere congratulations and good wishes. Some few, I do not doubt, intend to remain and seek higher honours in the branches of learning of their choice. Others—and they must be the great majority—are now going out into the world and going at a time when if the economic horizon is still clouded with difficulties there would seem to be a good prospect of new life and fresh development for this Province under the political and financial arrangements outlined in the pronouncement of His Majesty's Government. To those who find themselves after years of preparation now on the threshold of a career, may I in the University's name and my own, express the hope that they may be wisely guided and that the world may use them well?

ODE TO EVENING

This stillness doth bequeath to me a mood
That prompteth the fair shell to ring—
A song that suiteth well this quietude—
Like Angels' saintly communing—

When Heaven's chovi
Doth faintly rise, as buds' desire—
Or like the fragrant calm in forlorn wood!

Not to the wan bright Hesper is this song—
Nor to the last chip in the brake—
But hollow echoes of this world's strange wrong
Well through its melodies awake—

Awake to reason
The hearts of clod, the minds of treason,
And he for natures like some Michael's thong.

If naught of dreamy note, nor languid whistle
From the high-hole, ere to his nest
He's slunk : or nought of whirl, near thistle
And thyme, ere flies have flown to rest—

Sounds from my shell—
A sorrow-flute-tone here will swell—
That shall incite to war the wrongèd breast!

LOUIS M. EILSHEMIUS

IN MEMORY OF SCOTT

Students of English literature all over the world owe a debt of gratitude to the memory of Sir Walter Scott. Whatever may be their after-thoughts, however they may have outgrown Scott as people in all times are apt to outgrow their predecessors, it is undeniable that Scott has been a part of their heritage, that in the impressionable years of early youth they had been nursed on the poetry and novels of Scott. The magic of his imagination had taken them captive, the tales of border raids had made their blood tingle, narratives of derring-do had taught them to love and appreciate manly fight in a noble cause, before they had or could have come upon pleasures of poetic vision on deep communion with nature and on inspired moments when the reader himself ceases to be a bodied creature and flies in rapture over space and time infinite. When the hundred years have run their rounds, the student of English literature feels therefore bound to remember what space the poetry of Scott fills in his cultural get-up. This is all the excuse, if excuse is needed, when we propose to pay a tribute to the memory of the great Scottish poet who had died a hundred years ago.

The great poet is thus a matter of reminiscence to most of us, a reminiscence which brings back the memory of the past, when action and not meditation seemed more natural as the thing that mattered in the course of life, when a stag drinking his fill by the brink of a river or a rider clad in mail and coursing through a wide glen, spear in hand and bold at heart, struck a sympathetic chord in us and we were lulled into an oblivion of our drab surroundings and woke into a world of beauty, bravery, pomp and circumstance which was all the more attractive for its strangeness. To us born in the East the strangeness was much greater in extent and degree, but that did not at all stand in the way of our enjoyment of these poems of border warfare, glittering pageants of high-souled knights, courtly warriors, well-born

damsels, and minstrels devoted to their cause. How much of this pleasure of reminiscence, will stand the test of modern criticism, remains to be seen as time passes on. In his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, Burke deplored the end of the age of chivalry ; and though there had been attempts before Scott to reproduce the medieval times in which feudalism was the order of the day, all of them were miserable failures, but the Scottish poet brought back the past which, Burke and his hearers thought, had perished out of all existence. This was natural for him to have done, because though he was of the 18th century, he lived in the spirit of the Middle Ages. In spite of the shrewd man of business which he undoubtedly was, he did not cease to love and care for the current of life which ran through Europe, and more specially through Scotland, and made the country fertile with generous impulses and heroic actions. Even when he had not thought of turning out as a poet or a novelist of distinction, singing and describing the times which were so dear to his heart, he had carefully snatched from oblivion old refrains and border songs, cherished in his memory village anecdotes, searched far and wide for forgotten worthies and deposited them all in the tablets of his memory which were to be of so much service to him in later times.

As a poet, we remember him first of all in his four poetic romances—*Lay of the Last Minstrel*, *Marmion*, *Rokeby* and *Lord of the Isles*. The last of the minstrels was indeed his own self, who had caught somewhat of the “refinement of modern poetry without losing the simplicity of his original model,” as he quaintly and modestly described it. He regretted the death of his “tuneful brethren” and he in his own way continued the “unpremeditated lay,” not only for lords and ladies gay, but for all others besides who could and cared to read such verses. Here he limits the scope of his poetry ; he knew that he lacked in subtleties and refinements of his times and that what he wanted was not to excel in these but to represent and re-tell in verse what his own poets, generations past, had described and narrated. The

simplicity of his themes, though much we may laugh at it now, was thus the result of a deliberate choice, and when we read Sir Walter's verse tales it is necessary that we should remember it.

Scott was a poet of humanity but not of all humanity, only of certain classes and of those classes more regarding their actions than their impulses, more of straight fight, of soldiers marching in the battle array with glittering armour than of philosophers trying to reform the world with new gospels suited to modern tastes and modern times ; the limitations are apparent on the surface and need not flutter us out of all appreciation of the poet. Let us now turn to his favourite mode of introducing his stock character—the knight. The gates of the well-guarded castle are opened, tall yeomen raise the portcullis, the draw-bridge falls, and then the Knight appears to view: this is how Lord Marmion comes within our ken. We forget for the time being the gorgeous colour and rich trappings: the blue ribbon and the blue brodered rein of his charger: the falcon on his crest, dark and flying on an azure field: the rich polish of gold embossing his costly helmet; these with his attendants are but subordinate to the main subject, the Knight himself. This is how he strikes the simple spectator:

Along the bridge Lord Marmion rode,
Proudly his red-roan charger trode,
His helm hung at the saddlebow ;
Well by his visage you might know
He was a stalworth knight, and keen,
And had in many a battle been ;
The scar on his brown cheek reveal'd
A token true of Bosworth field ;
His eyebrow dark, and eye of fire,
Show'd spirit proud, and prompt to ire ;
Yet lines of thought upon his cheek
Did deep design and counsel speak.
His forehead, by his casque worn bare,
His thick moustache, and curly hair,

Coal-black, and grizzled here and there,⁴
 But more through toil than age ;
 His square-turn'd joints, and strength of limb,
 Show'd him no carpet knight so trim,
 But in close fight a champion grim,
 In camps a leader sage.

(Canto I)

Scott has drawn not only the soldier who has won recognition in society and is thus well groomed and sumptuously equipped, but also the daring mountaineer who, in his plaid and sword in hand, is a dreadful person to encounter by the side of a rock, under the shades of eve, and with a watch-fire close before him. Fitz-James found it so to his great risk and had to save himself with great trouble, as the poet has narrated in his *Lady of the Lake*, drawn in sympathy now to one of the combatants, now to the other.

The story of such a dreadful combat is thus vividly told in Scott's own words :

Full at Fitz-James' throat he sprung;
 Received but reck'd not of a wound,
 And lock'd his arms his foeman round.
 Now, gallant Saxon, hold thine own !
 No maiden's hand is round thee thrown !

The Chieftain's gripe his throat compress'd,
 His knee was planted in his breast ;
 His clotted locks he backward throw
 Across his brow his hand he drew,
 From blood and mist to clear his sight,
 When gleam'd aloft his dagger bright !

But, while the dagger gleam'd on high,
 Reel'd soul and sense, reel'd brain and eye,
 Down came the blow—but in the heath ;
 The erring blade found bloodless sheath."

(The *Lady of the Lake*, Canto V, XVI.)

But Scott is not only a poet of fights of clanging armour and blows on coats of mail, he can also draw the hero in a pose of defence, as just before the fight described above when the lowland knight stood at bay before a swarm of mountaineers who stood up from nowhere suddenly at the bidding of their leader ;

He mann'd himself with dauntless air,
Returned the Chief his haughty stare,
His back against a rock he bore,
And firmly placed his foot before;
'Come one, come all! this rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I.'

(*Ibid*, X.)

Thus he has drawn his soldiers in motion and repose in vivid outline and he has also sung their dirge in verses which may survive the touch of time.

He is gone on the mountain,
He is lost to the forest,
Like a summer-dried fountain,
When our need was the sorest.
The font, reappearing,
From the ruin-drops shall borrow.
But to us comes no cheering,
To Duncan no morrow!

The hand of the reaper
Takes the ears that are hoary,
But the voice of the weeper
Wails manhood in glory.
The autumn winds rushing
Waft the leaves that are scarest,
But our flower was in flushing,
When blighting was nearest.

Fleet foot on the correi,
Sage counsel in cumber,
Red hand in the foray,
How sound is thy slumber!

Like the dew on the mountain,
 Like the foam on the river,
 Like the bubble on the fountain,
 Thou art gone, and for ever!

(Lady of the Lake, Canto III.)

He has also described how maidens sang charmed rhymes to cast spells on wandering knights, to lull them to sleep after the day's fight was done. The first half of such a song, reproduced below, is written in Scott's best style :

Soldier, rest! thy warfare o'er,
 Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking;
 Dream of battled fields no more,
 Days of danger, nights of waking.
 In our isle's enchanted hall,
 Hands unseen thy couch are strewing,
 Fairy strains of music fall,
 Every sense in slumber dewing.
 Soldier, rest! thy warfare o'er,
 Dream of fighting fields no more :
 Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking,
 Morn of toil, nor night of waking.

No rude sound shall reach thine ear,
 Armour's clang, or war-steed champing,
 Trump nor pibroch summon here
 Mustering clan, or squadron tramping.
 Yet the lark's shrill fife may come
 At the day-break from the fallow,
 And the bittern sound his drum,
 Booming from the sedgy shallow.
 Ruder sounds shall none be near,
 Guards nor warders challenge here,
 Here's no war-steed's neigh and champing,
 Shouting clans, or squadrons stamping.

Nor has woman been an object of indifferent interest. It is admitted that Scott's heroines do not admit of much variation, they are all staid, sober, loving and lovely, but they never rebel

stoutly against parental authority, love steels their heart to a limited extent, passive, obedient, demure, they stand in his poems emblems of womanly virtue, objects of our regard, but never touching our hearts except in a crisis. Many are the poems in which womanly beauty, maidenly virtue, virgin's love, a matron's feeling find adequate expression. We recall the maiden's prayer to the Virgin from which a few lines only are given below :

Ave Maria ! maiden mild !
 Listen to a maiden's prayer !
 Thou canst hear though from the wild,
 Thou canst save amid despair.
 Safe may we sleep beneath thy care,
 Though banish'd, outcast, and reviled ;
 Maiden ! hear a maiden's prayer—
 Mother, hear a suppliant child !
 Ave Maria !

(Lady of the Lake, Canto III, XXIX.)

The poet has not been so much keen on fights as to lose all relish of love ; the two receive treatment from him in their turns. The hero who leaves his partner at home to waft her soul in lonely sighs, who is dull to all promptings of love, is for him drawn in lines which may live. This from *Quentin Durward*, for many of Scott's fine lyrics are to be had interspersed in his *Waverley Novels* :—

Ah ! County Guy, the hour is nigh,
 The sun has left the lea,
 The orange flower perfumes the bower,
 The breeze is on the sea.
 The lark, his lay who thrill'd all day,
 Sits hush'd his partner nigh ;
 Breeze, bird, and flower, confess the hour,
 But where is County Guy ?
 The village maid steals through the shade,
 Her shepherd's suit to hear ;
 To beauty shy, by lattice high,
 Sings high-born Cavalier.

The Star of Love, all stars above,
 Now reigns o'er earth and sky ;
 And high and low the influence know,
 But where is County Guy !

A more graphic portrait and a more positive mood of neglect have been drawn in his Maid of Neidpath where the Maid, made ill by constant pining, has been waiting her lover's return with a beating heart, watching with tragic shadow in her heart and half dreading and half welcoming the return, the tense excitement which the contending feelings roused imparting to her almost a preternatural power and keenness of observation :

All sunk and dim her eyes so bright,
 Her form decay'd by pining,
 Till through her wasted hand, at night,
 You saw the taper shining ;
 By fits, a sultry hectic hue
 Across her cheek was flying ;
 By fits, so ashy pale she grew,
 Her maidens thought her dying.

Yet keenest powers to see and hear .
 Seem'd in her frame residing ;
 Before the watch-dog prick'd his ear
 She heard her lover's riding ;
 Ere scarce a distant form was ken'd,
 She knew, and waved to greet him ;
 And o'er the battlement did bend,
 As on the wing to meet him.

He came—he pass'd—an heedless gaze,
 As o'er some stranger glancing ;
 Her welcome, spoke in faltering phrase,
 Lost in his courser's prancing.
 The castle arch, whose hollow tone
 Returns each whisper spoken,
 Could scarcely catch the feeble moan
 Which told her heart was broken.

The false lover has so often received his censure and the hapless

maiden so much of his sympathy. The wounded baron is nursed by a maid who loved him, gentle Clare by name, and he takes the opportunity to address and draw attention of the reader to the fact that in times of danger the nobility of women always rises to the surface. The lines will be easy to recall :

O Woman! in our hours of ease,
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,
And variable as the shade
By the light quivering aspen made ;
When pain and anguish wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou !

(Marmion, Canto VI, XXX.)

Another of his songs foretells that the false lover shall rest under the willow, dead before his prime, struck down by an enemy's hand, dishonoured in a lost fight (Marmion, Canto III). And companion to the Maid of Neidpath, there is this song in which the soldier lover leaves his lady-love for evermore :

A weary lot is thine, fair maid,
A weary lot is thine :
To pull the thorn thy brow to braid,
And press the rue for wine.
A lightsome eye, a soldier's mien,
A feather of the blue,
A doublet of the Lincoln green,—
No more of me you knew,
My love !
No more of me you knew.

This morn is merry June, I trow,
The rose is budding fain :
But she shall bloom in winter snow,
Ere we two meet again.
He turned his charger as he spake,
Upon the river shore,
He gave his bridle-reins a shake,
Said, 'Adieu for evermore,
My love !
And adieu for ever more.

Thus Scott's idea of love is not entirely blind to the frequent tragedy accompanying it in life, he knew that love and war appeal often to different chords in man's heart and though he has sung of both he knew they were at variance sometimes and the course of true love did not always run smooth. At least on this point his vision and interpretation of life was not all moonshine, and he deserves to be heard instead of being simply dismissed with a cheap sneer at what has been called his smile of goodness. War he has seen in his mind's eye and he could not have been blind to the break-up of family and social life which would follow as a matter of course any response to such an appeal as he issued :

Come away, come away,
Hark to the summons ;
Come in your war array,
Gentles and commons.

.....
.....

Come every hill-plaid, and
True heart that wears one,
Come every steel-blade, and „
Strong hand that bears one.

Leave untended the herd,
The flock without shelter;
Leave the corpse uninterred,
The bride at the altar ;
Leave the deer, leave the steer,
Leave nets and barges :
Come with your fighting gear,
Broad-swords and targes.

Come as the winds come, when
Forests are rended,
Come as the waves come, when
Navies are stranded;
Faster come, faster come,
Faster and faster,

Chief, vassal, page and groom,
Tenant and master.

Life and death, love and hate, loyalty and treachery, he had seen them in operation either in real life or through his vivid imagination and had taken stock of them all. The web of life was compounded of joy and sorrow and to illustrate this he composed his spindle song, to be sung in accompaniment to the working of the loom, as follows :—

Twist ye, twine ye! even so
Mingle shades of joy and woe,
Hope, and fear, and peace, and strife,
In the thread of human life.

While the mystic twist is spinning,
And the infant's life beginning,
• Dimly seen through twilight bending,
Lo! what varied shapes attending!

Passions wild, and follies vain,
Pleasures soon exchanged for pain;
Doubt, and jealousy, and fear,
In the magic dance appear.

Now they wax, and now they dwindle,
Whirling with the whirling spindle.
Twist ye, twine ye! even so
Mingle human bliss and woe.

This was all the philosophy that he could give utterance to. It was not in him to give more, and his readers also did not and should not find fault with him on that score. But though Scott is mainly interested in humanity and not in subtleties of the human mind nor in any poetic vision into the mysteries of the universe, he could thoroughly enjoy nature for which he had an observant eye, even apart from historical interest. This is very generally ignored when we form and give currency to general estimates about his work. Two examples of his nature descriptions of this kind may well be given here. One is the well

known description of sunset, on the rocky glen, in the first canto of the *Lady of the Lake* :

The western waves of ebbing day
 Roll'd o'er the glen their level way;
 Each purple peak, each flinty spire,
 Was bathed in floods of living fire.
 But not a setting beam could glow,
 Within the dark ravines below
 Where twined the path in shadow hid,
 Round many a rocky pyramid,
 Shooting abruptly from the dell
 Its thunder-splinter'd pinnacle;
 Round many an insulated mass,
 The native bulwarks of the pass,
 Huge as the tower which builders vain
 Presumptuous piled on Shina's plain.
 The rocky summits, split and rent,
 Form'd turret, dome or battlement,
 Or seem'd fantastically set
 With cupola or minaret,
 Wild crests as pagod ever deck'd,
 Or mosque of Eastern architect.

The other may be found in the beginning of the fourth canto in *The Lord of the Isles* :

STRANGER! if e'er thine ardent step hath traced
 The northern realms of ancient Caledon,
 Where the proud Queen of Wilderness hath placed,
 By lake and cataract, her lonely throne;
 Sublime but sad delight thy soul hath known,
 Gazing on pathless glen and mountain high,
 Listing where from the cliffs the torrents thrown
 Mingle their echoes with the eagle's cry,
 And with the sounding lake, and with the moaning sky.

Yes! 'twas sublime, but sad. The loneliness
 Loaded thy heart, the desert tired thine eye;
 And strange and awful fears began to press
 Thy bosom with a stern solemnity.
 Then hast thou wish'd some woodman's cottage nigh,

Something that show'd of life, though low and mean;
Glad sight, its curling wreath of smoke to spy,
Glad sound, its cock's blithe carol would have been,
Or children whooping wild beneath the willows green.

The first and the third canto open in a similar vein, by noting the departure of Autumn or recalling the dread silence, dreadful by contrast, just after the reverberations of thunder have died away.

In spite of these traits we are generally contented to say that Sir Walter Scott's poetry lacks touches of nature description and that he is fit for boys only. It is true that he is more apt to be enjoyed by boys than by grown-up men who seek deeper spiritual sustenance in poetry than boys crave, but at the same time let us recognise also that even when we have attained maturity we always carry with us something of the boy within us, and it is this element which is responsible for much of our enthusiasm for the things that seem spicy in later life. When we follow contemporary fashion and think we have seen much better stuff in our own days, let us remember that Goethe at least had thought differently. "A great mind unequalled anywhere, who naturally produces the most extraordinary effects upon the world of readers"—this was his opinion of the Scottish poet, an opinion which Croce repeats, and Goethe goes on to compare him with Shakespeare in fertility of invention, infinite variety of original characters, historical scenes, situations, and adventures, universal sympathy and moral purity. We may not now lightly dismiss this enthusiastic appreciation by a poet who has received international homage to-day as much for his rich poetic gifts as for his rare critical insight which had triumphed over barriers of space and time. Much of this tribute goes to Scott the novelist, no doubt, but even there the poet in the novelist gets the homage. We in our day are more alive to our immediate surroundings and fight shy of idealism and medievalism, any *-ism* which may carry us far from this maddening crowd's strife which we do not dub as ignoble; that

is perhaps the reason why the great Italian critic, Croce, speaks of Scott as "writing for his contemporaries, not for eternity," speaks of him as "a writer who delighted our fathers and grandfathers and who, if only for this reason, does not deserve ill-treatment from their sons and grandsons." There is no doubt that in the writings of Scott there are chaff mixed with grain, as there must be in the writings of most other poets, and they would require the loving care of the sympathetic critic who would pick up the best for the readers of to-day. The centenary year should witness such works and John Haynes Holmes has already led the way by his opportune publication, "*In the Heart of Scott's Poetry*."

What place did he fill in the history of the times in which he lived, how did he please our fathers and grandfathers, as Croce half admiringly and half playfully remarks? His was no doubt a great character, heroic in his resolution to stand by his obligation, to pay the almost crushing burden of debt which had fallen on him through the erring ways of irresponsible publishers, but something still remains to be said, apart from the ethical tone of his life, apart also from the generous ways of his living, for indeed he lived like a medieval baron in his castle offering free bounty and hospitality to those who cared to partake of it, traits which need not be considered in any discussion of his poetry except in so far as they throw light on it; he did great service to his contemporary poetry. It was he who made the Romantic movement in English Literature a popular and accepted fact, a change of opinion as radical as any evolution of far-reaching nature, and where his predecessors in the line, devoid of the gift of creation, tried and stumbled, he created anew lords and ladies gay and the minstrels of doughty deeds whom they liked so much to hear. It was he who created, as even the critic of to-day cannot overlook, the distinctive British type of Romanticism, a type thoroughly different from German metaphysics and French aesthetics. Nursed in the spirit of ballad poetry and Scottish antiquity, he won for that poetry a

respectable place in the history of literature, and made popular the works of discerning collectors who had toiled in the field during the sixties and seventies of the previous century. It was he also who stood out in his own days as the poet of Nationalism, and by recalling the great historical achievements of the Scottish nation tried to efface the impression of the smallness of his people in number and in some other ways in his own day. The battle of Bannockburn, a subject of national concern, has been celebrated by him in his *Lord of the Isles*. To him also belongs the credit of having drawn attention to poets of a past age who are likely to suffer from neglect in an age of changed fashions, and his labours in bringing out critical biographies of these poets should not be forgotten when we seek to estimate his position among his contemporary men of letters and his contribution to them. Above all, it was his generosity as well as his critical ability that made him exclaim on Byron's appearance as a poet, which had made him leave off his verse tales, though not altogether his writing of poetry, "Byron beat me."

How has the poet affected us here in the East? There seems to be an opinion abroad that because the East is mystic in its predilections, because the East is peculiarly the home of religions, therefore it cannot honestly and thoroughly love what is not mystic, what is not religious in the poetry of the West. Nothing is more preposterous; we have always been more catholic in our outlook on life and literature, and the influence of Scott was strong in the English-educated writers of our country in the last century. Thus was Rangalal, one of the prominent Bengali poets who wrote some very popular poetry 75 years ago, inspired by Scott and attempted to draw upon the antiquities of Rajasthan much in the same way as Scott had drawn upon Scotland; Tod's work had supplied the materials but the literary method had been discovered by the Scottish poet, and Rangalal was not slow in hinting at the source of his inspiration. Apart from him, two other typical instances may be mentioned here. One is the translation of his *Lay of the Last Minstrel* done by

Rakhaldas Sen and published in 1875. The translator hailed from Gauribha, and did his work with care and precision, adding notes and looking up references in the manner of Scott himself. It began as a literal version but was modified later on and tried to remain true to the spirit of the original even at the sacrifice of the letter, but for all that, it remained a line-for-line translation. A few specimens may be quoted here to show how diligently Sen had worked at Scott.

The way was long, the wind was
cold,
The Minstrel was infirm and old;
His wither'd cheek, and tresses
gray,
Seem'd to have known a better day;
The harp, his sole remaining joy,
Was carried by an orphan boy.
The last of all the bards was he,
Who sung of Border chivalry; etc.

If thou would'st view fair Melrose
aright,
Go visit it by the pale moon light;
For the gay beams of lightsome day
Gild, but to flout, the ruins grey.
When the broken arches are black in
night,
And each shafted oriel glimmers
white : etc.

Breathes there the man, with
soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land ?
Whose heart hath ne'er within him
burn'd
As home his footsteps he hath turn'd,
From wandering on a foreign strand ?

সুদীর্ঘ সে পথ, বাতাস শীতল,
প্রাচীন হ্রস্বল গায়ক তায় ;
লোল গণ্ডেশ কুন্তল ধবল,
ছিল ভাগ্যবল প্রকাশ পায় ।
একমাত্র বীণা তাঁহার সম্বল,
রয়েছে অনাথ শিশুর করে,
একমাত্র তিনি গায়ক কেবল
জীবিত আছেন গীতের তরে etc.

দেখিতে যতপি চাও মেলরোজ কেমন,
যাও, দেখ গিয়া এরে কৌমুদী উৎসবে,
কেন না প্রথর রশ্মি সূর্য্যের কিরণ,
দেপায় ইহার যত দোষ গুণ সবে,
কাল হহে শোভে যত খিলাসি যখন,
সুস্মৃক্ত দৃষ্ট হয় কিবা বাতায়ন ।

আছে কি মানব কেহ হেন মৃচ্ছমতি,
আপনারে নিজে যেই বলেনি কখন,
এই দেশ, এই মোর দেশ, হর্বমতি,
অন্তরে হৃদয় যার জ্বলেনি কখন,
গৃহস্থে পদ যবে করে সঞ্চালন,
দূরস্থিত বহুদেশ করিয়া ভ্রমণ ?

I should like to point out that there is another typical case of curious resemblance between a Bengali poet and Scott ; let us

compare the portraits of Shailaja drawn by Nabinchandra in the Raibatak and Clare in Marmion. They had been lovers of heroes but were doomed to disappointment, so they had disguised themselves by putting on men's attire, and as pages had done important service to their liege lords. In the Raibatak, Shaila's service had been brilliantly put forward in Canto X where she saved Arjun's life from a surprise attack and the disguise is cast off only in Canto XIX ; in the unique creation of Shailaja the Bengali poet has considerably improved upon his original by making the heroic girl translate her affections to a higher plane. The tragic picture of Clare handing over water to Marmion for a sorely needed drink when mortally wounded gives place to a more beautiful and ideal portrait where love is platonic, and more than that, divine ; beginning as a personal love, it transcends gradually till at last it merges in the infinite and, in the process, what a transformation of character has taken place ! In the 19th canto of the Raibatak we come across the lines :

তুমি পিতা, তুমি ভ্রাতা, তুমি প্রাণেশ্বর,
তুমি শৈলজার এক, অনন্ত, ঈশ্বর—

You are the father, the brother, the lord of life,
Of Shailaja the one, infinite, God—

Here all is surrender, merging of self completely in God, holding back nothing ; only the individual and God, nothing steps between, no racial ties or national missions cloud this simple relation ; but the emotional liberation of her heart makes Shailaja a pioneer in bringing together the Aryans and the non-Aryans under the fold of Divine Love, for which she pleaded, when she was dying, with an impassioned appeal :

আর্যদের আছে জ্ঞান, আছে শাস্ত্র আর্যদের,
অনন্ত-শাস্ত্র-শিক্ষক আছে ঋষিগণ ;
পতিত অনার্যদের কিছু নাই, কেহ নাই,
দিও তাহাদের মূর্তি—পতিত পাবন !

(The *Prabhās*, Canto XIII.)

The Aryans have knowledge, they have the Shastras ;
 They have the Rishis to teach them wisdom infinite,
 But the fallen Non-Aryans have nothing, have none,
 Give them your image—God of those who have fallen !

This was made possible through the passage of a personal love into a love of the infinite God in varied aspects. This later *Sadhana* she thus described to Subhadra :

সেই পতি ভাব দেবি ! হইল বিলীন
 কি অনন্ত শান্তিপূর্ণ শ্রীতি-পারাবারে,
 সিদ্ধমুখী গঙ্গামত ! এই চরাচর,
 হইল অর্জুনময়, হইল তনয় ।
 কভু পার্থ পতি, আমি প্রেমে আত্মহার,
 কভু পার্থ পিতা, আমি ভক্তিতে অধীরা ।
 কভু পার্থ ভ্রাতা, আমি য়েহে নিমজ্জিতা,
 কভু পুত্র পার্থ, আমি বাৎসল্যে পূরিতা ।
 কভু পার্থ সখা, আমি সখী বিনোদিনী,
 কভু পার্থ প্রভু, আমি দাসী আক্সাধীনী !
 কভু আমি পার্থ, পার্থ শৈলজা আমার ।
 অভিন্ন হৃদয় কভু—নদী পারাবার !

(The *Kurukshetra*, Canto XIII.)

These are some of the instances in which Scott has left his mark in Bengali literature. If we cared to note his influence in other Indian literatures who knows what results we might get. But that is one way in which we may celebrate Scott's centenary. If the years have given us real wisdom, our appreciation should be tempered by our judgment, so that our preferences may last longer, we dare not say for all times to come, because we mortals are short-sighted enough. But in spite of what the critics say and what the critics have done, the study of Scott still offers avenues unexplored till now, avenues, through which we may walk with hopes of profit. In much of our thoughts Scott's poetry is inseparable from his fiction, his criticism, his historical work and journalistic efforts. For life

is one whole and the different compartments into which we may divide it for our convenience are 'strangely interconnected. Let us accept the following verses then as a measure of Scott's achievement in poetry :

He hath woven the wonderful threads of Life
From cradle to bier in a cloth of gold ;
He hath crossed us the spears of Border strife,
And the hands of the Highland loves of old.
And every wood is a jewel to hold
While a nerve shall thrill, or a sword shall thrust,
Till the last of the fairy tales be told
And the mouldering Dryburgh stones be dust.¹

(Will Ogilvie.)

PRIYARANJAN SEN

¹ Read at a meeting of the Poetry Society, Calcutta Centre.

FRIARS CRAG, DERWENTWATER

Did God ordain thee as a quiet seat
'Neath star-flung temples of eternal space,
Did God spread yielding waters round thy feet,
For town-bred souls made. He a trysting place ?

The heather ripening into purple blaze.
Soft-coloured trees, the flash of glittered streams,
The mountains of ten thousand changing greys
From town-cramped spirits wrest their haunting
dreams.

The stillness, lap of water, Zephyr soft,
The music of the children far away,
The birds' love-twitters as they wing aloft
In darkened lives rekindle flaming day.

I think that when at night alone you wait
When care-worn souls have left your fountain-head,
That God comes down and opens heaven's gate
And angels come and rest in mortals' stead.

May be your spirit wearied with the cares
Of others when you've comforted and blessed,
Is strengthened by the holy angels' prayers,
And in God's bosom finds a wondrous rest.

Stranger, who find this heavenly fragment here,
Drink of the Peace of God, and understand :
Be still for world-worn angels' solace near,
And God Himself dwells on this lovely strand.

J. RALPH MILLER

A STUDY OF THE MANASA-CULT AND ITS LITERARY EXPRESSION¹

Fichte's definition of poetry, which has almost been antiquated in these days of Mysticism, Symbolism, Realism and so on—to name only a few of the modern 'isms' which have been struggling to dominate the literary ideals since the inception of the Romantic Movement in European Literature—seems to have a very close application to ancient Indian poetry in general and Bengali poetry in particular. That poetry is ultimately 'an expression of a Religious Idea' would be the nearest approach to a correct estimation of the trend of the ancient poetical literature of Bengal. The religious movement of the Bengali Vaiṣṇavas, which was primarily based upon the spiritualisation of human sentiments and which emphasised upon the culture of the finer emotions, gave rise to a vast and beautiful literature in Bengali as well as in Sanskrit. The lyrical branch of the Vaiṣṇava literature, better known as the *padāvalīs*, which, by virtue of their superb melody, magnificent wealth of expressions and splendid richness and variety of ideas struck a new note in Indian lyric poetry, would be best interpreted as the representation of a particular kind of religious idealism which grew on the soil of Bengal and which was Bengal's special contribution to the religious world.

There have been various other literary channels through which the religious soul of Bengal sought to express itself. We propose to dwell upon a popular branch of old Bengali literature which, judged by the standard of poetic truth and beauty, would scarcely be found to have scaled the heights of the splendid lyrical literature of the Vaiṣṇavas, and which was nevertheless permeated by the ideas and beliefs that represented the contemporaneous religious life of the country. As religion, in its

• ¹ An adaptation from an article by the author, published in the *Chittagong College Magazine* (Feb., 1931).

universal acceptation or in its sectarian aspects, embodied in the various popular cults, has always been the mainspring of activities in our country, the age that saw the revival of Puranic Hinduism in Bengal, also witnessed the growth and development of a large mass of beautiful poetical compositions of the epical or narrative kind, based upon semi-historical or mythological stories, celebrating the triumph of faith over scepticism in religious life. This branch of old Bengali literature consists of the numerous *Maṅgal*-poems or panegyrics, written in honour of deities and divinities that claimed the adoration of our ancient forefathers. These panegyric-poems include (1) the *Dharma Maṅgals*, bearing the stamp of Hinduised Buddhism, (2) the *Candī Maṅgal*, *Kālikā Maṅgal* and *Annadā Maṅgal* poems, celebrating the glory and triumph of the Goddess of the Mother-cult, (3) the *Manasā Maṅgal* poems written to describe the glory and exploits of the deity presiding over the serpentine world and (4) the *Sivāyana* poems, written in glorification of the great Puranic God Siva. There have been, besides, other minor poems, eulogising lesser deities, mythological heroes or historical persons deified.

So far as the *Manasā Maṅgal* poems are concerned, the point that strikes us first is the importance and antiquity of the cult of *Manasā*-worship and the beautiful legend that centred round this deity and her protracted quarrel with the heroic merchant of *Champaknagar*; and although it would be a digression for purposes of literary history, we cannot help considering very briefly certain points in connection with the place of *Manasā*-cult in ancient Indian culture.

Manasā, like many of the deities that are worshipped here even to this day, had perhaps no place in the Aryan pantheon, by which we mean the Vedic pantheon. Many strange gods and goddesses, foreign to the Aryan conceptions of divinity and primarily owned by the aboriginal races that had been inhabiting the soil before the immigration of the Vedic Aryans into the land, slowly and gradually gained admittance into the later

Hindu pantheon, which represented the fusion of many complex and heterogeneous religious beliefs. The worship of Manasā represents no doubt an elegant and modified form of Serpent-worship, a practice which would *prima-facie* suggest itself to be of non-Aryan origin. Discussing the origin of Serpent-worship, Fergusson, while pointing out that the practice prevailed not only in India but in Judæ, Greece, Scandinavia, Sweden and many other countries of the old world, suggests that originally it "came from the mud of the Lower Euphrates, among a people of Turanian origin, and spread thence, as from centre, to every country or land of the old world in which a Turian people had settled." The apparent reasonableness of Fergusson's hypothesis lies in the fact that with aboriginal races, religious feelings spring from a desire to propitiate by worship unknown powers which they dread and that the essence of serpent-worship appears to be diametrically opposed to the spirit of the Veda or of the Bible, which pervades, to a greater or less extent, all forms of religious beliefs of the Aryan or Semitic races. It would be the task of the world-historian to support or refute Fergusson's hypothesis. While confessing our inability to dig back to the roots and to indicate the locality of the original cradle-land of this strange form of worship, we cannot admit, on the authority of the scholar named above, the full truth of the statement that "we look in vain, in the Vedas, for traces of serpent-worship." We cannot, we are afraid, altogether exonerate our Aryan forefathers from an early association with this strange worship, from whatever source and under whatever influence they might have imbibed the same.

Turning to the internal evidences of a very early existence of an almost worshipful attitude towards the venomous reptiles, we find that although no trace of regular serpent-worship is to be found in the *R̥k Samhitā*, frequent mentions have been made of serpents amongst the dreaded agencies of mischief, requiring to be pacified. Vedic scholars have pointed attention to the various appellations under which the noxious beings of this order have

been mentioned—‘Ahi,’ ‘Sarpa’ of the earth. ‘Ahibadhnyu’ of the ‘atmospheric ocean’ and so on. (Rv. i. 32; 5, 8 and 13; ii. 31, 6; iii. 33, 6 and 7; V. 41, 16; VI. 49, 14, and so on.) The deity of the 189th hymn of Book X of the *R̥k Samhitā* is *Sārpa-rajñī*, a term which has, however, been interpreted as ‘the earth.’ The later *Samhitās*, such as the *Yajus* and the *Atharvan*, reveal a more clearly pronounced state of worshipful attitude towards serpents as semi-divine beings. The *Atharva-Samhitā* is full of references to snakes and contains prayers addressed to them (i. 27; ii. 24; iii. 26, 27; iv. 3, 2, and so on). Coming down from the *Samhitā* to the *Brāhmaṇa* period, we find *Sarpa-Vidyā* and *Sarpa-Veda* mentioned in the ‘Satapatha’ and ‘Gopatha’ *Brāhmaṇas* respectively, along with other meritorious courses of study. A rather elaborate system of Serpent-worship seems to have developed itself in the *Sūtra*-period. The *Gṛhyasūtra* enjoins upon the householder to propitiate serpents by means of worship and by the recital of appropriate ‘mantras.’ The ceremony of this worship, according to the *Gṛhya-sūtra*,¹ is to be performed on the full-moon day of *Śrāvaṇa*, when the householder is to make various offerings to the serpent and to consign himself and his near and dear ones to the charge of the deity for protection.

In the post-Vedic mythology, we come across mythical ‘nāgas’ in human form, resembling serpents in their ferocious nature. The ‘nāgas’ in Buddhist mythology are demi-gods of wrathful nature residing in the region under mount *Meru*. Macdonell observes, in this connection, “The primitive conception that man does not differ essentially from the beast has left a few traces in the form of a belief in beings of were-wolf order. These are represented by the ‘Man-tigers’ and by the ‘nāgas,’ human beings in appearance but in reality serpents.”

¹ कलसात् शङ्खान्दर्वीं पूरयित्वा प्रागुपनिष्कृत्य शुचौ देशेऽपोऽवनिनीय सदैवजनेभ्यः स्वाहेति हुत्वा नमस्करोति ये सर्पाः पार्थिवा ये आत्मरीत्या ये दिव्या ये दिशस्तेभ्य इमं बलिमाहाय्यंतेभ्य इमं बलिमुपाकरोमीति ।

According to Weber, "Serpent-worship has unquestionably mythological symbolical relations, but on the other hand, it has also a realistic background." That Serpent-worship had a *realistic background in our country*, is strongly suspected from the internal evidences referred to above.

Of the two Sanskrit Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa has left no trace of the deification of serpents, barring the mention, in the *Sundarākāṇḍa*, of the huge female-serpent, Surasā, who obstructed the passage of the Monkey-chief Hanumān in the course of his aerial trip over the sea to Laṅkā. The Mahābhārata, however, is strewn over with references to actual serpents and 'nāga' peoples. It is a matter for careful consideration if the term 'nāga' of the Mahābhārata is a totem-name for the aboriginal tribes among whom the worship of serpents prevailed. The story of the Pāṇḍava hero, Arjuna, establishing matrimonial alliances with the nāgas, and of his illustrious grandson Parīkṣit being killed by Takṣaka, which fatality was retaliated by the son of the royal victim by means of the famous *Sarpa-satra*, may have some bearing upon the question. The identification of Baladeva with Ananta or Śeṣa seems to be not without its significance. The study of the great Epic will, if it engages the serious attention of the students of religious history, perhaps illumine many dark pages of Ancient Indian History.

It may be mentioned in passing that by the time when Kauṭilya's 'Arthaśāstra' was written, the nāgas came to be looked upon with worshipful reverence and that the 'Kathāsaritsāgar,' too reveals the same state of things, when prince Naravāhan Datta is described as offering liomage to serpents.¹ Some of the Sanskrit Purāṇas contain clear reference to the presiding deity of snakes, although the name Manasā does not occur in all of them. The *Devībhāgavat* speaks of a damsel, Jaratkāru by name, who was given in marriage, by her brother Vāsuki,

¹ ततश्च युवराजो नागान् समाराध्य गृह्णत्यासीत् ।

—Kathāsaritsāgar, Taraṅga xxxiv.

to a sage bearing the same name with her, and of the young sage Āstika, born of the union, who, in deference to the wishes of her mother, interceded on behalf of Takṣaka at the fag-end of Janamejaya's sacrifice and saved her mother's clan from complete extermination (Devībhāgavat, iii, 12). This version of the Devībhāgavat seems to be an abridgement of an elaborate account of the same incident, described in the 'Astikaparvan' which forms a part of the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata. The *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*, which gives us the very name *Manasā* along with Jaratkāru and other names, twelve in all, relates a different account of the birth of the deity and the propagation of her worship among gods and mortals.¹ The goddess, in her maidenhood, it is stated in the same Purāṇa, propitiated Mahādeva by means of her penances and austerities and was initiated into the mysteries of the Vedas, having been duly instructed in the *Sāman* and the *Mahājñānam* (?). By means of her devotion she next propitiated Kṛṣṇa who vouchsafed to render her preliminary homage, which was followed by her worship being popularised among other gods, demi-gods and mortals.

This account of the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa*, we are inclined to believe, contains the history of the final and complete Aryanisation of the deity. One fact must have struck every student of Ancient Indian History and Culture, namely that, this ancient land of ours has been, from very early times, the meeting ground of diverse conflicting creeds and that India of yore has never been lacking in the synthetic vision and the genius necessary for harmonising between heterogeneous elements of culture.

1 पुरा नागभयाक्रान्ता बभूवुर्मानवास्तुवि ।
यान् यान् खादन्ति नागाश्च न ते जीवन्ति नारद ॥
मन्त्राश्च सृष्टेर्भीतः कश्यपो ब्रह्मणार्थितः ।
वेदवीजानुसारिण्योपदेशेन ब्रह्मणः ॥
मन्त्राधिष्ठातृ-देवीनां मनसां सृष्टेर्गतः ।
तपसा मनसा तेन बभूव मनसा च सा ॥

The Purāṇas bear unmistakable evidence of this wonderful capacity for accommodation and reconstruction. Thus many social and religious institutions, even savouring of grossness and ostensibly belonging to a lower stratum of civilisation—which Vedic India or India of the age of the Upaniṣads, representing a high level of rationalistic and intuitional thinking could only half-heartedly and grudgingly accomodate—became subsequently absorbed in the Puranic civilisation, having finally been, as it were, interwoven into the very texture of Indian culture. It was thus possible for the highest forms of monotheistic doctrine to subsist side by side with the strangest modes of idolatrous worship. In most cases where Indo-Aryan religious cults came into conflict with exotic cults, the conflict ended in harmony and reconciliation.

This process of conflict and reconciliation has continued down to comparatively recent times. It seems to have been reflected even in the legends that form the subject-matter of the Bengali *Maṅgal* poems, some of which, no doubt, have got a historical background. The theme of the Bengali 'Manasā-Maṅgal' poems, to our mind, points to a stage of reconciliation arrived at between the Śaiva and Manasā cults and the final recognition of the serpent-deity, whose Aryanisation has been hinted at in a Sanskrit Purāṇa. With slight variations in minor details, the central theme of all the different versions of the Bengali Manasā Maṅgals is the same, namely as stated below.

Chānd, the wealthy and influential merchant of Champaknagar, was a staunch and devoted worshipper of Śiva. He was at first inimically disposed towards the Serpent-Deity and was strongly opposed to the spread of her worship, although his wife Sanakā cherished a high regard for the deity and worshipped her in secret. How could a stalwart upholder of the Śaiva faith stoop to rendering homage to a deity, who presided over the ugly and venomous reptiles? On coming to know of his wife's devotion, the exasperated merchant abused the deity grossly and even maltreated her votary. The infuriated goddess took up the

challenge and the first visitation of her wrath was the destruction of Chānd's beautiful orchard, Guābāri, which however, was promptly restored by means of the esoteric power of *Mahājñān*, possessed by the merchant. The next step of the deity was to deprive her defiant antagonist of his esoteric power and then to kill his six sons, one by one. The terrible retaliation of the wrathful goddess could neither intimidate her brave adversary nor inspire any regard in him. Chānd next decided upon undertaking a sea-voyage to restore the calm of his mind, and loading his fourteen vessels, headed by the *Madhukar*, with various commodities, set out on his voyage on an auspicious day. But here again the revengeful deity would not let him alone. All his fourteen vessels were wrecked and the merchant somehow survived this misadventure. After having passed through numerous vicissitudes, brought about by the manipulations of the wrathful goddess, the brave and undaunted hero returned home.

In course of time, another beautiful son was born to him, but as ill luck would have it, the child was declared by astrologers to be doomed to die by snake-bite on the very night of his wedding. Now Lakhindar—for that was the name given to the handsome child—came of age and was to marry Behulā, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of Sāha, another merchant of high social status. All necessary precautions were taken on the eve of the nuptials to avert the fatal prediction coming true, and a steel-house was created on mount Sāntāli, where the newly married couple were to spend the *bāsara* night. But all precautions proved futile against the manœuvres of the Goddess and Lakhai succumbed to the fatal dart of 'Kālanāginī.' His fair bride did not, however, wipe out the vermilion marks from her forehead and did not allow the dead body of her husband to be taken away. She took possession of the body, and having placed it on a raft of plantain-stems and seated herself by the side of her husband's corpse, floated the raft on the stream of 'Gāngoor,' in the teeth of heavy opposition from her old and

new relations and in the midst of their loud bewailings. The raft drifted along the current, carrying the putrid body, zealously guarded by the devoted wife with a resignation that was more than human and a love that was almost divine. The purity of her vow and the strength of her devotion were put to the severest ordeals in the course of her journey to an unknown destination. She resisted many evils and scared away the agencies, that vainly tried to lure her back to a life of pleasures. Faith triumphed in the long run. The deity relented. The gates of heaven opened out to fair and faithful Behulā. The gods of heaven, including the deity responsible for her ill luck, were mightily pleased. She entertained them by a masterly display of her superior skill in the art of dancing. Her devotion was rewarded by the return of her husband to life. The six other sons of her father-in-law, who had predeceased Lakhindar, were also restored to life. All the seven brothers, together with their saviour, returned to the arms of the bereaved parents. It was too much for the father to resist her divine antagonist any longer. Her superiority was acknowledged in the long run and she was rendered homage by the redoubtable merchant-prince of Champaknagar.

A beautiful and interesting literature sprang up in our country to celebrate the glory of Manasā and the triumph of Behulā's devotion. Nearly three score authors have been discovered up to now who wrote upon the same theme ; many more have got to be discovered yet. The earliest known Bengali writer on this cult was one Hari Datta, who is mentioned in the famous 'Padmāpurāṇa' by Vijay Gupta rather slightly as a blind poet (‘প্রথমে রচিল গীত কাণা হরিদত্ত’) and broken fragments of whose writings are found incorporated with some of the early 'Manasā-Maṅgal' poems. Hari Datta has been supposed by the pioneer historian of old Bengali literature, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, to have lived and composed his poem at least a century or two before Vijay Gupta ; for the latter declares the work of his predecessor almost lost (‘হরিনব্বের যত গীত নুপু হৈল কালে’). The most important and popular amongst the

writers of *Manasā Maṅgal* was Vijay Gupta of the village Fulla-Śrī in the district of Backergunje, which was a *Paṇḍita-nagar* or a seat of learning and culture in the poet's time. Vijay Gupta makes a respectful mention of Emperor Hushen Shaha (1494-1525) and gives us a date, which is probably the date of the composition of his work.

‘ঋতু শশী বেদ শশা পরিমিত শক ।

সনাতন হুসেন শাহ নৃপতি-ভিলক ।

The date referred to here is Śaka 1416 or 1494 A.D. Vijay Gupta's *Padmāpurāṇa* is a voluminous work, comprising seventy-six chapters, in which, besides giving a preliminary account of the birth of the deity, he has worked out the beautiful legend, given above, in masterly details. In the delineation of the pathos, underlying the story, Vijay Gupta has far excelled his contemporaries and successors. Another important poet of East Bengal, Nārāyaṇ Deva by name, wrote upon the same theme. He was an inhabitant of Borā-grām in the district of Mymensingh and has been supposed to be a contemporary of Vijay Gupta. The poet's ancestor lived in Magadha and it is significant to note that the queen of Chāṇḍ has once been referred to, in this work, as the daughter of a King of Behar (‘বেহারিয়া রাজার কন্যা’).

Ṣaṣṭhīvar and Gaṅgādās, father and son, who were inhabitants of Jhinardi in the district of Dacca, also jointly composed a ‘*Manasā Maṅgal*,’ along with many other works including Bengali adaptations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. They composed their poem, it has been supposed, in the earlier half of the sixteenth century. Another illustrious writer of a *Manasā Maṅgal* poem was the Brāhmaṇ-poet Vamśīdās of the village Pātoāri in the Kishoregunje Subdivision of Mymensingh. This Brahmin scholar, it is believed, composed his work in collaboration with his scholarly daughter, Chandrāvati, a poetess of no mean order, whose recently discovered *Rāmāyaṇa* is an

excellent addition to the Bengali versions of Vālmiki's great Epic. Two beautiful ballads have of late been discovered and edited by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, under the auspices of the Calcutta University, treating respectively of (1) the conversion of a bandit-chief, Kenārām by name, under the spell of the musical performance of the 'Manasā Maṅgal,' given by the poet-musician Vaṁśīdās and his party and of (2) the pathetic story of Chandrāvati's disappointment in her early love and her acceptance of a vow of lifelong celibacy. Vaṁśīdās wrote his work in Śaka 1497 corresponding to the year 1575 A.D.

‘জলধির মাঝেত ভুবন মাঝে দ্বার ।
শাকে রচে দ্বিজ বংশী পুরাণ পদ্মার ॥’

The next important writer of a 'Manasā Maṅgal' was one Ketakādās Kṣemānanda, of whom, it has been held, Kṣemānanda was the name, Ketakādās being the title meaning 'a servant of Ketakā or Manasā.' He was a poet of West Bengal who is supposed to have composed his work at some date later than 1640, the poet having referred to Barākhān as the ruler of Selimabad in the district of Burdwan. The space at our disposal will not allow us to notice all the numerous works known as the 'Manasā Maṅgal' poems in Bengali, large collections of which have been made by the manuscript-departments of the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca. This invaluable treasure of Bengali manuscripts remains yet to be utilised by the lovers of the ancient literature of Bengal and these works, when properly studied, will throw much light on the social and religious history of ancient Bengal.

A few more words about the story of the Bengali 'Manasā Maṅgals' and we have finished. The story, in its nucleus, seems to be much older than its exquisite literary presentations by the poets of mediæval Bengal, although unlike the 'Kālaketu'-story or the 'Dhanapati'-episode of a parallel branch of old Bengali literature, it has nowhere been referred to in any of the Sanskrit Purāṇas. The legend undoubtedly points to a very

early age when Bengal had not lost its traditions of maritime activities and when the Bengali merchants enjoyed a high social status. Much controversy has been raised over the question of the residence of the hero of the tale and the centres of action of other heroes and heroines of the story. The 'Gauḍer Itihās' declares Chandradhara or Chānd Sadāgar to be a historical person, who was a contemporary of king Vikramkeśarī and a scion of the famous clan of merchants, known as the 'Gandhabaniks,' who shifted their residence from Kausāmbi to Bengal before the establishment of the rule of the Sena dynasty. The capital of this merchant was Champā¹ or Champāni, which, even from the time of Hiuen Tsang's travels (629-645 A.D.) formed one of the sub-divisions of Gauḍa (the other component parts of the kingdom, according to the Chinese traveller, were Vaṅga, Hiranyaparvat, Kajuthira, Puṇḍravardhana, Samatata, Karṇa Subarṇa and Tāmralipta).

Attempts have also been made to locate the residence of Chānd in many different places of modern Bengal and Assam, and even in several localities in the district of Patna and Bhagalpur in Behar. We have got our modern 'Champaknagara' in each of the districts of Burdwan, Maldah and Tipperah. Other places are also associated with one or other of the heroes and heroines of the tale. The people of these places would have us believe that the scenes of

¹ Champā was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Aṅga, which, according to one account, was named after Champā, the great grandson of Lompāda. The Jaina works, however, declare king Konika to be the founder of this city. The Buddhist Jatakas mention the merchants of Champa, setting out on their sea-voyage with various articles of merchandise by the route of the Ganges. The Buddha is said to have visited in course of his travels a place named Bhodio in the vicinity of Champā. A resting house is supposed to have been built in the city of Champā in ancient times for giving shelter to pilgrims, a reference to which has been made in the Kādambarī and the Daśakumāracaritam. Vāsupūjya, the twelfth 'Tirthaṅkara' is said to have been born in Champā. Asoka's mother, Subhadrāṅgi, was the daughter of a Brāhmaṇ of Champā. The author of the Laṅkāvatārasutta, a Buddhist scholar named Jina, was held to be an inhabitant of this city. The famous work of lexicon, 'Trikāṇḍaśeṣa,' mentions 'Puṣpa-pāṇi' to be another name of the city.

'Manasā Maṅgal' were laid in their respective localities. We leave it to abler scholars to seriously examine the validity of these claims, which are all based upon the assumption of the historical character of the heroes and heroines. Shall we be taken to task if we are inclined to profit by regarding the story otherwise than from a purely historical and realistic standpoint and by interpreting the whole episode as a beautiful piece of fiction symbolising an important event of religious history marked by the happy termination of an antagonism between the *Saiva* and the *Manasā* cults? Certainly the picture reflects no small credit upon Bengal's ancient idealism of love as embodied in the conception of Behulā, who represents, in life as in literature, the very flower of Bengali womanhood?

JANARDAN CHAKRABARTI

TO MY FRIEND

Why do you blush and fling back thy blond curls,
For whom interrogative shake of mouth ?
Don't twist lock of hair between your fingers ?
Why for whom tinkling of rosy ankle
With tiny golden bells singing each step ?
Whose subtle perfume comes into my room
From outside passage with the gentle breeze ?
For whom you exhaust all this art ?—For Me ?
In setting the flowers in thy black hair ?
Sweet friend ! you set me dreaming after you.
Thou feast of my eyes and shrine of my heart
Men of this world smile and whisper at me
Let them laugh and mock ; only desire mine
Is to please you ; my dearest friend, my love.

V. H. PANDIT

THE CONCEPT OF SVADHARMA IN THE GĪTĀ¹

Several years ago (August, 1927), I pointed out in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* some of the striking similarities that exist between the philosophical ideas of Plato and those contained in the *Bhagavadgītā*. In this short paper, I propose to discuss the concept of स्वधर्म as found in the Gītā and see if that has any parallel in Plato. I must not be understood, however, as implying that either of them borrowed from the other. Borrowing was perhaps not impossible, but we have not enough historical materials to warrant any definite conclusion.

The word स्वधर्म occurs in the Gītā in the following passages :—

(i) स्वधर्ममपि चावेक्ष्य न विकम्पितुमर्हसि ।

ii. 31.

(ii) ततः स्वधर्मं कीर्त्तिं च हित्वा पापमवाप्स्यसि ।

ii. 33.

(iii) श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् ।

स्वधर्माभिधानं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥

iii. 35.

(iv) xviii. 47 which repeats iii. 35.

It is needless to point out that *Svadharmā* in the Gītā, and, for the matter of that, in the whole of Sanskrit literature, does *not* mean one's own religion. धर्म means duties—and स्वधर्म obviously means *one's* duties. And so, analysing the idea of *Svadharmā*, we shall discover the conception of duty which the Gītā advocated.

To understand this, it is necessary to bear in mind some of the leading ideas which form the background of the philosophy of the Gītā.

¹ A paper contributed to the Oriental Conference held at Patna, November, 1930.

(1) In the first place, the Gītā is permeated with the Sāṅkhya conception of *Prakṛti* and *Guṇa*. We need not dilate upon these well-known ideas. But it is necessary to point out that according to these notions, ultimately, activity (कर्तृत्व) did not belong to पुरुष as such, but to पुरुष as determined by the *guṇas*. And that the difference in the character, aptitude, and potentialities of different individuals, was due to the preponderance of the different *guṇas*.

(2) In the second place, the Gītā believed in the वर्णान्तरम्, i.e., in the division of society into the well-known castes and also the division of the life of at least the higher castes, into the four well-known *āśramas* or stages. Whether the Gītā believed in hereditary caste or not, is a question which may be left to be disputed by scholars. But it is beyond dispute that it believed in the validity of castes. Śloka iv. 13, may be, as it has been, interpreted to mean that an individual should not necessarily belong to the caste in which he is born, but should be classed according to his *Guṇa* and *Karma*, i.e., according to his natural tendencies and characteristics. If this meaning is accepted, caste will not be hereditary. But, nevertheless, even according to this *śloka* and also according to others of similar import, castes as a fact are recognised, in whatever way they may be formed.

What, then, was the duty of an individual? Śloka ii. 31 gives the key to the answer :

“धर्म्यादि युद्धात् त्रयोऽन्यत् क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते ।”

A righteous war is the highest duty of a Kṣatriya. Arjuna is advised to remember his own *svadharma* and fight; because, for a Kṣatriya to avoid a legitimate battle is a great dereliction of duty (ii. 33-37). And we are further reminded (xviii. 41-45, etc.), that the different castes have different duties prescribed for them.

Although the Gītā sometimes expresses strong feeling against the Vedas and Vedic rituals (e.g., in ii. 42-46), yet,

after the modification of *Karma* cult as suggested in its own doctrine of निष्काम कर्म, the Gītā fully acquiesced in the practice of Vedic rites. Nay, it went further; it even considered them necessary duties for those for whom they were prescribed; e.g., in iii. 916. It did not repudiate faith in the Śāstras (xvi. 23-24) and it was fully aware of the disabilities under which women and the lower castes laboured and even tacitly concurred in them (ix. 32, etc.).

Frankly speaking, therefore, duty according to the Gītā, was caste-duty, as prescribed by the canonical books. Castes need not have been hereditary. But whether hereditary or not, the Gītā expected certain natural (स्वभावज) differences among the castes, e.g. xviii. 42, enumerates the *natural activities* of a Brahmin (ब्रह्मकर्म स्वभावजम्). And similarly, in xviii. 43-44, we are given a list of the *natural* tendencies of a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and a Sūdra, and throughout Chapter XVI, we have a discussion about some of the important differences between a divine (दैवी) and demoniac (आसुरी) nature. And, in Chap. XIV, we have an analysis of the three Guṇas.

All these taken together will lead us to the conclusion that the Gītā fully emphasised the *natural* differences between man and man and, therefore, believed in the classification of men involved in castes. Hereditary castes may be an evil and admirers of the Gītā may claim this credit for it that, even if it believed in caste, it did not emphasise hereditary caste. But, nevertheless, Arjuna was advised to fight *because* he was a Kṣatriya and it was a virtue for a Kṣatriya to be a soldier. And, further, when one is in difficulty as to what one should do, the Gītā would refer him to the Śāstras. (xvi. 23-24; cf. also xviii. 5).

That the Gītā believed in *Varna* and *Āśrama* cannot be disputed, nor need we dispute it. But what seems to us to be more important is its theory of Guṇas and classification of mankind according to *Guna* (vide iv. 13). If caste is hereditary, it may coincide with this *natural* division, but it may

not also. If, however, caste is not necessarily hereditary, it will definitely tend to agree with this natural division of mankind according to Guṇas. And taking the natural difference between man and man as the basis of classification, the Gītā, as we have just pointed out, conceives duty as action best suited to a man's station in life and to his natural aptitudes. The duties of a Brahmin, *i.e.* of a man in whom the quality of *sattva* preponderates, are attainment of tranquillity of mind, of knowledge, etc., etc. (xviii. 42). And so the duties of a Kṣatriya include bravery in war (xviii. 43) and so on. Duties are not the same for all. Each has his own *svadharma* or specific duties. And the ideal thing for a man is to do what by nature and by the circumstances of his life, he is best adapted to do. For the sake of social life, actions have to be performed ; and it is each one's duty to do just those actions for which the preponderating quality in his mental and physical constitution suits him best.

The theory of *varṇa* and *āśrama* implies obviously a social theory. And this theory of social structure, it seems, was at the back of the conception of duty which we find in the Gītā. But we may well ask here : Had the Gītā any political ideals also ? Perhaps not much, but we cannot say it had none altogether. In i. 37-41, and iii. 20-24, questions of social welfare are clearly discussed. And so far as the ruling classes are urged to maintain this ideal of society, to that extent, a political ideal also is suggested. In Indian thought, the concept of the State was but ill-developed and received very little attention. Society was regulated more by religious than by political notions. And it is no wonder, therefore, that we do not find in the Gītā the same mature ideas about the State as we find in Plato. But still if we remember that the ideal of social life developed in it was intended to be maintained by the governing class, we may credit the author of the Gītā with the idea of a State-machinery also, though undoubtedly this idea is but imperfectly developed in his book.

We claim that all these ideas of the Gītā have a remarkable parallel in Plato's *Republic*.

Plato starts with the palpable fact that "no two persons are born exactly alike, but each differs from each in natural endowment, one being suited for one occupation, and another for another" (370). He then proceeds to caution a shoemaker against attempting to become an agriculturist or a builder or a weaver and concludes that the higher occupations like those of a soldier or a governor requires very special natural endowments. And anyone who aspires to become a soldier or a governor may not be fitted to become so (374 *et seq.*).

Plato was so emphatic about these natural differences that we have no hesitation in thinking that he comes very near the caste-ideas of the Gītā. He was even inclined to think that according to the general law by which children resemble their parents, the offspring of the higher classes (rulers and soldiers) would oftener than not possess the qualities of these classes and be eligible for inclusion in them. To that extent, the social classes according to Plato would almost be hereditary castes. But as the law of heredity is not absolutely certain and always true, exceptions would be there and Plato was frankly prepared to admit them. But, with this reservation, the following passage will show how similar his ideas were to those of the Gītā :

"We shall tell our people, in mythical language : You are doubtless all brethren, as many as inhabit the city, but the God who created you mixed gold in the composition of such of you as are qualified to rule, which gives them the highest value ; while in the auxiliaries he made silver an ingredient, assigning iron and copper to the cultivators of the soil and other workmen. Therefore, inasmuch as you are all related to one another, although your children will generally resemble their parents, yet sometimes a golden parent will produce a silver child, and a silver parent a golden child, and so on, each producing any. The rulers therefore have received this in

charge first and above all from the gods, to observe nothing more closely, in their character of vigilant guardians, than the children that are born, to see which of these metals enters into the composition of their souls ; and if a child be born in their class with an alloy of copper or iron, they are to have no manner of pity upon it, but giving it the value that belongs to its nature, they are to thrust it away into the class of artisans or agriculturists ; and if again among these a child be born with any admixture of gold or silver, when they have assayed it, they are to raise it either to the class of guardians, or to that of auxiliaries ” (415).

As he himself points out (433), Plato frequently repeats the dictum that “every individual ought to have some one occupation in the State, which should be that to which his natural capacity was best adapted.” Is it not exactly like the idea of स्वधर्म in the Gītā ? And he goes on : “ We have often heard people say, that to mind one’s own business, and not be meddlesome, is justice ; and we have often said the same thing ourselves.” May we not compare with this the dictum of the Gītā ?—

“स्वधर्मं निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ।” —iii. 35.

And further :

“ But when one whom nature has made an artisan, or a producer of any other kind, is so elated by wealth, or a large connexion, or bodily strength, or any similar advantages, as to intrude himself into the class of the warriors ; or when a warrior intrudes himself into the class of the senators and guardians, of which he is unworthy, and when these interchange their tools and their distinctions, or when one and the same person attempts to discharge all these duties at once, then, I imagine, you will agree with me, that such change and meddling among these will be ruinous to the state ” (434).

May we not compare with it the following dicta of the Gītā ?

- (i) चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया दृष्टं गुण-कर्म्म-विभागशः । iv. 13
 (ii) ब्राह्मण-क्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परम्तप ।
 कर्म्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभाव-प्रभवै गुणैः ॥ and xviii. 41
 (iii) स्वभावनियतं कर्म्म कुर्वन्नाप्नोति किल्बिषम् । xviii. 47

Again, in his famous simile of the pilot and the ship (488), Plato emphasises the same truth that, in order that society may prosper, each individual and class in it must follow its nature-appointed duties and that if one whom nature intended to be a sailor aspired to become the pilot of the ship, the consequence to the ship, and also to the ship of the state, would be dreadful.

The similarity between Plato and the author of the Gītā did not stop here. There are passages in which Plato even seems to approve of the division of the individual life into Āsramas, specially for the study of Philosophy or the highest knowledge. Here is his plan of education for the would-be philosopher :—

“ In youth and boyhood they ought to be put through a course of training in philosophy, suited to their years ; and while their bodies are growing up to manhood, special attention should be paid to them, as a serviceable acquisition in the cause of philosophy. At the approach of that period, during which the mind begins to attain its maturity, the mental exercises ought to be rendered more severe. Finally, when their bodily powers begin to fail, and they are released from public duties and military service, from that time forward they ought to lead a dedicated life, and consecrate themselves to this one pursuit, if they are to live happily on earth, and after death to crown the life they have led with a corresponding destiny in another world ” (498).

Is not he speaking here in the same strain as the authors of the Dharmasūtras and, therefore, also of the Gītā ?

We find, therefore, that Plato thought almost on the same lines as the author of the Gītā. He, too, was imbued with caste-ideas, if we may be permitted to say so. We may perhaps even go further and say that, with proper safeguards, the idea of dividing society into *varnas* or castes is not so unphilosophical—and certainly not so barbarous—as modern critics of this institution would aver. The real danger of caste is its possible hereditary character and the principle of *untouchability* which seems to follow in its wake. Plato carefully avoided them and that probably was an improvement. But in any case, the main theory remains that that society is best in which each member and each class is, by some means or other, directed to the right kind of occupation—*i.e.*, the occupation for which he or it was intended by nature. And this is a remarkable coincidence between Plato and the Gītā. And however much we may dislike it, the idea of classification into castes is not without a grain of truth in it. Individual failure in life due to mis-choice of profession is a well-known and common phenomenon. That, however, may not disturb the life of society to any appreciable extent. But when whole classes of men mis-choose their vocation and meddle in work for which they are but ill-fitted, would not the consequence be disastrous ? And if democracy suffers from any ills, is it not due to the meddlesomeness of *all* classes in the administration of the State ?

To keep every man to his proper sphere is a difficult business ; and no machinery has yet been devised by which the proper sphere of every individual could be discovered without fear of criticism and without charge of unfairness and partiality. Plato suggested a scheme which has not been tested in the working and may not work as smoothly as he imagined. But whether we can discover the means of attaining or not, ideally speaking, would it not be an excellent thing if each of

us in society could find out without fail his true occupation in life—and no one missed his vocation—and all worked in a spirit of co-operation and harmony just as the limbs work in the body ? And if that were the underlying idea of वर्णश्रम, was it altogether unworthy of consideration ? The idea of वर्ण and श्रम is fast disappearing from the world ; and is already an ancient relic. But the fact that even Plato approved of it, shows that it was not altogether lacking a philosophical justification. And although castes may go, after all, each man's duty is to find out his *svadharma*—the work for which Nature intended him ; and, without meddling, in work for which he was not intended, to contribute his proper share to the life of the body politic, the whole, of which he is but a part.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

POETRY

A wreath of mental flowers
Breathing the scent of soul
And wove with passion's life
To soothe man's sordid strife ;
Or Beauty's bright gambol
In shapely vernal bowers
Of words of richest zest
To joy the human breast :
Such, Poetry ! thou art,
The grace of letters' art.

P. M. HARI

MUSIC 'AND NUMBERS¹

I propose to-day to give you a small discourse on the intellectual aspect of music and in doing so, I must confess I am an amateur and hence I am so diffident as to my competency to speak on the subject.

You may recollect that Sir C. V. Raman referred in his inaugural address of the Academy to the important rôle played by the amateur in regard to scientific developments and the lecturer last week on "wireless" referred to amateurs' work on short-wave transmission. I feel that I have something also to say as an amateur *violinist* and I should like to have a hearing.

Even in Indian Music, there are two distinct schools, namely, the Karnatic and the Hindusthani styles. I have not made a study of European music at all and I shall not be able to speak much about it. One might well say that music should only be sung or played on an instrument and enjoyed, and question whether there is any good in such discourses. My reply is that the technique and the critical appreciation of the aesthetic in music are matters intellectual, and it is therefore necessary that we must have discourses, analogous to literary criticism. I have made a casual study of South Indian music, which I tried to learn during my leisure hours, off and on, for some years, and I have also tried to follow the Hindusthani music very occasionally. I shall, at the end of the lecture, give you a practical demonstration of some South Indian songs and Ragas.

¹ Lecture delivered on the 17th January, 1933, before the Academy of Arts and Sciences, Calcutta, by Mr. C. Subrahmanya Ayyar, Member of the Board of Studies in Indian Music, Madras University.

In the history of music, it is only when persons with musical ears, but not gifted with sweet voices, turned their attention to produce music on a musical instrument, that the analysis of the notes forming the music had commenced, and in stringed instruments especially, the difficulty should have been extremely felt of imitating entirely the modulations of the human voice. In fact, to-day, the acme of perfection in instrumental melody is felt by an Indian, when he affirms that the instrument speaks like the human voice. And when this difficulty was realised the early scientific investigators must have had some recourse to the division of the strings and the place at which the fingers have had to damp them, to produce the various stages of the music as sung by the human voice. You know the music produced by the voice is continuous except when the sound ceases, and there is fairly no discontinuity, and to produce similar effects on an instrument should have meant immense pains in the commencement. Even in the most elementary text-books of the Indian music, the notation of music is to divide it into the octaves and 12 notes within which each octave (or *Sthayi*), with sufficient attention to periods or time (or *Tala*) relating to the particular note.

In Indian music, we hear the words *Shadja*, *Rishabha*, *Gandhara*, *Madhyama*, *Panchama*, *Dhaivata*, *Nishada*, abbreviated as "*SA, RI, GA, MA, PA, DHA, NI*." (The seven names used in music were given prior to the days of Panini, the Sanskrit Grammarian about 2,500 years ago.) If you recollect the sounding key-board in an ordinary harmonium, you will find that there are seven whites and five blacks in an octave, *i.e.*, from one *SA* to the higher *SA*. We name the whites, according to the Hindusthani notation, the *suddha swaras*, on the supposition the 1st white is the *adhara* of fundamental note *Sa* and they correspond to the *Diatonic scale of the European*. The other four blacks are the *Komal* (or flat) notes for *Ri*, *Ga*, *Dha* and *Ni*, while the black next to the *Suddha Ma* is *tivra* (sharp), *Ma*.

The *adhara sruti* or the fundamental note is not always the 1st white key, and it is changed* according to the vocal capacity of the singer. The adult human voice generally takes the 2nd black as the fundamental note *Sa*, and the adult female voice the 5th white key as the fundamental *Sa*.

At this stage I should perhaps explain how I came to be interested in Numbers, as associated with music. Being a Mathematics Graduate I knew well enough of algebraical quantities and arithmetical numbers, but that helped me not very much in understanding music. In the year 1928, after about 10 years of violin practice, I began to suspect that the "Ragabhava," or the 'melody type,' to coin a word, did not merely depend on the *pada-prayoga*, i.e., use of syllables, of varying length, in point of time, of these twelve notes, and I came to the conclusion that even when the same notes, classified according to the 12 frets of the Veena, appeared in 2 Ragas, as the music books stated, the Ragabhava depended on a definite physical basis, namely the variation in frequencies, that is, a fall or rise of a very small interval in pitch, of these 12 notes brought about by different ways. I then set to investigate these variations by closer observation of my fingering of the violin, and later with the help of the sonometer. (The sonometer is nothing but a long string stretched between two straight-edged bridges, the tension of the string being capable of variation as desired, or you can put a wedge underneath, so as not to vary the tension, but read off the length of the vibrating portions of the string.)

If you recollect your College days of the Junior Arts Course, you would perhaps remember how the Mathematics Professor talked of the Harmonic Progression. He took certain fractions with a common numerator, but with their denominators in arithmetic progression. The series, he said, was in a harmonic progression. That is to say, 1, $1/2$, $1/3$, $1/4$, $1/5$, $1/6$, $1/7$, $1/8$, $1/9$, $1/10$, etc., formed a harmonic series, and he was not in a position to satisfy our curiosity as

to how these figures were associated with music or harmony. It is probable that students of higher classes in Physics might have been taught something about it, in their text-books on Sound. But one begins to understand their significance only when he knows and identifies the pitches of the notes, *Sa*, *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Dha* and *Ni*, *suddha*, or flat, or sharp, as the case may be. In this article I shall use the word '*Suddha*' for the Diatonic scale of the European or Sankarabharana of the South India.

(It is of course understood that the tension remains constant as on the sonometer or you have to vary the distances to get the definite pitch).

I will show you, on the violin, this harmonic series.

Whole string of <i>Sa</i> vibrates.		Key note <i>Sa</i> .	Relative frequency is the inverse of the oscillating portion of the string.
These were known even to the ancients	1/2 string of <i>Sa</i> damped	1/2 vibrates Higher <i>Sa</i>	2
	1/3 „	2/3rds „ <i>Panchama</i> or the perfect fifth	3/2
	1/4 „	3/4ths „ <i>Ma</i> (<i>Suddha</i>) perfect fourth	4/3
	1/5 „	4/5ths „ <i>Ga</i> (<i>Suddha</i>) Harmonic Major third	5/4
	The higher harmonics at these places can be heard by just lightly touching the above nodal points.		
	1/6 „	5/6ths vibrates <i>Ga</i> (<i>Suddha</i>) Minor third (Harmonic) (the note we hear often in ' <i>Jhata</i> ' of <i>Sama Veda</i>)	6/5

I shall pass over 1/7 and 1/8 for the time being,

1 9 „	8/9ths vibrates <i>Suddha Ri</i> <i>Panchama</i> of lower <i>Panchama</i> or fifth of lower fifth 9/8
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Before I pass on to 1/10ths, I should refer to

Whole string of <i>Sa</i> vibrates.	Key note <i>Sa</i> .	Relative frequency is the inverse of the oscillating portion of the string.
2/5 string of <i>Sa</i> damped being 2nd note of <i>Suddha Ga</i>	3/5ths vibrates <i>Suddha Dha</i>	5/8
1/5 of <i>Pa</i> string damped	4/5ths of <i>Pa</i> string vibrates <i>Suddha Harmonic</i> <i>Ni</i> $5/4 \times 3/2$	15/8
1/10 of <i>Sa</i> string damped	9/10ths vibrating	A position corresponding to <i>Suddha Dha</i> on ' <i>Pa</i> ' string 10/9
1/16	16/15	<i>Komal Ri</i> 16/15
1/25	25/24	<i>Ati Ati Komal Ri</i> 25/24

To my knowledge the note with 1/8th of string damped or 7/8 vibrating is not used in our music, and about 1/7th I shall speak later.

The *Pa* (Fr. 3/2) string gives the following notes with frequencies.

Damped at —from head.	Name.	Relative frequency.
1/2	<i>Pa</i> Higher	3
2/5	<i>Suddha Ga</i> Higher	5/2
1/3	<i>Ri</i> (<i>Suddha</i>) Higher octave	9/4
1/4	<i>Sa</i> Higher	2
1/5	<i>Ni Suddha</i> (Harmonic)	15/8
6/6	<i>Komal Ni</i> • •	9/15 (a comma sharper than <i>Ati Komal Ni</i> Fr. 16/9)
1/9	<i>Dha</i>	27/16 (Corresponding position to Fr. 9/8 on <i>Sa</i> string) •
1/10	<i>Dha Suddha</i>	5/3
1/16	<i>Komal Dha</i>	8/5
1/25	<i>Ati Ati Komal Dha</i>	25/16

a *Ma* (Fr. 4/3) string would give

1/2 damped	<i>Ma</i> Higher octave	8/3
• 2/5	<i>Ri</i>	20/9 (10/9 in the lower octave a comma flatter than <i>Suddha Ri</i> (9/8))
1/3	<i>Sa</i> Higher octave	2
1/4	<i>Ati Komal Ni</i>	16/9
1/5	<i>Suddha Dha</i>	5/3
1/6	<i>Komal Dha</i>	8/5
1/9	<i>Pa</i>	3/2
• 1/10	...	40/27 a comma (Fr. 81/80) flatter than <i>Pa</i>
1/16	<i>Tivra Tara Ma</i>	64/45
1/25	...	25/18 (70 cents above <i>Ma</i> 4/3)

a *Ga* (Fr. 5/4) string would give

Damped at —from head.	Name.	Relative frequency.
1/2	Higher <i>Suddha Ga</i>	5/2
2/5	Higher <i>Ati Ati Komal Ri</i>	25/12 (or 25/24 in lower octave)
1/3	<i>Suddha Ni</i> (Harmonic)	15/8
1/4	<i>Ati Ati Komal Dha</i>	25/16
1/5	<i>Suddha Dha</i> (Harmonic of <i>Sa</i>)	5/3
1/6	<i>Panchama</i>	3/2
1/9	<i>Tivra Ma</i>	45/32 (<i>Suddha Ri</i> of <i>Ga</i>)
1/10	...	25/18 (70 cents sharper than 4/3)
1/16	<i>Suddha Ma</i>	4/3
1/25	... ?	125/96 (70 cents sharper than 5/4)

The following facts may also be mentioned

If we drop a 6/5 (Harmonic Komal <i>Ga</i>) interval from <i>Sa</i> (higher), we reach 5/3, i.e., <i>Suddha Dha</i>				
„	6/5	„	„	<i>Pa</i> we reach 5/4, i.e., <i>Suddha Ga</i>
„	6/5	„	„	<i>Ma Suddha</i> , we reach 10/9 a comma flatter than <i>Suddha Ri</i> 9/8
„	6/5	„	„	<i>Ga Suddha</i> , we reach 25/24 <i>Ati Ati</i> <i>Komal Ri</i>
„	5/4 (<i>Suddha Ga</i>)	interval from	<i>Sa</i> higher,	we reach 8/5, i.e., <i>Komal Dha</i>
„	5/4	„	„	<i>Pa</i> we reach 6/5, i.e., <i>Komal Ga</i> (Harmonic)
„	5/4	„	„	<i>Suddha Ma</i> , we reach 16/15, i.e., <i>Komal Ri</i>

Did the Indians know all about this? Yes, fairly,—one Ahobala is stated to have measured proportionate lengths on the South Indian Veena. A manuscript of his has been recently translated and published in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy (page 270, Vol. I). These figures are not quite correct probably owing to the curved bridge of the Veena, but they knew of the harmonic notes in the way they placed quite perfectly on the Veena, the frets fixed on hard wax. I shall at the commencement say, how the South Indian Veena is tuned. The string closest to the artist is *Sa* the fundamental key-note, the commencement of the middle octave for the human voice. The next behind is lower *Pa* and the other two strings are rarely played upon. Each of these strings has 24 frets beneath. The side strings are *Sa*,

Pa, *Sa* (higher) for keeping rhythm by twanging. In fact all musical compositions in the south or north, have their reach from the lower *Ma* to the higher *Pa*—i.e., a little more than 2 octaves.

Now, in fixing the frets of the Veena, the musician met with a difficulty. The *Suddha Dha* ($5/3$) is at the position of $1/10$ th of *Pa* string, and behind the position of *Suddha Ri* (Fr. $9/8$) at $1/9$ th of the *Sa* string. *Komal Ni* (for long recognised as *Suddha Ma* of *Suddha Ma*, i.e., with the relative frequency of $16/9$), is at $5/32$ of this *Pa* string, i.e., behind the position of *Komal Ga* (Fr. $6/5$) at $1/6$ th of *Sa* string. The question therefore was how should he fix it. The Tanjore Veena-player finally decided then to place the *Suddha Ri* fret as frequency $10/9$ and *Komal Ga* at $32/27$, i.e., to correspond with the positions on *Pa* string, giving frequencies $5/3$ and $16/9$. It may be noticed that $10/9$ is also a harmonic note. This had an enormous effect on his music also, being a place at $1/10$ ths string damped and $9/10$ ths vibrating, since he felt that the slightly higher notes could be obtained by pressing the strings, as there was sufficient depth or hollow space below the frets. But they have of late fixed *Ri* (*Suddha Ri*) at fret $9/8$. The previous experience of the fixation of the positions of *Suddha Ri* and *Suddha Da*, and of *Komal Ga* and *Komal Ni* probably set the musicians thinking.

Then perhaps they began to set strings to concord. The Sanskrit books, I am told, say they proceeded by *Sa-Ma* method and *Sa* and *Pa* method, which gave them twenty-two notes within the one octave, barring of course the notes ($81/80$) sharper than *Sa* or flatter than *Pa* to the same extent. In the harmonium, only the 12 notes get repeated. This is easily verifiable.

We shall however proceed from the first key as fundamental note, *Sa*, for the following examples. If we proceed from *Sa*, by *Pa* intervals, we get first the *Pa*, the fifth key, and if we go a further *Pa* interval, we get *Suddha Ri*. Here

drop an octave, and from *Suddha Ri* if you proceed an interval of *Pa* you get nearly *Suddha Dha*, then the key of *Suddha Ga*; drop an octave here. Go further *Pa*, we get *Suddha Ni*; on a further *Pa*, we get *Tivra Ma*: Drop an octave here, and on a further *Pa* we reach *Komal Ri*. Drop an octave, then *Komal Dha*; then *Komal Ga*; drop an octave; *Komal Ni*, then *Suddha Ma*; drop an octave, then go up a *Pa*; *Sa* higher is reached. Similarly, if you proceed by an interval of *Suddha Ma* the first will be *Suddha Ma*, the next will be a *Komal Ni*, the next will be *Komal Ga* and so on and you finally come back to *Sa* itself, and we must of course drop some four octaves in this process. But theoretically, *i.e.*, mathematically, however, and by finely perceiving ears, if we proceed by tuned strings, it will be found there is a slight difference in pitches, and we do not come back to the very same twelve notes as in the harmonium. This difference is roughly 24 logarithmic cents interval, on the presumption that the octave has 1,200 (logarithmic) cents; and the ancient Indian musicians presumed the existence of 22 notes in the interval from *Sa* to higher *Sa*. The frequencies of these 22 notes (*Srutis* as they are called, in Sanskrit, which have also been given names but the way to recognise them has been lost to us) may be calculated as follows:—The relative frequencies are 'as the inverse of the vibrating positions of the string the tension being constant.

R ₁	R ₂	R ₃	R ₄	G ₁	G ₂	G ₃	G ₄	M ₁	M ₂	
$\frac{256}{243}$	$\frac{16}{15}$	$\frac{10}{8}$	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{32}{27}$	$\frac{6}{5}$	$\frac{5}{4}$	$\frac{81}{64}$	$\frac{4}{3}$	$\frac{27}{20}$	
M ₃	M ₄	P	D ₁	D ₂	D ₃	D ₄	N ₁	N ₂	N ₃	N ₄
$\frac{45}{32}$	$\frac{64}{45}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{128}{81}$	$\frac{8}{5}$	$\frac{5}{3}$	$\frac{27}{16}$	$\frac{16}{9}$	$\frac{9}{5}$	$\frac{15}{8}$	$\frac{243}{128}$

Of course, excluding the interval of 2 cents which is not clearly recognised even by fine ear at all in this process, the

sloka runs thus च त, अत, शैव षड्ज मध्यम पञ्चमाः हे हे निषादगान्धारी
ललि ऋषय धैवतौ.

From this, we may guess that these *Srutis* had reference to Karaharapriya (or Kaphi) Mela Raga found in "Sama Gana" of the Vedas. These difficulties were also perceived to a large extent by those who fixed the 12 frets of the Veena, and the Tanjore musician, therefore, fixed them in the octave at the following frequencies on *Sa* string as the method followed by him indicates.

16/15, 10/9, 32/27, 5/4, 4/3, 45/32, 3/2, 8/5, 5/3, 16/9, 15/8, and 2,

and it would be noticed that he had decided to take mainly, the lower of the two frequencies in brackets above. It may interest you to know that the South Indian calls the *Suddha Ri* (Fr. 9/8) the *chaturṣṛuti Ri* (or 4th *sruti Ri*).

The question may be asked whether the Indian Melodist uses these 22 frequencies (and 8 others to be mentioned below). It can be definitely stated by me from an understanding of the technique of Violin play that these frequencies are attempted to be reached by the South Indian musician, and also by the Violinist who follows the modulations of the vocal music. These notes may be said to arise also from another manner, namely, that in the technique of high music, the vocal chords easily step, *i.e.*, fall or rise by a harmonic interval of 6/5, or 5/4 or 4/3 or 3/2, *i.e.*, a harmonic *Komal Ga*, harmonic *Suddha Ga*, *Suddha Madhyama*, and *Parchama* interval from "harmonic notes."

Suppose you stop at *Suddha Dha* (frequency 5/3), and if you want to pass a 4/3 *Suddha* interval we reach 20/9 or 10/9 and not 9/8 (*Suddha Ri* concurring with *Pa*). Similarly, from 'Ma' a 4/3 interval is 16/9 and not 9/5 the harmonic note on Pasting and supposing you want to drop from the note 5/4, a 6/5 interval, we reach the note 25/24 and not 16/15. You will therefore notice that the correct delineation

of sweetness depends on the correct appreciation of the pitches of these notes, and of the intervals.

Again, say the prominent note in a Raga is *Suddha Ri* (Fr. 9/8) and we desire to pass a $3/2$ interval, the note reached is $27/16$. Then it has to be produced even when it is not a harmonic note relative to *Sa*, but while in relation to *Pa* it is so, being $3/2 \times 9/8$. They also knew that in tuning the 'Tambura' with frequencies of $3/4$, 1, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, i.e., *Pa* lower, *Sa*, *Sa* and (*Sa* lower), they could hear *Suddha Ga* ($5/4$), the sum of the notes, in the process of twanging.

The Hindus found another fact, that the *Ga* approximating *Suddha Ga*, produced by the throat in combination with other notes, or which was easy and effortless to the voice was just a little sharper than the Harmonic *Suddha Ga* ($5/4$). (See *ga* in the song "*Tulasi dala Mulache santhoshamui ga*"). My own musical study, especially of North Indian Music, impresses me that it is even so with reference to *Ni* in the neighbourhood of *Sa*. The books say also that there were only seven Ragas in the commencement, and they eschewed the seventh Raga, and retained only six. This has probably reference to the six Grecian scales, which are preserved as :

Karnatic Mela Raga.	Key Note for change of Raga.	Hindusthani.	
(1) Sankarabharana	Sa	Belawal	That
(2) Kalyani	Sudh. Ma	Kalyani	„
(3) 'Thodi	Sudh. Ga	Bhairabi	„
(4) Kharaharapriya	Sudh. Ri	Kaphi	„
(5) Nata Bhairavi	Sudh. Da	Asaveri	„
(6) Hari kambodhi	Pa	Khambaj	„

All these are fairly the same Sankarabharana, if the *adhara sruti* or keynote is changed; in the seventh Raga by this variation the perfect fifth does not appear, and so it appears to have been thrown out. The genius of the South

Indian music consists in the fact that the general character of the melody has been changed in these six Ragas, in relation to the key note *Sa*, and each gives a different effect on the ear. Suffice it to say, that in the evolved South Indian music, as it is sung to-day or played on the Veena or the violin, which approximates very much to the vocal music, the divisions in the octave of these 12 notes are not at all sufficient to produce the tonal effect (I mean as regards even the fundamental, without reference to the higher harmonics or upper partials of the human voice or the violin). These 12 notes are rough, being only approximations, and it becomes an intellectual problem as to the number of musical notes which enter into the composition of high melody which is sweet to the ear and satisfies our sense of the aesthetic.

I suggested an enquiry (then in December, 1928) whether we should not state the Raga picture (as I should call it with reference to the minimum twenty-two *srutis*, and that we should try to link up the characteristic notes of each Raga, giving the *srutis* more recognisable names. I say characteristic because one is not sure whether the other twin note (varying by the frequency of a comma $81/80$) does not enter at all. Only when we stop at a note for some appreciable length of time, can we say definitely its frequency. I suggested then what appeared to me as the characteristic notes appearing in the above 6 Ragas, besides Maya Malava Gaula (or Bhairao *that* in Hindusthani nomenclature). I later on suggested some of the important *janya* Ragas (I shall explain this word a little later) of the South Indian Music, and I am glad to say that they have met fairly with the approval of some of the finer ears. These results have been published in the proceedings of the Madras Musical Academy and in the journal started by the Society. But these are all shrewd guesses ascertained by the mechanical technique of fingering the violin. Besides the above, I think I can recognise 6 more; two of them have frequencies $25/24$ (or 70 cents.),

sharper than *Sa* and *Pa* and two of them flatter to the same extent from *Sa* and *Ma*; that is to say, their frequency ratios are $25/24$, $25/16$, $32/25$ and $48/25$; there are two more in this series $36/25$, $25/18$. I am not able to say in what Ragas the last two occur. There are two other harmonic notes $7/4$ and $7/6$, obtained by damping $1/7$ th of the string from below on the two, *Pa* and *Sa* strings. The note with relative frequency $7/4$, Hemholtz says, is very sweet to hear and I was always very much wondering for a long time whether Hindus (the master exponents of the melodic art) could not have found it at all. I can now associate it with the *Ni* of Ahiri Raga (South Indian), which once heard rings for a long while in one's ears, but I have heard this Raga only twice in all these 14 years. The order of pitch is as below $7/4$, $16/9$, $9/5$. We are so much used to $16/9$ being $4/3$ of $4/3$ that we always forget $7/4$. I recently recognised the note frequency of $7/6$ in the corresponding note of *Sa* string in the Hindu-sthani Thodi Raga as sung by Pt. Vishnu Digambar's Musical school, when I was recently learning the Raga and my observation that the note is neither *Ati-Komal Ga*, nor *Komal Ga* had the vocalists' immediate acceptance. With my increasing experience of these musical concepts, I find that the real character of melody is still not properly understood. I have a strong feeling that the minimum of 112 cents interval (or $16/15$ from a harmonic note) is not at all right. The 90 cents interval seems to be prevalent in the 6 Ragas first mentioned, but in the Malawa Gaula, it is more properly rising or falling by 70 cents interval or $25/24$, when it drops or ascends slightly. See also the *Ni* of Pilu or Keeravani (South India) where the lower *Ni* has a frequency of $24/25$, an interval of $5/4$ below $6/5$. Further, I find from various songs that a $10/9$ interval is very much sweeter than a $9/8$ interval, though everybody knows that the throat reaches most easily $6/5$, $5/4$ or $4/3$ or $3/2$ interval from any harmonic note. These can only be studied properly by Millar's

Phonodyk where curves on a photographic plate are obtained by reflected light from a mirror from the oscillation of a diaphragm vibrating to music.

The other problem to be studied is the extent of *Gamaka* (meaning movement) within practically the same note. I can give you a few instances as are to be found in *Ri* in Madhyambati Karnatic (or Sarang Hindusthani), *Ga* in Kalyani, *Ni* in Thodi (Karnatic). Another thing also strikes me, namely the aptness of the Telegu language as compared with other languages of Sanskrit origin. In South India there are also Sanskrit compositions set to music and I have heard a lot of Maharashtra songs of the Vishnu Digambar Musical School and Hindusthani songs in Lucknow and the Punjab. The peculiarity of the Telegu language is the vowel sound behind each consonant and the large absence of the conjunct consonants at least in the musical pieces. I can illustrate them by Thiagaraja's compositions and you can see how he has finely selected the words, and it is these musical vowel sounds, which had enabled the South Indian musician to enrich his music by slightly varying the degrees of pitch (which are not totally absent in Northern Indian Music as well). I dare say that the same notes of the frequencies I have mentioned do appear in the Hindusthani music but the order in which they do so, seems to me however to be different, but they are not made use of to the same extent as in South India, nor can I say that all of them do come in. The character of the North Indian music is that it is pleasant to the South Indian ear at first, but immediately, after less than half an hour, even when different Ragas are being sung, monotony sets in for us. I am not alone in this opinion; why it is so, even when one is able to decipher the music by the various notes according to the notation of the 12 notes, is a thing which I am unable to explain.

• What the European has done with his notes is, in tuning the piano he has tried to fix all the notes equidistant, *i.e.*, in

geometrical ratio to the 12 notes in the octave, that is to say, the relation of one note to the next note is the 12th root of 2. He actually achieves it in the piano-tuning, I understand, by carefully counting the beats on *Sa-Ma* and *Sa-Pa* basis so as to make them an absolute minimum. It is a very elaborate process, all with the avowed object of hearing artificially created concords for 4 or more notes, played at the same time. I have it on the authority of an European violinist that the *swara-jnana* of the Hindu musician is very great; that is to say, at the least the immediate recognition of the exact pitch (so far as the system of 12 notes is concerned) is marvellous. Why then, should we lose our heritage, this sense of *swara-jnana* and of *srutis*? and I leave it to you to decide the answer. If I had the power, I would throw away all the harmoniums into a heap and make a bonfire of all those which India has purchased. This harmonium came in as a servant, but has now become the master of the household in Northern India, and it is entirely against the highest Indian traditions of the art of music, and I feel it a sacrilege to practise upon such a whining and howling instrument. I can only plead that every one with some musical tendencies or bias, if his voice is not sweet, should know to play upon a musical instrument such as the Sitar, the Sarangi, the Esraj, the Veena or the violin. The last instrument, the violin is a superb one, in that it has neither the defects of the Sitar nor of the Veena as the sound can be kept continuous for a long time and modulations of the human voice can be reproduced. Also in the intonations of the violin, you have a remarkable method of obtaining the accurate musical sounds. I have still to hear the North Indian instrumentalist who will play the violin exactly true in pitch, as it is produced by the human voice of the Northern Indian Singer (of course unaccompanied by the harmonium) and all I can say is if you can master the violin, there is probably a great future for the Northern Music.

To sum up, besides the twenty-two notes on *Sa-Pa* and *Sa-Ma* basis, eight other notes into relative frequencies $25/24$, $25/16$, $25/8$, $32/25$, $48/25$, $36/25$, $7/4$, $7/6$ altogether about 30 notes in an octave are used in our music. I have already indicated in some measure how *srutis* (as they are technically called) came into existence. When and where these can occur is a matter of art, and the aesthetic sense alone can say how and when they should be produced.

The intellectual understanding of these pitches is gained only after a large experience in violin or Veena practice by an ear trained to observe very small variations in pitch. These frequencies of the notes have been selected by shrewd guesses from the large number of natural notes given by Helmholtz in his "Sensations of Tone." But these are fairly accurate as judged from the sonometer. But they should be capable of actual verification by a Millar's Phonodyk.

The Raga classification of South India is based on the fact that every complete Raga (*sampurna* सम्पूर्ण raga) must take one *Ri*, one *Ga*, one *Ma*, one *Dha*, and one *Ni*, besides *Sa* and *Pa*. It is easy to see that there can be $4 \times 4 \times 2$, that is to say, 32 variations or (*sampurna*) ragas. Of course, in the true South Indian Schools, two Madhayamas are rarely taken together or not at all. The Janya Ragas are Ragas in each of these scales with certain notes omitted, in the ascent or descent, or they may come about *vakra* (or in irregular ways). Such as have come to be sweet and have an individuality have remained. The South Indian artists have gone further, and say that it should be possible to use the *Komal Ri* with *Suddha Ri* (pronouncing the latter, of course, as *Ga* in the proper pitch), and similarly to use *Komal Ga* with *Suddha Ga*, the former *Ga* as being pronounced *Ri* in the proper pitch. Similarly, with the variation for *Dha* and *Ni*, the number of variations for *sampurna* Ragas will be then $4c3 \times 4c3 \times 2$ or 72 and it is only the expert musician who can produce

pleasure (*ranjana*) in these musical combinations of these other 40 Ragas. .

One other important fact regarding the tuning of the violin. We South Indians tune the four strings thus *Sa*, *Pa-Sa* higher and *Pa* higher. This is an important variation we have done since the singing of melody requires always a drone. Tuning thus makes the soul of music, *Sa* and *Pa* ring in our ears, and the melody will thus always be true.

C. SUBRAHMANYA

THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICAN POLITICAL RADICALISM

With the nation gripped in the most severe financial crisis of its history, it is reasonable to expect that the people of the United States of America will during such a period, if at any time, register their disapproval of the economic order of which their country has become the world's leading exponent.

In the United States such a demonstration of disapproval is not likely to take the form of violence. The capitalistic and individualistic social order has operated so well in the past that little more than sporadic outbreaks have resulted from its present breakdown. The American people have, in the main, been a contented people, with a long stretch of years behind them in which they have lived in the world's most successful country, financially speaking. When there is a break in their fortune, even one lasting more than three years, they are not likely to turn viciously on their government, but instead to seek peaceful means of exhibiting their sentiments.

The march of the Bonus Expeditionary Force on Washington, the farmers' strike in the middle west, and the several hunger riots of more than local significance are only mild protests in the light of certain facts: that the United States has a population of 120,000,000; that it stretches 3,000 miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans and for more than half that distance north and south. In the densely populated countries of Europe the amount of unrest appears to be far greater.

The outlet for any existing dissatisfaction with the *status quo* logically was the national election day in the fall of 1932. Before November 8 of that year not a few observers expected that the ballot boxes of the nation would reveal a sharp turn

to the left. The Marxist radical political parties hoped that, combined, they might poll 4,000,000 or 5,000,000 votes. Pre-election soundings of the sentiment found many of the intellectuals alienated from the two major parties, the Republican and the Democratic, and evidently giving their allegiance to the Socialists, Communists, Socialist-Laborites, Proletarians, and other left groups.

The Socialist Party of America alone was expected to receive the support of at least 2,000,000 voters. Led by a man so far superior to any other candidate in the field in so far as personal qualifications are concerned, the Socialists were in some quarters—the more optimistic, to be sure—thought to be powerful enough to poll possibly 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 votes. The personality and achievements of Mr. Norman Thomas alone, it seemed, would be good for a half million votes.

The other minor parties whose social philosophy is diametrically opposed to that of the parties in power throughout the land also felt quite certain tremendously to increase their votes over previous years. The official Communist Party, although torn by factionalism, had nominated Mr. William Z. Foster once again, and given him as running-mate Mr. James I. Fords who, being a Negro, was expected to obtain the support of many of his race, never favored by any major political organization since the days of Abraham Lincoln. The Socialist-Labor Party put into the field Mr. Verne L. Reynolds as its presidential candidate, and even this oldest American radical group was expected to do better than in other years.

What really happened on November 8 proved to be one of the most surprising of American elections, from the viewpoint of the Marxian parties. The total vote for the leftist groups, instead of reaching the awaited four or five million, approximated only 1,200,000. Out of 40,000,000 voters, only so few as this were willing to condemn the present order to the extent of voting for one radically different. The Socialist

Party, in spite of Mr. Thomas' leadership, polled not quite 1,000,000 votes, and all other minor parties of the Marxian tenor divided the remainder between them. Liberals throughout the country, not to mention the members of the left wing political organizations, were keenly disappointed in the result. They have been seeking explanations, presenting several and attempting to determine which supply the answer or whether all contributed to the solution.

It is not, it seems to me, a case of any one explanation proving sufficient. A few careful thinkers anticipated the situation and based their reasoning on what appear to be logical premises.

It was reasonable to expect some gain for the followers of Karl Marx in the United States. Socialist political organizations in many other countries, notably Spain, Denmark, Russia, and Belgium, have been gaining in strength. There was no reason to think the United States an exception. The time was ripe for the socialist point of view. With from ten to fifteen million unemployed and again that number working part time only (exact figures cannot be given, for, as one radical leader points out, in America the number of pigs is known exactly, but the number of unemployed can only be guessed at) it was inevitable that the educational work of the Socialist Party and the agitational work of the Communist Party should gain adherents to them both. As we shall see later, that gain did come. But the optimistic expectation that millions would be added to the number of Marxians was not well founded.

• We first of all must remember that the names of the leading radical parties are in general disfavor in the United States. Immediately after the World War, it will be recalled, the country was swept with what has come to be known as the "great red scare." In a nation where the capitalistic system was working at its best (even though in the most prosperous of times from one to two million persons were

unemployed) any suggestion of change was greeted, during 1918 and 1919 particularly, as ingratitude, treason, and perfidy. The Russian revolution having been successful, and the more blatant Communist leaders of Russia talking incontinently of world revolution, American industrial leaders, small capitalists as well as large, began what has been named rightly "a reign of terror" for the extermination of opponents of the dominant social and economic order. Fresh from the violence of participation in war, the returned soldiers and the stay-at-home patriots condemned right and left any semblance of disagreement with the existing order. Pacifists, communists, socialists, anarchists, syndicalists, and holders of other views considered unorthodox were lumped as being subversive and traitorous. Post-war organizations of soldiers and of industrial groups, fearing the redistribution of wealth that would come under a socialization of the country, as well as sincere but misguided patriots, succeeded in planting in the average person's mind the thought that socialism in any form is an enemy to the welfare of mankind and to the welfare to uncle Sam at least. All supporters of anything but rugged individualism are to be ostracized. A recent example of this attitude was the attempt to exclude Professor Einstein from the United States made by a group of women "patriots."

Furthermore, the Catholic Church in the States forbids its communicants from supporting socialism. Also, anything of foreign origin, unless it be Paris or London styles, is looked down upon by many Americans, so that political and economic ideas originating in Europe are thought to be dangerous.

It is against such a background that the Marxian political parties have been struggling during the past decade. Mistakes in technique, coupled with lack of material resources, have been tremendous handicaps. In addition, upholders of the existing order have used every conceivable

means of preventing the idea of socialization gaining strength, although they have been surprisingly unsuccessful in some quarters. Violation of the civil liberties is the commonest method. Preventing radical newspapers from passing through the mails, deporting holders of radical views, and injecting counter-propaganda into school books, motion pictures, newspapers, magazines, and other media of communicating information are everyday occurrences.

The Socialist Party, which is the largest left wing political group in the land, was wrecked when the United States entered the war. Officially it refused to sanction the country's entrance and many of its leaders, among them Eugene V. Debs, now become a socialist saint, were thrown into jail. Other Socialists, like Norman Thomas, remained as conscientious objectors outside of jail walls. The greater majority of the members of the party succumbed, however, to the beating of drums and the work of the department of justice, and rallied round the flag, many sincerely believing that this war would end war, and the end of war was a good socialist objective. Moreover, in 1919 the Socialists who considered themselves the most radical broke away and formed the Communist (also known as the Workers') Party.

These splits meant that the gains made during the preceding twenty years were lost. Eugene Debs, at the height of his career, had obtained more than 900,000 votes. How serious were these blows can be realised when we say that in 1928, even with Norman Thomas as their candidate, the American Socialist Party polled barely more than 250,000 votes throughout the country.

In addition certain unwise compromises cost the Socialist Party much influence. In 1920, for example, instead of placing their own national candidates in the running, they gave their support, vainly it turned out, to Senator Robert F. LaFollette, the Wisconsin reformer who went down to defeat with less than five million votes. The senator's ideals

were high, but he was not a socialist, and more important than all, his followers were progressive or liberals, but not radicals. The Socialist Party, as a result, lost its place on the ballots of twenty-four of the states in the union and have to this day not regained it in some.

The Workers' or Communist Party, second largest of the smaller groups, has been scourged by the "patriots" more than the Socialists, because of direct association with Soviet Russia. Patrioteers seeking either money or acclaim have been bedevilling the American Communists in good Spanish Inquisition fashion, and not always has the party flourished from the attention.

Then also, the American Communist Party has since its inception in 1919 been considered hopelessly visionary. Its members too often picture converting the already industrialized United States into a Soviete Russia, with its many frontiers and its huge industrial future ahead of, instead of behind, it. They have taken orders from Moscow, instead of fitting themselves to the American scene. They have been pitifully weak as to leadership and have lacked unity, quarreling among themselves like dogs.

Another factor in the situation is that paradox of politics : When times are ripest for drastic change (during the financial depression) the money available for financing such a change is low.

There is still another partial explanation. Many voters, fearing that a change in government was not certain, abandoned the Marxian candidates in the closing days of the campaign and cast their "protest" vote through the Democratic Party instead. In the opinion of the leftist parties this was not protest at all, for the two major political organizations are considered to be twins.

Then there were the last minute tactics of the major party candidates, especially Mr. Hoover, who talked about grass growing in the city streets if his opponent were elected !

Dire predictions of the total collapse of American business if the Democrats were elected were made by the party in power. This type of appeal pushed many superficial albeit potential Socialist and Communist Party voters into the major party camps.

And now we come to a major factor. The question arises : How much should be said about the disenfranchisement of voters for Marxian parties in the States? Very little can be said for very little is known.

The Communist Party was not on the ballot in many of the states. In five even the much more tolerated Socialist Party could not print the names of Norman Thomas and James Maurer on the ballots as the candidates for president and vice president. Names of the standard-bearers of these two parties as well as of the Socialist-Labor Party had to be written in. Thus it is safe to say that for this reason alone there are probably more voters for a left-wing party than election results ever reveal.

Nor should we forget the failure to count all the votes cast from minor parties. This is done, as all familiar with elections can attest, either by persons deliberately attempting to deprive parties of their vote or by careless election officials who think that the votes of losers are not of importance.

In the United States the number of votes cast for unsuccessful candidates for the national offices of president and vice-president is lost except as a protest and as an indication of the strength of those out of sympathy with the party in power. The 100,000 persons who voted for Messrs Foster and Ford in the recent presidential election have no representation in Congress. Their position is hopeless until they can concentrate enough votes in one community to send a man to Washington. Even the Socialist Party, with between 900,000 and 1,000,000 votes cast for it in 1932, has not a single representative in the national capital. There is little

opportunity, therefore for a fundamental difference of opinion on national issues to appear in the halls of government.

Thus we see that the American radical political parties have been suffering from at least three influences : their own weak technique and lack of organization, the offensive against them carried on continually by the parties in power, and the circumstances of the past two decades (the war and the poverty of the protestors against poverty).

What lies ahead for radical American political parties ?

The view forward is far more reassuring than the look backward.

For the immediate future the Socialist Party of America has most to expect of all the leftist parties. The approximately one million votes obtained by it in 1920 were due only in part to the personality and power of Eugene V. Debs. At that time there were 5,000 branches and locals (in the United States this party resembles a large club, with dues paying and regular community meetings). Last year the same number of votes was obtained, but there were only 1,200 branches and locals. Mr. Thomas' personality and power, were of course, responsible for many of these votes, but it is likely that stronger and wider organisation of the party would have brought more.

Money, also was lacking in the recent election. The campaign fund of the Socialists barely exceeded \$50,000 for the national drive (how small this sum is may be realized when we compare it with the millions spent by the two major parties). This was one fourth of the money available to the Socialists in 1928, when Mr. Thomas polled but a quarter of a million votes.

The prediction might be made, therefore, that in 1936 this party will probably double its present strength, unless it is again disrupted by a war or an internal rift. The likelihood that the economic regime in power will rehabilitate itself is so remote that the Socialists are confident of retaining their

present strength. Each day that this can be done, the more firm in their convictions will be Socialist voters of 1932, because of the educational campaign being carried on by the party.

We have been considering only the political fortunes of social movements whose economic views are based on socialization or collective ownership. With the growth in political strength of the socialist parties comes what may be a significant and lasting growth in actual socialization. Also other planks of the socialist parties than collective ownership of the means of production seem to be coming into their own.

A familiar remark in the States is that under the administration of Herbert Hoover there was in use more socialist technique (wrongly applied by the capitalists) than under that of any other chief executive. The reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Wickersham Commissions, and the various other committees of that type, while designed to preserve the *status quo* are in principle a movement in the right direction (for the left point of view!).

More and more is the government of the United States going into business always in the wrong way and with the wrong motive, the Marxists declare, but at least the people are entrusting more of their affairs to their elected representatives. The Federal Trade Commission, the National Farm Board, and the Interstate Commerce Commission are all cases in point.

One of the most startling of these signs of the trend towards socialisation, and one that is an out-and-out Socialist and Communist Party ideal, was the recommendation of the Wilbur Committee late in 1932 that medicine be socialized. Although nothing may result from the recommendation of the doctors and nurses who made this study and suggestion, it is a significant indication of what may soon happen.

• There is also the nation-wide interest in a plan for the control of the machine and of unemployment advanced by a

group of 350 American engineers and scientists known as technocrats. Any steps taken toward the realization of the plans of technocracy would be steps toward certain of the ultimate aims of the socialist political groups in the States.

A word about the more distant future: The probability is that if the socialist movement gains strength and comes into power in the United States at all, it will not be through the success of any of the present socialist parties as such. As Professor Paul Douglas prophesies, a third party, including all the present Marxian third parties strengthened by the disillusioned Republicans and Democrats, will come into existence and force the Republicans and Democrats to combine. This third party will then become the real second party in the American political system and when it comes into power will complete the socialization of the country.

If, as is the opinion of some American thinkers, there is no prosperity like that of 1928 and 1929 ahead, if normal has been reached, and if no world or national catastrophe interferes, the evolution of the political and economic institutions of the United States seems to be toward the left. The movement is slow, but it can be accelerated, and as matters now stand, the tempo seems destined to be speeded up.

R. E. WOISELEY

STUDIES IN THE TANTRAS

The *Tantras* provide a wide and complicated department of study, from both religious and philosophical points of view, but we would like to point it out at the very outset that in the following pages an attempt is made to give only a cursory view of the subject, without going into detail on any specific aspects. One can approach the *Tantras* from more than one standpoint. It is no exaggeration to say that the *Tantras* constitute by themselves such an extensive literature and embody such a widespread system of religious thought that the like of it is not available elsewhere. Whether as a system of spiritual discipline, or as a popular form of religious practice current almost from the Vedic age, the Tāntric mode of worship has a peculiar interest of its own. It has, in one sense, far outshone the religion of the Purāṇas by its resourcefulness in mysticism and its sacred method of internal purification.

First of all, Tāntric religion, which has brought with it the reminiscence of the Vedic rituals in so conspicuous a way, cannot be considered to be inferior to other Indian religions in point of antiquity; and its contents and ideals are in no way less salutary than those of other popular religions of India. Secondly, the mystic process of devotion inculcated in the *Tantras* by way of emphasising the potency of the *mantras* and the concentration of the mind on the deity behind the same gives rise to a kind of religious consciousness in which the worshipper finds himself ultimately united with the Supreme Being, and thus gets all his inner cravings fully satisfied. Thirdly, to a casual reader of the *Tantras* it may appear that they often exhibit a grossly materialistic attitude towards life, but a closer reflection and deeper insight will

make it sufficiently clear that the teaching of the *Tantras* is highly spiritual at its core, and is the same illuminating truth as was preached by the *ṛṣis* of the *Upaniṣads* in bygone days. A deeper study of the *Tantras* will bring us face to face with a super-sensuous world—a world of perfect beauty and joy.

The *Tantras* have set forth a great principle of spiritual life—a system of selfless devotion to the Highest—which is so much needed for the realisation of one's own self. They have held out before us an ennobling ideal, ethical as well as spiritual, that goes to show how the path of worldly enjoyment (*bhoga-mārga*), strewn with all that is desirable and delicious, may also lead to a state of absolute indifference (*vairāgya*), making a sort of reconciliation between those two diametrically opposite tendencies of our life which no other systems of religious experience could so harmoniously blend together. What really differentiates a Tāntric worshipper from other religious devotees is: while the former follows a course of religious practice which confers upon him mundane pleasures as well as the final liberation from the bondage of *saṃsāra*, the latter is only entitled to get either of the two (*bhoga* or *mokṣa*) as the case may be.¹ It is said in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (*Lalitā-sahasranāma stotra*) that one cannot achieve both *bhoga* and *apavarga* at the same time unless he turns to be a worshipper of the goddess *Tripurāsundarī*.²

The majority of scholars, both Eastern and Western, are of opinion that there is very little in the whole *Tantra*

¹ नाम्बः पन्था मुक्तिरितुष्टिसुखं सुखादये ।

यथा तन्मोदितो मार्गो मोक्षाय च सुखाय च ॥'

—Mahānirvāṇa, 2. 20.

यदास्ति भोगो न च तत्र मोक्षो यदास्ति मोक्षो न च तत्र भोगः ।

[श्रीसुन्दरीतर्पणतत्परायां] देवी-पदाब्जोन्न-समाश्रितानां भोगश्च मोक्षश्च करच्छ एव ॥

—Kaulāvalī-Tantra, 8.

तस्यादशैषलोकानां त्रिपुरारक्षणं विना ।

न लो भोगापवर्गौ तु योगपथेन क्लृप्तम् ॥

literature as would fully repay one's serious investigation. It is contended further that the *Tantras* represent a semi-barbarous or non-Aryan religion, accompanied by drinking and other ignoble practices, which have very little or nothing to do with the real object of religion, *viz.*, moral and spiritual progress in life. To those who are not initiated into the mysticism of the *Tantras* and acquainted with the mind behind the Tāntric rites, the *Tantras* preach only a type of religion that deserves nothing but contempt and condemnation.

We must admit that some Tāntric practices (as *pañcatattva*) are outwardly so repulsive and indecent that people with a refined notion of morality are likely to decry them through bitter abhorrence. But this is not all that is preached by the *Tantras*. We will do great injustice to the Tāntric religion if we set ourselves to judge its merits in the light of these external forms, or, in other words, give undue prominence to the formal side without penetrating deep into the very heart of the thing. Apart from the spiritual significance of the *pañcatattva*,¹ the *Tantras* exhibit another aspect which is none

¹ As a necessary part of *sādhana*, the Tāntric practice of drinking is not merely intended for intoxication, but it has a far greater object in view, as will be clear from the following passages :

ब्रह्मरन्ध्रात् अरेद या तु सोमधारा वरानने ।

पीत्वानन्दमयीं तां यः स एव मयसाधकः ॥

सोमार्कानलसंघटात् खलितं यत् परावृतम् । तेनाद्यतेन दिव्येन तपयेत् परदेवताम् ॥

—Gandharva-Tantra, 6.

सुरा शक्तिः शिवो मांसं तन्नोक्ता भैरवः स्वयम् ।—Kulārṇava.

The history of *surā* (wine) as a divine goddess having the power of conferring immortality upon a scrupulous *sādhaka* is to be found in many places. It has been stated in the *Mahābhārata* that *surā* was one of the fascinating things that came out as the result of sea-churning (*surādevī samutpannā*). The *devas* are said to have received the name *sura* from the fact of their drinking *surā* which is often called *amṛta* or *cidānandamayī* in the *Tantras*. *Surā* is also called *madhu* (honey) and is said to be a delightful drink of the Divine Mother :—

मर्जं मर्जं चणं मूढ ! मधु यावत् पिबाम्यहम् ।

—Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa.

the less valuable and striking from the standpoint of philosophy.

The *Tantras*, as we shall see later on, have the same object in view and have practically followed the same path as we usually find in the Vedānta or philosophy *par excellence*.¹ How *Tantra* and Vedānta come to meet together on a common platform in the long run and how ultimately they submerge into the all-absorbing *Brahmavidyā* has been clearly borne out by the great Śaṅkara in his *Prapañcasāra* (a treatise on *Tantra*) and in his famous *stotra*, namely, *Ānandalahari* where *Śakti* or Divine Mother has been identified with the Supreme Reality or Brahman. Tāntric *sādhana* and *Brahmavidyā* in their metaphysical sense run through the same channel, and have the same destination to reach. Difference does not lie so much in the essence as in the method of procedure.²

Having an eye to the theological and metaphysical importance of the *Tantras* we venture to state that the study of the *Tantras* with an unbiased mind will prove to be as interesting as thought-provoking. The *Tantras* are something more than meaningless superstitions ; their ideal is purer than

surā was also a favourite drink of Balarāma. Drinking is a substitute for the Vedic ritual of *somapāna*. The Kulārṇava says :—

यथा ऋतुषु विप्राणां सोमपानं विधीयते ।

सद्यपानं तथा कार्यं समये भोगलोचदम् ॥ 5.90.

It also gives rise to *ānanda* that lies within the body of a *sādhaka*. The Kulārṇava has justified drinking on the following ground :—

आनन्दं ब्रह्मणी रूपं तच्च दिङ्मि व्यवस्थितम् ।

तस्याभिव्यञ्जनं द्रव्यं (wine) योगिभिर्सेन पीयते ॥ 5.80.

A Self-realisation (*ātma-jñāna*) is held to be the end of Tāntric *sādhana*; and one who has attained this stage is said to be liberated from *samsāra*—

सर्वज्ञानः कृतार्थः स्वात् संसारात् प्रतिमुच्यते ।

आत्मात्मानं परं ब्रह्म वेदान्तेः प्रतिपादितम् ॥

—Mantramahodadhi.

¹ दधीनी वैचित्र्याहनुकुटिलनानापञ्चजुषां दधानीकी गव्यस्रवसि पयसान्धैव इव ।

—Mahimna-stotra.

gross self-enjoyment, and what they pretend to preach by way of rituals and worship aims undoubtedly at a higher fulfilment of life. The saying 'things are not what they seem,' is nowhere more applicable than in the case of the *Tantras*. Most of us know almost nothing about the *Tantras* nor do we care to know much of them on account of the deep-rooted assumption that they add but very little to one's stock of knowledge, and possess no such glaring features as might attract the notice of the intelligentsia. It is really a pitiable thing. No department of studies seems to have been more misunderstood and at the same time more misrepresented than the *Tantras* through sheer want of faith and proper attention.

Thanks to the labours of Sir John Woodroffe who, by his valuable contributions and editions of the Tāntric texts, has succeeded in awakening a curiosity among the present-day scholars to investigate into the vast field of study opened out by the *Tantras*, a greater amount of attention is now being focussed on the store-house of this mysterious literature. One may reasonably expect that time will come when the study of the *Tantras* will regain its former position in the domain of religious literature, the object of the Tāntric rites being interpreted as true fundamentals of one's religious life.

What does the word *Tantra* mean? Let us say first of all that it means a good deal.¹ Most of us seem to entertain the misconception that *Tantra*, viewed from the standpoint of *Sāstra*, is the name of a branch of literature which fundamentally deals with *Sakti* and *Śiva* in their various aspects; and as a form of worship, *Tantra* or Tantricism is the same as *Sāktaism* or *Saivism*. We ought to crave the indulgence of our readers before remarking somewhat boldly that this sort

¹ तन्नोति विपुलार्थोऽस्त्रमन्त्रसन्निताम् ।

वाचं च कुर्वते यन्मातृमित्रमिषीयते ॥

of restriction of meaning betrays only a poor idea about the importance of *Tantra* and Tāntric worship. The *Tantra*, we should say, has got a far wider signification.

The *Tantra-śāstra* has been designated by a multiplicity of names, such as *āgama*, *āmnāya*, *rahasya*, *śāmbhavi-vidyā* and so forth. It is called *āgama*, because it is supposed to have come out of the mouth of Śiva and delivered to Girijā : 'आगतं शिव-वक्त्रेभ्यो गतं च निरिजामुखे.'¹ It is called *āmnāya* and its number is calculated to be seven on account of their issuing forth from the seven mouths of Śiva.² The *Kulārṇava Tantra* is thus styled *ūrdhvhvāmnāya* and *mahārahasya*. It is called *rahasya*, since it has striking analogy with the secret teaching of the Upaniṣads and Āraṇyakas in respect of its mystical interpretation of life.

To turn to the point at issue, the word *Tantra* has the same connotation as the word *Śāstra*. A cursory glance is only required to show that '*Tantra*' has been a word that is often used to denote *Śāstras* or departments of studies in general. Evidence may be multiplied to corroborate this assertion.³

Though intrinsically a name of *Śāstras* in general, it cannot be denied that the expression *Tantra-Śāstra* has, however, acquired a spécial denotation. We now use the word *Tantra* in a somewhat narrow sense. The *Tantras* are generally classified under four heads, namely, *Śākta-Tantra*, *Saiva-Tantra*,

¹ It is believed that the three great geographical divisions of India, namely, *Āśvakraṇṭa*, *Rathakraṇṭa* and *Viṣṇukraṇṭa*, had each 64 original *Tantras* assigned to it by Śiva.

² The names of the seven mouths of Śiva are as follow : *tatpuruṣa*, *aghora*, *sadyo-jāta*, *vāmadeva*, *īvara*, *nīlakaṇṭha*, *caitanya*. The last two are secret and for the rest (five) Śiva is called *pañcavaktra*.

³ The *Sāṅkhya* system is called *Ṣaṣṭi-Tantra* :—

सप्तम्या किञ्च षेड्वांशेऽर्वाः कृतञ्च सप्तितन्त्रम् ।

The well-known Commentator, Vācaspati Miśra, has been styled *sarvatāntro-śvatantra* on account of his mastery over all departments of studies. '*Tantravārttika*' is the name of a work on *Mīmāṃsā*. The *Naiyāyikas* have also used this word in the sense of *Śāstra* (of तन्त्राधिकरणाद्यपनसंस्थितिः सिद्धान्तः—*Nyāya-sūtra* 1.1.26.). Treatises on grammar are sometimes designated as *Tantra* (सुभाषां सानुतन्त्राणां भाष्याणां च प्रथेदभिः।—*Vākya-padīya*). *Kātantra* is the popular name of *Kalāpa-Vyākaraṇa*.

Vaiṣṇava-Tantra and *Bauddha-Tantra*.¹ Viewed from the standpoint of *ācāras*, the *Tantras* fall under two broad classes : one in full agreement with the Vedic line of rituals (*samayācāra*) and the other based on the *Kaulācāra*.

Kashmir and Southern India seem to have been two great centres of Tāntric culture ; the former is famous for its 64 *Tantras*² and the latter for its *siddhāntāgamas* which are twenty-eight in number. Both the schools rest upon the three fundamental principles (*Trika-siddhānta*), viz., *pati-paśu-pāśa* and *Śiva-śakti-bindu*, respectively ; and have practically given expression to the same theme—the age-long yearnings of the human heart.

Tantricism found much favour in different parts of India. Tāntric rites and mode of worship are still to be largely found in Mahārāṣṭra and Mithilā (*maithilāih kavalīkṛtā*).

A few words are required to be said about Kashmir, its contribution to the *Tantras* and the long line of Tāntric teachers it produced.³ To *yogins* and religious devotees the Himalayas, justly described by Kālidāsa as *devatātmā* (i.e., a positive deity), have been the most suitable place for meditation from time immemorial. Heaven only knows how this long range of mountains stretching over the whole of northern India came to be called *siddhabhūmi* or the abode of gods and

¹ A number of Buddhist *Tantras* has been brought to light (Demchog Tantra, Sri-Cakrasambhāra, etc.).

² Śaṅkara has referred to these in his *Anandalahari* :—

चतुःषष्ट्या तन्त्रैः सकलमभिसम्वाय भुवनं स्थितसत्तत्सिद्धिप्रसवपरतन्त्रैः पश्यति ।

पुनस्तन्निर्वादादखिलपुष्टयर्थे कचटनास्तन्त्रं ते तन्त्रं चितितलमवातीतरदिदम् ॥

The *Sivaṣaṭṭvaratnākhara-Tantra* has enumerated the *Siddhāntāgamas* :—

कामिकाद्या वातुलान्ताः शिवेनोक्ताः शिवागमाः ।

सिद्धान्ता इति विज्ञेया उपमेदसमन्विताः ॥

Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī* has mentioned the names of 64 *Tantras* as given in the *Catuhṣaṭī*.

³ The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* has given an elaborate description of Kashmir as a great seat of Śiva and Śakti worship.

demigods. Tradition goes that the secluded caves of the Himalayas have been and are still providing shelter to many *sādhus* who, indifferent to all earthly enjoyments and regardless of all physical sufferings, remain absorbed in calm meditation for countless number of years. A portion of this mountain, not accessible to ordinary people, goes by the name of Kailāsa—a fabulous place of eternal beauty and joy. Here under the shade of *Kalpa*-tree the Supreme God of Learning is said to have narrated all the *śāstras* to his divine spouse (*Śakti* or *Pārvatī*).

Kashmir, the so-called 'paradise of the earth,' is the western part of the Himalayas. The natural beauty of Kashmir is so serene and imposing that one will be easily inclined to describe it as the fittest place for practising *yoga*. For many and weighty reasons this mountainous region might be held to be the birthplace of the *Tantras*. The temple at Nandiksetra and the image of Śārādā are among the noteworthy things of Kashmir.

That there was a great and long-continued cultivation of the *Tantras* at Kashmir is clearly borne out by the numerous Kashmirian *Tantras* which date from the eighth century A.D. It was in this holy land that a host of Tāntric teachers like Vasugupta, Somānanda, Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja and others contributed to the evolution of a huge Tāntric literature. Śaivāgama and particularly the *Pratyabhijñā* system of philosophy has been the invaluable outcome of their Tāntric culture. Just as the great Saṅkara built up the grand edifice of non-dualism on the foundation provided by the Upaniṣads, the Brahmasūtras and the Bhagavad Gītā, so the *āgamikas* of Kashmir tried in their own way to set up a new school of *advaita* philosophy, viz. *Sivadvaitavāda*, on the materials supplied by the *Tantras* or *Saivāgamas*. Both these phases of *advaita* schools have survived the severe test of time and adverse criticism.

Bengal has also contributed its quota to the popularisation

and diffusion of Tāntric culture. The *Āgamatattvavilāsa* of Raghunātha, the *Tārārahasya* of Brahmānanda, the *Śyāmārahasya* and *Śrītattvacintāmaṇi* of Pūrṇānanda, the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, the *Sarvollāsa* of Sarvānanda and the *Tārārahasyavṛtti* of Śaṅkarāryya (or Śaṅkarācāryya) are among the important Tāntric works that originated in Bengal. The influence which the Tāntric rituals and *sādhana* exercised over the religious life of Bengal is still clearly visible in many places. The Tāntric forms of *dikṣā* and worship have been in vogue in Bengal from a long time. Kālī and her different manifestations are daily worshipped by the majority of Bengali Hindus as their household deity. Bengal is also proud of having produced a long line of Tāntric saints in the persons of Sarvānanda,¹ Pūrṇānanda, Brahmānanda, Rāmaprasād, Kamalākānta and others. The devotional songs of Rāmaprasād and Kamalākānta have been a source of great inspiration to the religious mind of Bengal.

The *Tantras*, as we have said before, have preserved a system of religious practice which has come down to us as the offshoot of a very ancient religion. The *Tantras* as well as the Tāntrikas have tried to prove that the form of worship incorporated in the *Tantras* has its origin in the Vedic rituals.² The organic relationship between the Vedic and Tāntric rituals has been clearly brought out by the Kulārṇava on the evidence of a number of Vedic passages (*madhu vātā ṛtāyate ; abadhnan puruṣam paśum*) the recital of which forms an important

¹ Sarvānanda and Pūrṇānanda of Mehār (in the district of Comilla) are said to have visualised the Divine Mother with her ten manifestations (*daśa mahāvidyā*).

² मथित्वा ज्ञानदक्षेण वेदागममहागैवम् ।

सारज्ञेन मया देवि ! कुलधर्मे समुद्धृतः ॥

—Kulārṇava, II. 10.

तस्माद् वेदात्मकं शास्त्रं विद्धि कौलात्मकं प्रिये ।

—*op. cit.*, II. 85.

function of *kulācāra*. The practice of uttering the Vedic hymns,¹ specially at the time of purifying the *pañcatattva*, is a feature that goes to show the affiliation and adjustment of the Tāntric rites to the Vedic rituals.

On the strength of the statement of Hārta, the well-known commentator Kullūka Bhaṭṭa has referred to a twofold division of *śruti*, namely, *Vaidikī* and *Tāntrikī*.² What we now call 'Tāntric religion' is not really a departure from the ancient religion of the country, but only a homogeneous product not essentially conflicting with the Vedic ritualism. That Tantricism is one of the many phases of ancient religion cannot be doubted in the least. Though the age of the present *Tantra* literature cannot be pushed back to a much earlier date, it is almost incontestable that the Tāntric religion has been current in the land from a remote period of the history of Indian religion.

The *Tantras* have nowhere attempted to disgrace the Vedic religion by ignoring the authority of the Vedas, nor have they entirely stood detached from the same in their broad principles of religion and metaphysics.³ They have, however, subscribed

१ वेदिकोत्तान्त्रिकैर्मन्त्रैः साक्षादीन् बोधयेत् कलौ ।
—Kāmākhyā-Tantra.

२ यदाह हारीतः—सुतिस्तु विविधा वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी च—
—under Manu, II. 1.

³ On the strength of the facts that Rudra figures as a deity in the R̥gveda and that there is in the same work a particular section (*rudrādhyāya*) devoted to the glorification of Rudra, the *Mrgendra Tantra* has tried to prove positively that the *Tantras* do not run counter to the Vedas but rather come directly under their jurisdiction :—

Of. वेदेऽस्मि संज्ञिता रौद्री वाय्वा रुद्रश्च देवता ।'

Besides these, there are other passages in the Vedic literature which directly refer to the prominent Tāntric deities.

चाम्पकं यजामहे सुगन्धिं पुष्टिवह्नं नम ।'

This *mantra* is used by the Tāntrikas at the time of purifying the fish.

'त्रिवी नामासि स्वधिति ले' । —Yajurveda.

/ 'इमा रुद्राय तपसे कपहि'ने' । —R̥gveda, I. 114. 1.

वाली कराली च मनोजवा च सुलोहिता या च सुधुसवर्णा ।—Mundakopaniṣad.

'हमा देवतीम्'—Kenopaniṣad.

to the view that *kulācāra* or Tāntric rites are more fruitful or efficacious in the *Kali* age than the Vedic rituals. This assumption is not wholly without foundation. Truth to tell, the performance of the Vedic rites had long fallen into disrepute, and the *Paurāṇic* and Tāntric rites became more and more popular on account of their being better suited to the peculiar temperament of the people at large. The oft-quoted dictum *kalāvāgama-sammataḥ*¹ is in full accord with this state of mentality.

So far as the ritualistic side is concerned, the Tāntric religion runs parallel to that of the *Smṛti*, and consequently comes directly under the *karmakāṇḍa* or Vedic rituals. But while emphasis is thus laid on *karma* or ritualism, we should not shut our eyes to the supreme influence of *Brahmakāṇḍa* over the spiritual side or the mystic teaching of the *Tantras*.² The *Tantras* have formulated a philosophy which is also broad-based upon the solid rock of *Brahmavidyā* and has the same object in view as is held out by the Upaniṣads. There is a number of Upaniṣads where one will evidently find the philosophical background of *śakti-cult* which, as we all know, forms the fundamental theme of the so-called *śākta Tantras*. While the Muṇḍaka and Kena have only accidentally mentioned the names of *śakti*, namely, *Kālī karālī*³ and *Umā haimavatī*,⁴ the Dakṣiṇāmūrti-upaniṣad, Devyupaniṣad, Annapūrṇopaniṣad and the like have absolutely dealt with the divine power of *Śiva* and *Śakti*, emphasising the hidden importance of Tāntric mode of worship. How closely Tāntric interpretation of life is connected with that of the Upaniṣads will be evident from a passage of the *Kulārṇava*.

‘आगमीतविधानेन काली देवान् यजेत् सुधीः’ —Mahānirvāṇa. ‘कृते सुयुक्तभागे स्वात्
धेतायां अतिसम्भवः । हारे तु पुराणीतः कलावागमसम्मतः ॥’ —Tārāpradīpa and Kubjikātantra.

तन्माया अतित्वाविशेषेऽपि मन्वादिक्रुतीनां कर्मकाण्डशेषत्वं तन्मायां तु ब्रह्मकाण्डशेषत्वमिति—

—Bhāskararāya.

² Muṇḍaka, I. 2.

⁴ Kenopaniṣad, III. 25.

Tantra which is only a verbatim reproduction of a verse occurring in the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*.¹

The followers of *Śrīvidyā* have endeavoured to prove that the deity they worship is a goddess that was well-known even in the Vedic literature, namely, *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, *Tripuropaniṣad* and *Śāṅkhyāyana Āraṇyaka*. The *Paraśurāma-kalpasūtra* which describes in detail the different aspects of *Śrīvidyā* worship is said to be an elaboration of the *Tripuropaniṣad*. *Bhāskara-rāya* who wrote a commentary on the *Tripuropaniṣad* has alluded to this fact just in the beginning :—

श्रीशंख्यायनकल्पसूत्रविधिभिः कर्माणि ये कुर्वते
 येषां शाकल एव मन्त्रनिचयः कौषीतकं ब्राह्मणम् ।
 तैरारण्यकमन्त्रविततिर्या पठ्यते बह्वचैः
 ऋग्भिः षोडशभिर्महोपनिषदं व्याचक्ष्महे तां वयम् ॥

A faint allusion to *Śrīvidyā* has been traced in the *Śārīraka-bhāṣya* of *Śaṅkara* (under *Brahma-sūtras*, 3. 4. 37-38) which has indirectly referred to the *Tripurā-rahasya* by mentioning the story of *Samvarta* (संवर्त्तप्रभृतीनां च नम्रचर्यादि-योगादनपेक्षिताश्चमकर्मणामपि महायोगित्वं स्मर्यते इतिहासे). What *Śaṅkara* refers to above as *itihāsa* is the story to be found in the *Tripurā-rahasya*,² 4. 37.

भार्गवाङ्गिरसं त्वं मां जानीह्यवरजं गुरोः ।
 संवर्त्त इति विख्यातं त्रिलोकां प्रथितं गुणैः ॥

It will be, therefore, unfair to say that the *Tantras* unduly laid stress on *karma* to the utter denouncement of *jñāna*. The doctrine of *mukti* as advocated by the *Tantras* in general is, for instance, the same as that of the *Vedānta*. Just like the

¹ भिद्यते हृदययन्त्रिस्थितान्ते सर्वसंख्याः ।

जीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे ॥

—*Muṇḍaka*, II. 2, and *Kulārṇava*, IX. 24.

² See *Tripurārahasya*, Ben. ed. (Introduction).

advaita school of Vedānta, the *Tantras* have always insisted upon the supreme importance of *jñāna*. Knowledge in its purest form is said to be the only way that leads to final emancipation. It has emphatically been stated that *mukti* is attainable only by *jñāna* and not by any other means.¹ *Mukti* is a state of everlasting bliss to which a *sādhaka* is entitled after the annihilation of his mortal frame.² The *Tantrarāja* has only voiced the eternal truth of the Upaniṣads (*na ca punarāvartate*) when it says that *jīva* once liberated is not born again.³ Most of the *Tantras* have exalted the supremacy of *Brahma-jñāna* in unequivocal terms. The *Tantras* have recognised two kinds of knowledge: one derived from the *āgamas* (*āgamottha*) and the other obtained from spiritual experience (*vivekottha*). The *Rudrayāmala* says that a *sādhaka* (a Tāntric worshipper) becomes the same as Brahman through the help of *Brahma-jñāna* and that there is

¹ न वेदाध्ययनान्मक्तिर्न शास्त्रपठनादपि ।

ज्ञानादेव हि मुक्तिः स्यान्नान्यथा वीरवन्दिते ॥

—Kulārṇava, I. 105.

² देहान्ते शाश्वती मुक्तिरिति शङ्करभाषितम् ।

—Kulārṇava.

शान्तिभिर्जायते ज्ञानं ज्ञानान्मोक्षमवाप्नुयात् ।

—Rudrayāmala.

आनन्दघनसन्दीहपरमात्मनि चाव्यये ।

जीवात्मनिष्ठयो मोक्ष इति मे वस्तुतो मतिः ॥

—Śrītatvacintāmaṇi.

There is slight difference regarding the conception of *mukti* between the Kashmirian and Southern Schools of *Tantras*; *mukti*, according to the former, is the attainment of *Śivatva*, i.e., to become veritably the same as Śiva Himself, and, according to the latter, a *mukta* or liberated soul attains equality with Śiva so far as unlimited power and knowledge are concerned.

एतदेव परा काष्ठा मोक्षाख्याणीर्विचारतः । —Ratnatraya.

अद्यानादिमलापेतः सर्वज्ञत् सर्वविशिष्टवः ।

पूर्वं व्यत्यासितस्याणीः पाशजालमपोहति ॥ —Mṛgendra-Tantra.

³ मुक्तास्तु जीवा न कदाप्यविर्भूतः कुतश्चन ।

—Tantrarāja, 36, 57.

no self-elevating religion like *Brahma-jñāna*.¹ It is again stated in clear terms that the knowledge as to the identity of one's own self with Brahman is the direct means of liberation.²

Under the massive structure of external forms which the Tāntric religion unfolds before one's vision there flow the twin currents of *jñāna* and *bhakti*. The devotional aspect of Tāntric worship is too prominent to be overlooked. The mysticism of *yoga* which is said to have emanated from Dattatreya (an incarnation of Viṣṇu) has also found an extensive treatment in the *Tantras*.³ The object of *yoga*, as conceived by the Tāntrikas, is to visualise the Supreme Soul within the limitations of individual soul. Saṅkara in his *Prapañcasāra* has clearly described *yoga* in consonance with the view of the Upaniṣads :—

करपादमुखादिविहीनमनारतदृश्यमनन्यगमात्मपदम् ।

यमिहात्मनि पश्यति तत्त्वविदस्तमिमं किल योगमिति ब्रुवते ॥

There is absolutely no difference between the Tāntric and the metaphysical conception of *yoga*.⁴ In the words of Siva Himself the main object of the *Tantras* is to attain the unity of *jīva* with the Supreme Soul.⁵ The highest form

¹ साधको ब्रह्मरूपी स्याद ब्रह्मज्ञानप्रसादतः ।

ब्रह्मज्ञानसमी धर्मी नामधर्मी विधीयते ॥—Rudrayāmala.

यज्ज्ञानान्नापरं ज्ञानं तद् ब्रह्मेत्यवधारय ।—Gandharva-Tantra.

² जीवो ब्रह्मैव सम्पूर्णमिति ज्ञात्वा प्रमुच्यते ।—Mantramahodadhi.

ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्निष्ठं जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः ।

Brahman and *Jīva* are one and the same :

जीवः शिवः शिवो जीवः स जीवः केवलः शिवः ।—Kulārpaṇa, 9, 42.

³ Yoga is one of the seven topics that are generally dealt with by most of the *Tantras*. The seven topics are as follow : *mantra*, *nyāsa*, *pūjā*, *puraścaraṇa*, *stotra*, *homa* and *yoga* (*rahasya*). The *Tantras* in their philosophical outlook generally deal with four subjects, namely, *vidyā*, *kriyā*, *caryā*, and *yoga*. *Dhyāna*, *dhāraṇā*, *prāṇāyāma*, *samādhi*, *laya*, etc., as described in the Yoga system of Patañjali, have been mentioned in the *Tantras* as indispensable features of Tāntric Yoga, i. e., mystic ways adopted for the purpose of awakening of self (See *Prapañcasāra*, *paṭala*, 19.).

⁴ ऐक्यं जीवात्मनोराश्रयोऽयं योगविचारदाः ।—Kulārpaṇa. IX. 30.

✓⁵ परात्मजीवयोरेक्यं सबाह्व प्रसिपाद्यते ।—Gandharva-Tantra.

of *yoga* preached by the *Tantras* is to attain the power of awakening the *cit-śakti* so as to make her pass through the subtle spinal chord (*suṣumnā* nerve) in order to be ultimately united with *parama Śiva*.¹ The *Ṛṣis* like Agastya, Vaśiṣṭha, Bharadvāja, Paraśurāma and others are said to have been adepts in Tāntric *yoga*.²

Guruvāda and *dīkṣā* have been a striking feature of Tāntric *sādhana*. The first thing a man should search after in his religious life is a *guru*. A *guru* is he who can uplift his disciple to a state of Pure Consciousness by dispelling the darkness of ignorance.³ Submission and service rendered to *guru* are regarded by the Tāntrikas as a necessary step towards the realisation of self.⁴ That a *sādhaka* cannot obtain final liberation from *samsāra* without the grace of *guru* has been repeatedly stated in the *Tantras*.⁵ *Dīkṣā* may be interpreted as a kind of infusion of spiritual power into the disciple—a mysterious rite whereby both the body and the mind of the disciple are purged of all impurities (*māyīya*, *kārmaṇa*, and *āṇava*). A disciple at the time of initiation is said to be the recipient of *Saivī-Śakti* through the medium of his *guru*. It has been stated with all boldness that a disciple is turned into all-knowing Śiva as

¹ The mysterious process of passing through the six *Cakras* has been narrated in detail in the *Āgamatattvavilāsa* and other *Tantras*.

² Tradition goes that Ādinātha, Matsyendranātha and Gorakṣanātha of the famous Nātha sect were staunch advocates of Tāntric *Yoga*.

³ गुह्यवत्स्वकारः स्वाद्गुह्यवत्स्वनिरोधकः ।

अन्धकारनिरोधित्वाद् गुरुविर्यमिधीयते ॥

—Tantrārṇava.

✓ सुप्तिदा गुरुवागेका विद्याः सर्वा विडम्बकाः ॥

—Kulārṇava, I. 107.

तथात्मज्ञानसंप्राप्तिः सद्गुरुप्राप्तितो विना ।

न कस्यापि भवेद्देहा प्रतिष्ठा विश्रुतौऽनिश्चयः ।

—Tantrarāja, 36. 70.

नक्तं गुरुप्राप्तनिर्णयं स्यात् सर्वसिद्धिदम् ।

—Kulārṇava, 15. 19.

यावन्न गुरुकारणं तावत्तत्त्वकथा कुतः ।—*op. cit.*

soon as he is initiated by his *guru*.¹ To a *sādhaka* initiation in its Tāntric sense is a sort of instillation of secret power or a new birth (from the sacred womb of *Vāgīśvarī*) sanctified by the force of *mantra*. *Dīkṣā* serves to manifest the pure vision and is thus ultimately accompanied by *mukti*.² The *Tantras* have described three kinds of *dīkṣā*, namely, *māntrī*, *śākteyī* and *śāmbhavī*.

The Tāntric religion is exceedingly popular and has got the largest number of followers in its fold. It is a catholic religion that does not take notice of the rigours of the Brahmanical caste distinctions. In the universal brotherhood of the Tāntric order the question of caste does not arise at all. The *Kulārṇava* has cited the authority of the Vedas³ (*sarvaṃ khalvidam brahma*) in order to show the absence of caste prejudices in *kulācāra* (specially in the so-called *Bhairavī-cakra*).

There was a time when Tāntric worship and rituals, mysticism and order, reached the countries lying far beyond the boundaries of India. Convincing evidence is available that Tantricisism marched to far-off China and Tibet. In the long list of Tāntric *ācāras* there is one called *Cīnācāra*⁴ the very name of which speaks of the religious connection of

¹ तीव्रशक्तिनिपातेन गुरुणा दीक्षितो यदा ।

सर्वज्ञः स शिवो यद्वत्..... ॥

—Kiraṇa-Tantra.

² दीक्षेव मोक्षदा पुंसां चिदभिव्यक्तिकारिणी ।

and

तदेव हि विस्तृक्तोऽसौ यदाप्रातः शिवेच्छया ।

—Śaṭsāhasrikā.

³ वेदेऽपि स्थितमेवं हि सर्वं हि ब्रह्म चाब्रवीत् ।

—Kulārṇava, 8. 101.

⁴ Cīnācāra is thus described in the *Brahmayāmala* :—

नात्र शुद्धाद्यपेक्षास्ति न चानिध्यादिदूषणम् ।

सर्वदा पूजयेद्देवीमन्त्रातः कृतभोजनः ॥

महागिष्मशुचौ देशे बलिं मन्त्रेण दापयेत् ।

स्त्रीदेवी नैव कर्त्तव्यौ विशेषात् पूजनं स्त्रियाः ॥

India with China. Tāntric rituals, specially the worship of Tārā with *pañcatattva*, seem to have found much favour with the Buddhist priests belonging to the school of Vajrayāna.

An account of the meeting of Buddha and Vasiṣṭha is also narrated by the Rudrayāmala and Brahmayāmala *Tantras*. Vasiṣṭha is said to have been a worshipper of Tārā. It is interesting to note that the revered sage, a staunch follower of the Vedic rituals, failed to propitiate his *iṣṭadevatā* for no other fault but his aversion to the ignoble practices whereby Tārā is generally worshipped. Vasiṣṭha was so much mortified by his failure that he went to the extent of pronouncing a severe curse upon the Mahāvidyā. Out of compassion to her devotee Tārā immediately appeared before him and asked him to proceed to China, the land of the Buddhists, so that he might have his object fulfilled there.¹ At last Vasiṣṭha came to realise his own mistake and lost no time in adapting himself to the ideal which he once denounced in abhorrence.²

PRABHATCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

¹ बौद्धदेशेऽयं वेदे महाचीने सदा व्रज ।

तत्र गत्वा महाभावं विलोक्य मत्पदाम्बुजम् ।

मत्कुलञ्चो महर्षे त्वं महासिद्धो भविष्यसि ॥

—Rudrayāmala, *paṭala* 17.

² How a great change came upon the religious life of Vasiṣṭha in the later period will be evident from the following verse which is popularly ascribed to his authorship.

‘ रे दर्भाः ! विरमन्तु हन्त तुलसि तदवासनाम्बुजमिता

अम्बैकादशि ! तुभ्यमञ्जलिरयं सन्धिः ! शिरस्यास्य ताम् ।

आजन्माञ्जिं तसञ्चितातुलतपःसम्भारसम्भाविते

तारानामनि मोक्षधामनि मया न्यस्ताः समस्ताः क्रियाः । ’

REZA SHAH PAHLEVI

The life-story of Reza Shah Pahlevi who has found his way from a humble position to the throne of Persia presents a very interesting study. Not much is known of his family history : his pedigree is the pedigree of the sword, like Nadir Shah's. His extraordinary ability raised him from an ordinary soldier in the Persian army to the rank of an officer. When Syed Zia-ud-Din became the prime minister of Persia for a few months, he recognized the high qualities of Reza Khan then and made him the Minister of War. On the assumption of office as Minister of War, Reza Khan realised that it was impossible to improve the condition of the country unless it was provided with an efficient and well-equipped army. So he set himself to the task and working incessantly day and night he was able within a few months to create a well-organised and efficient army. The general condition of the country was so insecure before Reza Khan came into office, that people did not venture to come out to the streets after sun-set for fear of being attacked by robbers. It is said that while one night Reza Khan was driving in a carriage with one of his friends, he was attacked by a band of robbers, when a unique scene, characteristic of the general insecurity of the Qajar times, took place, in which His Excellency the Vezir-i-Jang (Minister of War) was fighting for his life with foot-pads in the capital of the realm. With great difficulty Reza Khan managed to arrest them and got them punished. Travellers in Persia were frequently molested by highwaymen. Reza Khan made travelling in Persia safe and secure by stationing his troops of Amniyeh or Militia in all the roads of the country.

The distant provinces and semi-independent nomadic tribes showed signs of rebellion against the Government. Once

Khazal, the Sheikh of Mohammerah became so powerful that he desired to throw off the allegiance to the Government and to become the King of Khuzistan. Reza Khan sent one of his ablest generals named Sartip Faizullah Khan Zahidi to bring him a prisoner. The general finding it impossible to overcome Khazal by force of arms, had recourse to a stratagem and one night invited Khazal and his sons to his own camp and thus managed to capture them. Khazal and his sons were brought to Tehran where they were imprisoned. After a short time, they regained their liberty on giving a promise that they would remain in Tehran for the rest of their lives. The fate of Khazal in being interned in the capital produced a salutary effect on other recalcitrant chiefs who thought it wise to submit to the authority of the Central Government. This added to the fame of Reza Khan as a military leader and he became the most popular person in Persia.

When the Cabinet resigned in October 1923, a new Cabinet was formed with Reza Khan as the Prime Minister. He was still the Minister of War and practically became the military dictator in Persia. During this time, the ex-Shah of the Qajar dynasty had been living in France, amusing himself quite unmindful of the eventful occurrences which took place in his own country. He turned a deaf ear to the appeals of his subjects to return to Persia. Only once he paid a short visit to his country, and after his departure for France in 1924, there was an agitation for deposing the worthless Shah Ahmed Qajar, and the popular opinion declared in unmistakable terms that the country could no longer tolerate the worthless king and petitions and representations poured forth from different provinces to Reza Khan inviting him to dethrone the useless Shah and establish a republican form of Government. Reza Khan could not accede to the request of the public as he considered a republican form of Government ill-suited to the country, being opposed to its traditions and popular sentiments. At last in October, 1925, the Mejlis made a declaration abolishing the sovereignty of the

Qajar dynasty and entrusting the provisional Government to Reza Khan until the form of Government was determined by a constitutional assembly. The Assembly met shortly and declared Reza Khan the Shah of Persia.

The achievements of Reza Shah as a King are numerous and many-sided. He has brought about important reforms of far-reaching consequences in all departments of public life and has been working hard for a complete regeneration of his country which he wants to see as one of the first-rate powers of the world.

Persia is no longer a priest-ridden country. He has freed the country from the influence of *Akhunds* or *Mullahs* who are now hardly to be seen. Only certified Mullahs are now allowed to put on Dastar (the distinctive head-dress of a Mullah); others have now to put on the *Pahlevi cap*, which has become the national head-dress. The majority of the people of Persia have quietly accepted the State restriction of Mullah-hood, as most of these worthy people were ignorant and opposed to progress. In some of the backward districts orthodoxy looks askance at these innovations, and grey-bearded farmers shook their heads and dolefully complained to me when I broached the subject that the present regime was good, "but it was a pity that the new Shah was *bi-din* (without religion)."

He has trained the army on modern lines of warfare and has introduced compulsory military service. This will revolutionise the Persian people. Raw country lads after two years in the army go back home with some education and considerable emancipation in ideas. Efficient military academies for the training of officers have been set up.

He has reorganised the whole police force and has placed guards in all the important towns to ensure elementary peace and order which were lacking previously.

He has re-codified the laws of Persia and has set up courts of justice on the modern plan, in place of the universally detested courts of the old-fashioned *Qazis*.

He has founded the National Bank of Persia (Bānk-i-Millī-i-Īrān) with Government reserves to back it and in this way has brought about a stabilisation of the finances of the country.

He has covered the country with a net-work of roads which are quite safe for modern motor traffic. Only a few years ago, not more than 500 motor cars could be seen in the whole of Persia. To-day, one can see about 70,000 motor cars running every day on the beautiful roads of Persia constructed during the reign of the present Shah. Persia is in bad need of a Trans-Persian Railway for a full and complete development of her economic resources. The scheme for the construction of such a railway had always been baffled by thick clouds of foreign intrigues. At last in 1928 Reza Shah entered into a contract with a German American Company for the construction of a line connecting the Caspian Sea with the Persian Gulf. This railway, when constructed, will play a very important part in the economic salvation of the country. In the construction of new roads and extension of railways, Reza Shah finds a high-road to progress. So he has been building roads and railways as fast as the financial resources of the country permit. About 4,400 miles of road are opening up places which could previously be traversed only by caravans.

He has constructed fine harbours, both on the Caspian Sea and on the Persian Gulf. The Bandar Pahlevi (formerly Port Anzeli, on the Caspian Sea) has already become an important centre of commerce for trading with Europe through Russia.

He has many schemes in contemplation for promoting the welfare and prosperity of his country. He has a scheme for the construction of a Navy and has called to his country Italian experts to teach the science of navigation to the Persians, who were a great military, but never a maritime, people.

The Government of Reza Shah has been sending students in increasing numbers every year to different European countries,

particularly to England, France, Germany and Italy, for training in European crafts and sciences as well as higher scholarship. Students are sent to France to specialize in military training and aviation, to Germany to specialize in science and aviation, to Italy for naval and marine instructions and to England for training in wireless and engineering. Rich families are encouraged to send students abroad and even girls are being sent abroad for learning medicine, hygiene and science.

To-day Persia is passing through a period of economic crisis which is principally due to an abnormal depreciation of the local money. The present Shah is wide awake to the situation and has adopted measures which are calculated to relieve the prevalent economic tension. As the depreciation of the Tuman¹ (the standard silver coin, about Rs. 2-4-0 Indian) is considered to be due to a fall in the price of silver, the Shah's Government has passed an Act prohibiting the import of silver into Persia. As the balance of trade is heavily against Persia on account of the fact that her exports are quite over-balanced by her imports, the Shah's Government has appointed a Commission to enquire into the articles imported into Persia and an import of a number of articles (mostly luxuries) has been forbidden except with the permission of the Commission. Also the Shah's Government has done a momentous work by entering into an agreement with the Imperial Bank of Persia (which was a British concern) by which the latter has given up its privileges of issuing Bank notes in consideration of a sum of of £20,00,000 being paid as compensation. These salutary measures adopted by the Government of Reza Shah Pahlavi backed by the waves of patriotism which are to-day running high throughout Persia, are hoped to save Persia from foreign exploitation. Proofs have been obtained that machinations are rife from interested quarters to bring confusion and disorder into Persia with a view to keep her perpetually under foreign

¹ At present the whole system of currency has been changed.

influence. The strong rule of the the Shah has up till now baffled these foforeign machinations. But for the presence of a far-sighted and powerful ruler like Reza Shah on the throne of Persia, the tragic history of Afghanistan would have repeated itself in Persia.

The private life of the Shah, who if he liked could have indulged in all the luxuries, pomp and splendour which surrounded his predecessors, is a model of simplicity regularity and devotion to duty. He rises early at about 4 o'clock in the morning and after inspection of troops sits at the desk and works till about 12 o'clock, attending to public duties with wholehearted attention and concentration. He then takes rest until 2-30 during which time he takes his lunch alone or sometimes with the Crown Prince. At about three, he sits again at the desk and receives ministers and executives and discusses with them the affairs of the State. He dines at seven in the manner of a happy household. His repast rarely exceeds three courses. Stately uniforms and gorgeous jewels are reserved for official occasions only. The every-day dress is a plain khaki military uniform. The Shah has no harem but he is passionately devoted to his family. Thus, his private life sets an ideal before his subjects to follow and emulate.

The greatness of Reza Shah consists in this : he is the man of the moment. He embodies in himself the aspirations of a revived Persia, conscious once again of its past glory, and hopeful for a glorious future. He has raised the hopes and the enthusiasm of his people in a way which no national leader can be said to have done in Persia within recent years. The wave of nationalism which now is looking back wistfully to the glories of Sasanian and Keianian times has been utilised by him—he is now at the crest of that wave. He has adopted the style of " Pehlavi," a word which ushers in all the glories of ancient Iran when Persia fought on equal terms with Imperial Rome. It would be an interesting comparison—between Reza Shah and Mussolini. He has called his son Shahpur, a name

glorious in the annals of Persian kings. Above all, he has brought in a stable and efficient administration which compares very favourably with the complete inefficiency of the Qajars. No wonder that such a man will be a popular idol.

The destiny of Persia is now in the hands of a very able and powerful ruler under whose short rule Persia has made wonderful progress and if Destiny leaves him at the helm of affairs, Persia may hope in no distant future to take her place with the Powers in the fore-front in the present-day world. She was the builder of the first great world empire, and although she cannot aspire to rival her ancient political and military glory, a revived Persia can be looked forward to, continuing worthily the cultural traditions of the great periods of her history—Achaemenian Sasanian and Safavi.

Zindeh bād Shāhanshāh-i-Pahlevī.

MOHAMMAD ISHAQUE.

THE REALISTIC ANALYSIS OF PERCEPTION ¹

In discussing anything the first thing expected is a clear-cut definition of the subject intended for discussion. But in dealing with Realism, this demand cannot be fulfilled, and the reason for this is that Realism is not a body of systematic doctrines to which numbers of different philosophers can be found to have subscribed. The Realists for the most part content themselves with dealing with a number of isolated problems without even attempting to bring them into any rational connection with one another. Perhaps the only thing which is common to all realists and which justifies their designation as 'realists' is their Refutation of Idealism.

Besides the refutation of idealism there is another topic, on which most, if not all, of the modern realists have something or other to say. This is the 'Problem of Perception.' The analysis of perception, is in a sense, the starting-point of their philosophy—that is to say, of the *positive* part of it; and the reason is obvious. If, as their refutation of idealism proves, objects, in their opinion, are not to be resolved into the states of the knowing mind, the next thing that should engage their attention, is an account of the process by which the 'independent' things come to be related to the mind.

Realistic views of perception may be divided into three types, the first of which maintains the existence of three, the second, of two, and the third, of one element only in perception.

The Austrian philosopher Meinong may be taken as a typical representative of the first class. He distinguishes

¹ Read before the Logic and Metaphysics section at the Eighth Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress held at Mysore, 1932.

three elements in perception—(i) the act of perception, (ii) the content of perception and (iii) the object of perception, which correspond roughly to the three elements distinguished in perception by the '*Vedānta-paribhāṣā*,' viz., '*pramātri-chaitanya*,' '*pramāṇa-chaitanya*,' and '*vishaya-chaitanya*,' respectively. The similarity of the conception of the 'act of perception' with that of the '*pramātri-chaitanya*,' is apt to seem a little doubtful at first; but their resemblance becomes obvious if we look a little below the surface. For, the '*pramātri-chaitanya*' is an exact analogue of the Kantian conception of the 'Synthetic unity of apperception,' which is evident from the part the '*pramātri-chaitanya*' has to play in the perception known as '*vishaya-gata*' or '*jñeya-gata*' *pratyaksha* (i.e., the perception of object as *object*) as distinguished from '*jñāna-gata pratyaksha*. The 'synthetic unity of apperception' is the correlate of the object, according to Kant; so also is the '*pramātri-chaitanya*' in the *Vedānta*. If the object is to be perceived as an object, the '*pramātri-chaitanya*' must be explicitly opposed to it; so also in Kant, the object can be perceived as an *object* at all only in distinction from the synthetic unity of apperception. But the 'Synthetic unity of apperception' is more an 'act' than a 'fact,' i.e., it is not as a *substance* but only *because of the synthesising function it has to perform*, that the 'ego' had importance with Kant. The same may be said of the Vedāntic conception of the '*pramātri-chaitanya*.' Thus it is not far from the truth to trace a sort of resemblance between the *pramātri-chaitanya* and the 'act of perception' admitted by Meinong.

But there are important differences as well. Meinong thinks that in the perception of different objects the 'act of perception' remains the same, and it is only the 'content of perception' that changes, *e. g.*, in the perception of the 'cow' and in that of the 'horse', Meinong will suppose that the same act that is capable of perceiving the 'cow,' is capable of perceiving the 'horse' as well, the difference lying in the

content only, the content in the one case being a cow-content, in the other a horse-content. But, according to the Vedāntic analysis, the 'pramātri-chaitanya,' changes as well as the 'Vritti-chaitanya,' with the change in the object of perception. For the 'pramātri-chaitanya' is always determined (*upahita*) by the 'vritti'-consciousness and thus, is dependent for its form (the *essence* of course being no other than *chaitanya*) directly on the 'vritti,' and therefore indirectly on the object.

The superiority of the *Vedāntic* analysis to that given by Meinong, is evident from the fact, that Meinong's characterisation of the 'act of perception,' as remaining unaltered even if the object of perception changes, renders it a bare act of thought, divorced from all the characteristics which give it form, and therefore makes it an unthinkable something. It is psychologically impossible to distinguish in consciousness a thought which is not a thought with a definite content. Epistemologically also, one can be conscious of an act of perception only so far as it is distinguished from the object which is perceived through it.

There are differences regarding the conception of the content of perception as well. In the first place, as regards the origin of the 'vritti' the Vedānta is explicit in stating that the 'vritti' originates as a consequence of the mind going out of itself to the object and being modified in the form of the object (*Antaḥkaraṇaṃ chakshurādidiwārā nirgatya ghaṭādivishayadeśam gatvā ghaṭādivishayakāreṇa pariṇamate. Sa eva pariṇāmo vrittirityuchyate*). But Meinong is silent on the point. According to him the content of perception is altogether mental, and the object is something altogether external. On this theory it is difficult to perceive how the object can ever come into relation with the content, so as to enable the latter to take the form of the former. Thus Meinong's theory is open to all the defects that vitiate the 'representation,' etc., theories of Perception of Descartes, Locke and others. He ends by

tacitly assuming the possibility of the content being of the form of the object without bothering himself by entering into the 'how' of it. Another important difference follows from this difference between Meinong and the *Vedānta*. Past and future objects as well (*i. e.*, object of memory and anticipation respectively) may constitute the objects of perception, according to Meinong. But *primâ facie*, the *Vedāntin* cannot accept this for, in as much as, according to him, the mind must go out to the object in perception, it follows that the object must be a *present* one, *i. e.*, must belong to the same *time* as that when the perception takes place. The *Vedānta* itself anticipates Meinong's position and refutes it (*nanvavam svavrittisukhādismaraṇasyāpi sukhādyamśc pratyakshāpattiriti chet na...aḥam pūrvam sukhī ityādismritau alivyāptivāraṇāya vartamānatvam viśaya-viśeṣhaṇam deyaṁ*).

The *Vedāntic* analysis of perception should however, be dwelt on a little more at length in this connection, as the *Vedānta* furnishes the best type of the realistic analysis of perception in India. The *Vedāntic* analysis can best be studied in connection with that of Meinong, the latter having many points of similarity with the former, as has already been pointed out. Considered *a priori* also the *Vedānta* should find a place in the same class with Meinong, according to the standard of classification proposed in the present discussion, for it also is an upholder of the three-element theory of perception.

From the ultimate metaphysical point of view, the *Vedānta* admits the reality only of one all-pervading *Chaitanya*. But all determinate knowledge involves a stratification of this one *Chaitanya* into three determinate forms,—the *pramātri-chaitanya*, the *vritti-chaitanya*, and the *viśaya-chaitanya* (The suffix '*Chaitanya*,' by the way, at the end of each of the terms, serves as a constant reminder of the fact that they are in their metaphysical essence, nothing but '*Chaitanya*,' the only reality admitted by the *Vedānta*). However this distinction between

the '*pramātri-chaitanya*' and the '*vishaya-chaitanya*,' explains Vedāntic realism so far as determinate or empirical consciousness is concerned. These three—the '*pramātri-chaitanya*,' the '*vr̥tti-chaitanya*' and the '*vishaya-chaitanya*,'—correspond roughly to Meinong's distinction of 'act of perception,' 'content of perception' and 'object of perception' respectively, as has already been shown. Now, what happens in perception is as follows. First of all there is the mind and there is the object independent of the mind. The mind goes out of itself to the object and takes the form of the object (योग्यवर्तमानविषयकत्वे सति प्रमाणचैतन्यस्य विषयचैतन्याभिन्नत्वम् इत्युक्तम्). This gives rise to the '*vr̥tti*'. The perceiving subject also is determined as to the particular form it is to take, by the '*vr̥tti*' (स्वाकार-वृत्त्यपहितप्रमादचैतन्यसत्तातिरिक्तसत्ताकत्वाभावः). All three, the '*pramātā*,' the '*vr̥tti*' and the '*vishaya*,' are then mingled together into a homogeneous whole. Then there is the perception of the object.

In their analysis of illusory perception they try to keep their realistic position intact, by bringing in their peculiar theory of an indescribable reality (अनिर्वचनीय-सत्ता). An illustration is necessary. The usual instance they give in the case of illusory perception when the 'nacre' is mistaken for 'silver.' The explanation offered is that, defects in the eye or in the adjustment of light, etc., cause the really-existing nacre to be modified in the form of silver, owing to similarity between nacre and silver. Thus the object no longer continues to be nacre but becomes *silver* which also is not altogether unreal, though not of the same nature of reality as the nacre is. This peculiar reality is a kind of reality which is not real but apparent, i.e., a '*prātibhāsika sattā*' as distinguished from a '*pāramārthika*' or '*vyāvahārika sattā*' in the Vedāntic terminology. Thus instead of the *pramātā*, the '*vr̥tti*' of the form of nacre, and the nacre, we have now the *pramātā*, the '*vr̥tti*' of the form of the real-apparent-silver (पारमार्थिक प्रातिभासिक रजत) and the real-apparent-silver.

Everything else happens as in ordinary perception, and thus the perception of silver ensues. The silver also being ascribed a sort of reality, illusory perception also is quite in keeping with their realistic theory of perception; at the same time the illusory nature of the cognition is not explained away because the object of the perception is not ascribed a real reality but only an apparent one.

Two-element Theory of Perception.

Next we have to take into account the second class of thinkers, *viz.*, those who hold that only two elements are involved in perception. It has been urged with great force and clearness by Professor Alexander, who speaks of perception as a process in which the mind enjoys itself in compresence with an object.

The two elements involved are the mind and the physical object. Meinong's 'act' and 'content' are run together by these realists and expressed by the single word 'mind.' They do not regard the 'act' and the 'content' as two distinct elements, because they think that one and the same physical object determines both. (This analysis seems to bring the realistic analysis of perception into a closer connection with the Vedāntic one, because according to the Vedānta also, the object determines the form of the *vritti*, and the '*vritti*,'—which is thus indirectly the object,—again, determines the form of the '*pramātā*.' Of course, in making comparisons, it should always be remembered that analogy does not walk on all fours.) The physical object is at once the *stimulus* and the *content of the conscious act* (determines the *pramātā* as well as the '*vritti*' in the '*Vedāntic*' terminology. Their explanation is as follows: the physical object, when placed in a certain juxtaposition to the sensory organs, produces a stimulation of those organs. The stimulation is conveyed to the brain and enters into consciousness. The consciousness is then directed

to the physical object and thus the content of consciousness takes the form of the physical object. From the fact that the physical object determines the act it follows that the 'act' differs with the difference in the object. (This also distinguishes the theory from Meinong's according to whom the 'act' remains the same in all perceptions, and connects it with the *Vedānta*, according to which the form of the *pramātā* differs with the difference in the object, *e.g.*, the form of the *pramātā*, when the object of perception is the *parimāṇa* of the *ghaṭa* is different from the form of the *pramātā* when the object of perception is the *rūpa* of the '*ghaṭa*'). Thus the 'act' in the perception of 'red' will be quantitatively different from the 'act' in the perception of 'green.'

. *One-element Theory.*

Next we have to take into consideration the account of perception given by those realists according to whom only one element is involved in perception. These realists are generally known as neo-realists. The designation neo-realist is rather ambiguous.* It has been used by some writers to denote any modern realist—more usually, however, it has been applied to the particular class of thinkers we are now going to deal with. Throughout this discussion, the term will be used in this narrower sense.

Neo-realism in this sense, can best be studied in connection with realism in its oldest form. Descartes and Locke may be taken as the best exponents of the oldest type of realism. Both of them believed in the existence of a world of things independent of the mind and both of them believed that the independent world can be known through the medium of ideas, truth consisting in the correspondence of the idea with the thing, *i.e.*, both were 'representationists' with regard to the relation of the mind and the world,

Now, neo-realism is at one with old realism with regard to the first position, *viz.*, the belief in the existence of an independent world of things, but the two theories differ with regard to the other position, *viz.*, the knowability of the world through the medium of ideas. The neo-realists think that the object is directly *presented* to the mind when the latter comes to know the former, and is not *represented* to it through the medium of ideas, as older realists would have it.

The neo-realistic analysis of perception may be summed up in the single phrase 'immanence of the independent,' or what Perry terms as 'epistemological monism.' What the phrase means is simply this, that objects exist, independently of the knowing mind (independence) but they are *identical* with the perceptions of the mind when they are perceived. The object is not perceived *through something* which is other than itself. It itself is immanent in the mind, becomes itself the perception and thus makes its own perception of itself possible. This explains why these realists have been described as holding 'the one-element theory of perception.'

The explanation of the possibility of this immanence, they find in the peculiar way in which they construe the duality of mind and matter. The neo-realists think that the difference between mind and matter is simply a difference of organisation. Neither mind nor body is really simple—both are complexes capable of being analysed into more primitive terms. These primitive terms are neutral elements, in themselves they are neither mental nor physical. When considered in one relation they constitute mind, when in another, they constitute body. This view is best set forth by Ernst Mach in a little book (*Die Analyse der Empfindungen*). The elements of the physical and the psychical, according to this author, are the same. But while the physical studies one type of relationship, such as the relation of colour to the source of light, the psychological studies its peculiar relation to the *retina or nervous system*.

of a sentient organism. The colour itself is neither physical nor psychical.

Ralph Barton Perry may be taken as the most well-known representative of the theory sketched here. This theory became generally recognised through the publication in 1912 of a co-operative volume by six American writers, Edwin B. Holt, Walter T. Marvin, William Pepperrell Montague, Ralph Barton Perry, Walter B. Pitkin and Edward Gleason Spaulding,—called the New Realism. All these writers agree in what has been described above as the definitive characteristic of neo-realism, *viz.*, the insistence on the identical presence of the object in knowledge. Neo-realism has English representatives also. Mr. Russell, the most formidable of realists in some of his writings, drifted towards this theory. Of course it is not possible to class him with any realist in particular, for he does not adhere to one single view throughout his philosophical career. It is impossible to do justice to all the phases in his philosophy in this short paper.

There is another type of realism, *viz.*, that represented by the Scottish School of Common Sense. This theory agrees with neo-realism in admitting a sort of real presentationism, so far at least as the primary qualities are concerned. The main difference is that the Scottish realists dogmatically asserted presentationism without offering any explanation as to how it could be possible in spite of the dualism of mind and matter with which they started. Though this theory has been receiving attention since only 1912, Perry traces the germ of the theory as far back as Hume. Perry thinks that Hume regarded things not only as possessing being independent of the mind, but *identical with perceptions when present to the mind*. For this view of his, he refers us to Hume's 'Treatise on Human Nature' (Selby-Bigge's edition, p. 207) and also to an article by W. P. Montague in the *Philosophical Review*, entitled 'A Neglected Point in Hume's Philosophy.'

Another analysis of perception has been offered, under the name of Critical Realism, by seven American professors—Drake, Lovejoy, Pratt, Rogers, Santayana, Sellars and Strong,—in a co-operative study entitled the “Essays in Critical Realism.”

The peculiarity of these thinkers consists in this that, unlike the other realists, they do not believe in the independently existing physical objects as constituting the data of perception. They must not, however, be supposed on this account to be following in the footsteps of the Idealists according to whom the data of perception are nothing but the states of the mind.

But if the datum is neither the physical object, nor the mental state of the perceiver, it follows that there must be a third term which is supposed by the Critical Realists to be the datum, and hence the analysis of these Realists makes perception involve three terms. Still these realists cannot be classed with Meinong because these views differ from Meinong's on a point of fundamental importance, *viz.*, that they do not believe in independently existing physical objects constituting the data of perception.

The datum of perception, according to the Critical Realists, is a ‘character-complex,’ or as Professor Santayana would express it, an ‘essence,’ which is not the object itself, nor any selection from the object, but in perception is supposed to be a characteristic of the object. What happens in perception is roughly as follows: when an object C comes into contact with a conscious organism A, it causes the appearance to A of certain character-complexes. These character-complexes are imagined by A to be out in the world. These constitute the data of perception. When these character-complexes are the actual characteristics of C, the perception is correct; when otherwise, the perception is erroneous. These character-complexes *have being* or subsistence only, but they do not *exist* in the same sense as physical objects do. Professor

Santayana speaks of these 'essences' much in the same way as Plato spoke of his Ideas. But in as much as in true perception these 'essences' are identical with the actual characteristics of the object, the Critical Realist, in holding these essences to be the data of perception, holds that in perception, they perceive a physical object, so far, at least, as its nature or 'what' is concerned. The object itself, however, he is forced to admit, always eludes the perceiver's grasp. All this, however, is falling back on the defects involved in the representationistic theories represented by Descartes and Locke.

Lastly, any account of realism remains incomplete, if at least a passing reference is not made to the *Vaibhāshika* and *Sautrāntika* Schools of Buddhism, and the Jainas. The *Vaibhāshika* analysis of perception resembles that of the naïve realists of the Scottish School of Commonsense in their acceptance of a real objective world independent of thought, together with their belief in *presentationism* in perception. But though the *Vaibhāshikas* agree with the natural dualists in holding that our knowledge of things is not *creation* but only *discovery*, still there is an important difference—a difference which is due to their atomistic metaphysics. The objects of perception, they say, are constituted by permanent atoms but the objects themselves are momentary. The atoms constitute the object on the occasion of the perception, but separate as soon as the perception ceases, and so the object also vanishes. But in spite of this apparent Berkeleyanism, it is interesting to notice that they are far from holding that the *esse* of things is their *percipi*. Their peculiarity consists in their combination of Berkeleyanism with natural dualism. Objects cease to exist the moment we cease to perceive, still it is not perception that makes them into objects.

The difference between the *Vaibhāshikas* and the *Sautrāntikas* is like that between Locke and the naïve realists. The *Sautrāntikas* agree with the *Vaibhāshikas* in admitting

the independent existence of the outer world. Only they deny the possibility of a direct perception of it. We have, they argue, mental presentations through which we infer the existence of external objects.

The Jainas give a detailed analysis of perception, into the technicalities of which it is impossible to enter here. In short, their analysis reveals the mediate character of perception, and also tells us that things are extra-mental realities. It is to be noted that unlike the western Realists who start from the independence of the external world and then go on to analyse how that world can be related to mind, the *Jainas* start from the empirical fact of perception and then at the end of their analysis are brought to the conclusion that an independent reality exists. The question how consciousness can be related to objects—a question which puzzles the Western mind so much, is dismissed by the Jainas as absurd.

TATINI DAS

Reviews

All My Youth—A Book of Poems—by Fredericka Blankner, Brentano's, New York, 1932, is a small volume of really beautiful poems, some of which first appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, by Miss Blankner who is a member of the Faculty of Vassar College and of the Royal University of Perugia. These pieces are arranged in four groups the first of which, comprising the largest number, relates to Italia with which she is closely associated as a student and interpreter of her literature and an appreciator of her arts. The last group, called "Quest of God," appeals to us strongly by its intense spiritual fervour. Miss Blankner is a gifted poet and handles with ease and ability a large variety of rhythms. She can express in simple yet well-chosen words her thoughts and emotions in a clear and straightforward manner and there is a subdued and chastened passion in some of her poems. Her sensitiveness to beauty is exquisite and she combines gracefully the pagan enjoyment of love and beauty with ascetic restraint. We have particularly enjoyed such pieces as Love Song, Presence, Invitation, Shadows, Desire, Guerdon, Marriage, Souvenir and Fiat and can recommend this little volume to all lovers of good poetry.

J. G. B.

Indian Problems (speeches by Lord Irwin), published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1932, 12s. 6d. net, is a representative and fairly complete selection of speeches made by Lord Irwin as Viceroy of India during 1926 to 1931, a critical period in Indian history, which will enable its readers to form a clear idea of his policy and attitude and of the fundamental principles by which he was guided.

The anonymous and brief editorial note explains the principle of selection, rejection and arrangement of the matter. While reasonably complaining of "want of space," which has necessitated exclusion of some speeches and from others, finally chosen, portions of "merely local or temporary interest," the editor has, however, succeeded in offering us as many as forty-four addresses delivered to representative

audiences on a large variety of momentous political, social, commercial, industrial and educational topics. The series is appropriately concluded with the very valuable Massey Lecture delivered by Lord Irwin, after his retirement from the Indian service, at Toronto University, in 1932, which in breadth of vision, cautious survey of recent tendencies and developments in India, sympathetic attitude towards the Indian struggle for self-determination and the legitimate demands of her peoples for fuller opportunities of unhampered self-expression and in the power of just appreciation of her ancient culture and civilisation as well as her shortcomings and difficulties, appears to us to be his best speech.

The editor has done well in rejecting merely chronological arrangement in favour of the less mechanical classification of the selected speeches with reference to the audiences addressed. Thus, all the nine addresses to the Indian Legislatures are brought together in Part I, those to the Chamber of Princes in Part III, his Convocation addresses in Part IV, addresses to important Clubs in Part VI and his Durbar addresses in Part VIII. Apart from giving compactness to his utterances, this has the additional advantage of showing a gradual development in his thoughts and ideas from the year 1926, when he was new to India, to the year 1931, when, as far as a short tenure of office permits, these were matured and to some extent modified in the light of greater and greater knowledge and intimate grasp of complex problems and situations.

For obvious reasons, the Indian Viceroyalty means a real and acute test of statesmanship and tactful administrative abilities demanding extraordinary skill in reconciling sharply conflicting ideals and interests and in holding the scales even between the clamorous claims of different communities striving for supremacy or, at least, the largest share of power, profits, responsible offices, and representation.

Lord Irwin's speeches, on the whole, impress us that behind them is a sincere personality inspired and actuated by true love for the vast masses of India and deeply concerned in the real welfare and happiness of all the people from the highest to the lowest. Earnest appeal for mutual understanding, mutual trust and co-operation for one common end, forms something like an ever-recurring refrain. Almost all the addresses are distinctly marked by a spirit of transparent sincerity of purpose, frankness, firmness combined with persuasiveness, and a burning eagerness to allay hostile or factious feelings whether of Indians or Europeans. Yet he never shrinks, when occasion or duty calls for it, from strong remarks or adverse criticism. He seldom indulges in oratorical flourishes, being always thoroughly practical, but some of these speeches are not deficient

in the quality of eloquent or artistic presentation. We cannot make extensive quotations but may refer our readers to pp. 68-72, 84, 92, 95, 97, 122, 144, 288 and 300. Similarly, for really *wise* utterances we may draw their attention to pp. 28, 29, 71, 103, 107, 113, 172-73, 250, 252, 257, 283-84, 287, 292, 297, 364 and 366-68. This, we realise, is a very unsatisfactory method but with the editor himself we plead "want of space."

Besides being a good administrator and a statesman with a long vision, Lord Irwin is a God-fearing man and he ends appealingly his "Farewell at Bombay," 1931, with the soul-touching words—"I can wish India nothing better," (than what the late Maharaja of Jaipur has done in the words inscribed on the column standing in front of the Viceroy's House in New Delhi) "and so I would say to you and to all those in this country that I have tried to serve, 'In your thinking, in your speaking, and in your doing, God be with you.'"

It seems that this Viceroy in almost all his addresses concentrates his attention on the regulating idea, which underlies all his important utterances, of reconciling by persuasion *extremist* views and opinions to the point of view and the practical action or line of policy adopted in very trying and complex circumstances by his government. Lord Irwin is ever willing to **explain** things to the entire satisfaction of the audience concerned and is seldom aggressive. He is oftener than not on the defensive in meeting somewhat hasty, onesided, unjust or even decidedly hostile criticism of Government policy and measures.

His speeches cover a wide range of subjects and interests among which, we may mention, the new policy of Government regarding the coming Reforms, Federation, Fiscal and financial relations of British India and the State Durbars, Indianisation, Overseas Indians and protection of their rights, Opium Policy, Railway Policy, Roads System, Agriculture, Policy of Protective Tariffs (specially about steel and textiles), Industrial development, Education (specially of Princes and Chiefs), suppression of traffic in women and children, Labour Disputes and improvement of internal administration.

In his educational speeches at Delhi, Aligarh, Benares, Rajkot and Dehra Dun he admirably dwells on the principal aim of education, the true function of a University, the value of education, the right type of patriotism and citizenship, need for a higher academic standard, employment of competent Indian agency, and love of reading and right choice of subjects and books.

Sir Walter Scott To-day—Some Retrospective Essays and Studies, edited by Professor H. J. C. Grierson, LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A. (Constable and Co., 10s. 6d), is a very interesting and instructive volume of seven essays with an Introduction by the editor. It covers various aspects of Scott's prose works—especially of Scott as historian, antiquarian and historical novelist—with a view "to discover how, after a hundred years, these appeared to those who had some right to judge." The editor's aim is also "to consider in retrospect his influence on the subsequent course of Literature, not his mere imitators, but his authentic successors," such as "Manzoni, Balzac and Hugo and Flaubert and Pereda and Thackeray and Thomas Hardy," "as he himself was the successor of Cervantes and Defoe and Fielding and Smollett." He also defends Scott from the tendency of writers to depreciate Scott as a critic because of his failure "to discover the greatness of Shelley and Keats" and suggests that our estimate of Scott here should be based on *what he did*—"his Lives of the Novelists, his criticisms of *Emma* and of *Persuasion*" and finally shows (Introduction, xvi to xvii) the value of Scott's critical judgments.

In three of these essays—"Scott and Goethe," "Scott and Cervantes," "Scott and the 'Comédie Humaine'"—very able and fruitful comparisons are made by the respective writers which considerably add to our knowledge of Scott and lead to a proper appreciation of his great achievement. "Sir Walter Scott as a Student of Tradition" and "Scott as a Mediævalist" cover allied yet different grounds and the last essay (by Mr. Hugh Walpole) on "The Historical Novel in England since Sir Walter Scott" is an illuminating survey containing an important discussion of what really constitutes an historical novel and why it has fallen of late into temporary disfavour. The first essay by Principal Rait of Glasgow called "Walter Scott and Thomas McCrie" is an elaborate and very ably written defence of Scott against the serious charge of his having been false to historic truth specially in his *Old Mortality*. The writer has here convincingly proved the contrary by going into important details with the scrupulousness of a real scholar, admitting, however, here and there, that Dr. McCrie "was able satisfactorily to challenge Scott" regarding one or two points. It is not possible for us to go into details and we must rest content with strongly recommending a careful study by all readers of Scott of this valuable contribution made by Principal Rait who concentrates himself specially on Dr. McCrie's "gravest charge" that "Scott had grossly misrepresented not merely Claverhouse and the Government, but also the Covenanters who fought at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge." It is admitted that if any party had a just reason for complaint against Scott, it was the moderate, and not the extreme, Presbyterians.

Professor Gundolf's essay on "Scott and Goethe" is not quite appreciative and the editor rightly notes that if it be true that "if one looks in Goethe's own work for traces of inspiration derived from Scott.....one will find nothing," it is equally true of Goethe's influence on Scott, for "German models" produced "very superficial effect" upon his work and he "very quickly outgrew the taste for German supernatural ballads and melodramatic plays."

Mr. Aubrey Bell in his "Scott and Cervantes" holds that "Scott may be said to have begun and ended with Cervantes" and points out even similarities between their lives to establish that these two are figures closely akin. "But above all," we are told, "Scott and Cervantes agree in their largeness of heart and their integral view of life and literature." It is further asserted that "Pereda derived from Scott the very inspiration which Scott had derived from Cervantes."

Professor R. K. Gordon (University of Alberta) institutes a comparison in detail between Scott and Balzac whom Professor Grierson considers to be "the greatest of Scott's *romantic* followers." Mention is made of Scott's popularity in France, of references to him and his works in the *Comédie Humaine* and in Balzac's letters, of Balzac's admiration for the Waverley novels and his sense of great rivalry with Scott, tempered with his acknowledgment of debt to the older writer; but points of difference are noted with equal care to prove that Balzac was never a "plodding imitator." Balzac did not think highly of most of Scott's heroines, for, to him, "Walter Scott is without passion." He felt also that Scott did not squarely face "the worst in human nature."

Scott's "worth in the fields of folk-lore, popular poetry and mediaeval romance" and the extent of his Scandinavian studies and degrees of his first-hand knowledge of Old Norse, are carefully presented in the next two essays by Mr. Louise Spence and Miss Edith Batho, respectively. The Fairy department of Folk-lore has, of course, been thoroughly explored by modern researches which were unknown in Scott's days and new knowledge of the subject acquired and from the "modern points of view Scott's methods" must be considered to be "manifestly open to question." Scott's fairy machinery is generally local and his preferences were more Teutonic than Celtic. As a mediaevalist Scott was anything but scholarly and he valued truth of general impression without showing eagerness for correctness of detail. He betrays also careless treatment of authorities and meagre acquaintance with the Icelandic sagas.

J. G. B.

Walls of Jericho, by J. Cecil Maby, B.Sc., A.R.C.S., F.R.A.S., (Heath Cranton, Ltd., London, 7s. 6d. net) is a thought-provoking, nay, challenging volume of outstanding merit which will powerfully appeal to all classes of readers interested in modern problems of life. Our attention is directed by the writer particularly to the three potent and all-pervasive factors of modern life—*viz.*, science, machinery and the popular press. He shows convincingly that these walls of modern Jericho are not unassailable as they are considered to be in certain quarters, that they surely are not as essential to progressive existence or permanent as they are sought to be made out by their partisans or champions—that they may be found, in the last analysis, to be rather hostile to true life. Thoroughly trained as a scientist. Mr. Maby impresses us in his serious utterances as a man instinctively artistic in nature and, by persuasion, deeply religious. Hence the main tendency of his thesis is to unfold the dangers to a harmonious development of man from the present-day antagonism of science and its product, machinery, to art and religion. Though his criticism is unsparingly rigorous it is not merely destructive, for, he ardently believes “that idealism may be lived as well as preached, according to the best traditions of English gentlemen, in application to modern life and industry.” His impartial attitude and catholicity of outlook are also evident from the remark (Introduction, ix)—“Within a given sphere of knowledge and a wide field of practical hygiene and utility, let us then accept with gratitude the labours of Western Science ; but outside that sphere, in matters of ethic and aesthetic—of the soul, that is to say—let us endeavour to recapture our ancient trust in man’s innate ethical conscience and aesthetic intuition.” “Science,” he rightly observes, “cannot analyse Mind any more than it can describe beauty or define what is God,” and “in science, there is found no legitimate place either for Beauty or Faith—all is Method.” And here is the danger signal. “As a culture-community, the West appears to be committing spiritual, if not physical, suicide by crediting a single aspect of life with preponderant importance.” The Western man “believes this Science to be a panacea” for all evils and “even where he does not preach mechanism, he lives it.” “It is high time, therefore,” the writer holds, “that he should cast away its degrading and idolatrous cult of science-adoration.” “*More knowledge is the cure*,” insist the avowed Modernists. “True, but what sort of knowledge ?” This, it must be admitted, is a thoroughly rational and pertinent question.

“Not only as philosophers, but as men, it is essential,” he cogently points out, “that we should realise that life attains complete fulfilment solely through a *duality*—the duality of Art and Science.” “My

attitude," he adds, "in these essays, therefore, consists in the attempted maintenance of a mean intellectual equilibrium, by virtue of a species of rapid oscillation betwixt two opposite poles—the antipodes of Art and Science."

The essays constituting the volume of only 175 pages, altogether five in number, are courageously and frankly outspoken but the author modestly confesses that they are "the gropings of an adolescent intellect, bemused by modern thought and practices." "Yet the problems, which troubled" him some years back when these essays were planned, "remain unsolved." Though each of these has an independent subject of its own, "the whole series is intended to constitute a single picture of modern tendencies, seen, so to say, 'in the round,' through the stereoscope of Art and Science."

The first—and the longest—essay, called "Progress: Culture or Civilisation," is "a critical, historical and sociological study, in which the future prospects of Western civilisation are openly discussed from the opposite viewpoints of Free-Will and Causality; with special reference to Oswald Spengler's concept of Destiny." It is in the form of a discussion of this subject by a number of persons at a meeting held for the purpose so that all points of view may be fairly represented. The object of the whole enquiry is "to decide in how far culture and civilisation are mutually exclusive, what is our own (apparent) destiny, and can such a 'destiny' be averted, and thus 'disproved,' by the future history of the West?" Dr. Spengler's *method*—called the artistic and analogical ('historical') or physiognomic—is accepted but not his conclusions and his work—*The Decline of the West*—is subjected to a destructive analysis. "A man of excellent *rationality* and immense *observation*" Dr. Spengler, according to this essay, "is not at heart a man of paramount *intuition*" and his idea of Destiny is, after all, "one of several possible ideas." He is also a fatalist. The Destiny idea is opposed "on double grounds: first, because it is harmful, paralysing and negative towards creative endeavour; second, because as child of analogical reasoning, it is an untrustworthy guide." Moreover, Dr. Spengler "has negated the special, god-like privilege of man—the right to think and act as an autonomous, creative being."

There is also an attempt in the course of this discussion "to evaluate" both the great merits and demerits of Oswald Spengler's historical philosophy."

We cannot, however, within our space limits, propose even to give a summary of a somewhat elaborate discussion in which the writer has made extensive quotations in his support from a number of writers like A. N. Whitehead, Dr. Bucke, P. D. Oupensky, Nietzsche, Count Keyser-

ling and others. "Our lives," it is concluded, "appear to consist of a main chain of causally interdependent events, punctuated at frequent intervals by determining and spontaneous 'free-willed' actions. Such actions are the hall-mark of the conscious and rational, as contrasted with the sub-conscious and instinctive, organism." It is shown that "*Reason* develops at the expense of *Instinct*, *Mechanism* at that of *Organism*, Science at that of *Art*, *Mathematics* at that of *History*, *Ratiocination* at that of *Intuition*, *Civilisation* at that of *Culture*." The present writer discerns in the history of the West indications of a "*spiritual* and metaphysical rebirth" and we quote the inspiring lines in which is embodied his vision of a glorious future—"Times are auspicious, times are crucial; there is a strange music and a sound of many voices in the air, and we apprehend it as a vague, yet not uncertain, adumbration of some great intellectual synthesis, already imminent."

The next essay on "Faith and What It Implies" sets out "certain ideas in regard to the apparent antagonism betwixt Science and Religion." He notices everywhere a loss or at least weakening of faith and to him "a simple faith is often both finer and more powerful than a complex uncertainty." Human beings necessarily perceive antinomy in the world "because Nature so orders our perceptions" and it is erroneous to assume that "religion derives from morals rather than morals from an innate religion." To his mind, "the fundamental problems of Mind, God and Existence remain precisely the same to-day as they were in the time of the ancient Hindu metaphysicians." His simple remedy is, in the words of Jacob Bæhme, (quoted by him), "Walk contrary to the world in all things."

In the fourth essay—*A Bastard Philosophy*—writing "as an amateur and an everyday philosopher," he criticises the modern "furore about Space and Time, Relativity and the Quantum theory, nebulae, stars and atoms which marks the arrival of an unmistakable epoch of *astrophysical philosophy*" and his quarrel here is mainly with the current mode of thought supported by Mr. J. W. Sullivan. He asks in despair—"Must Europe also suffer from that American disease, the doctrine of Quantity as opposed to Quality?" In the second part of this essay he points out the insurmountable difficulty experienced by the layman regarding the real meaning of such concepts as "four-dimensional continuum, point events, a finite universe, curved space, used by popular expositors of Relativity Theory. His simple conclusion is that "the universe may be unbounded and infinite after all!"

The other two essays are more practical in nature and relate to "The Kinema, Potential and Actual" (a subject of the utmost importance to-day)

and "Idols, Old and New." He gives an interesting short history of the Kinematograph and indicates the æsthetic-moral effects produced by it on the public taste and adds that "the trouble is not so much that the Kinema shows us life as it is, as that it alights, like a carrion crow, upon the most putrid carcasses in sight" and he draws our attention to the aspects of motion-picture craft which are ethically dangerous, specially to that feature which "tends to place Sex before Art" and to situations and details "melo-dramatic beyond decency or reality." His second main criticism is against *lack of continuity*.

The last essay of all is more vigorous and unsparing in its criticism of the modern craze for excitements and sensationalism. It is based on the principle that "an analysis of a nation's culture may be derived from the anthropomorphic characteristics of its deities." He freely admits that the last hundred years has been an era of immense scientific and intellectual activity and epoch-making discoveries but will not maintain that the age can be applauded for remarkable ethical progress. He next surveys "the general characteristics of our day" and roundly denounces "the merrily swirling whirlpool of fast-living, gambling, discontented modernism." Reference is made to contemporary leaders of thought, theologians, men of science, writers and novelists, to the enormous annual output in literature "of which the chief aim is to pander to a sensual, shallow, voluptuous and idle public"—persisting in encouraging mere sordid realism at the expense of true, imaginative fiction—Art, that is. "Ours is," he holds, "a riotous, fast-moving, restless, and in some ways, a farcical age." He enumerates under *fourteen* different heads, what he considers to be the principal signs of the times—such as world-wide controversy of science versus religion, capital versus labour; strikes, tariffs, international competition; love of speed-records, bigness, amusements craze, motion-pictures, athletic sports, sex-perversion; the disappearance of home-life in favour of travel, hotels, restaurants; idolatry of "speed-kings," business magnates and "screen-stars;" inversion of values and increase of divorce. He refers to the degeneration of what otherwise could be of immense value and benefit to mankind, *viz.*, wireless, broadcasting, automobiles, kinematograph, the powerful Daily Press. "All which is made with a view to economic gain as principal goal is sure to be of poor or mediocre artistic value." "The acclamation of the merc dare-devil" is an idolatry. Mere sensation-mongers possess no healthy interest in life. The ridiculous fuss made over Miss Amy Johnson, Major Seagrave, Shamrock V, fabulous salaries paid to Messrs. Chevalier, Lloyd, Gilbert, Novarro or Misses Pola Negri, Greta Garbo—are distinctly offensive in his eyes.

"Because of the sufficient and weighty fact," he adds in justification or at least explanation of his own attitude and object, "that certain modern tendencies appear 'to me, as they do to a host of others, to drifting us towards a crisis, perhaps the ultimate doom of our Civilisation, I have been at pains to indite these articles."

J. G. B.

Success in Business or Practical Business Hints, by A. C. Ghose, M.A.S., M.R.A.S., with a foreword by Sir R. N. Mookherjee, Kt., K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., 1930, pp. 120.

This brochure aims at providing hints to novices who find themselves perplexed by any complexes in their business routine. Assuming that a businessman might be a trader, merchant, or speculator or managing director or an industrialist or business manager, the author offers useful suggestions to them by giving practical hints and directions for a successful pursuit of their business. Most of these aphorisms and maxims are taken from authoritative sources. Sayings of experienced businessmen and well-known thinkers of the calibre of Andrew Carnegie, Emerson, Lord Bacon, and Benjamin Franklin will be of undoubted value to the beginners. Those who seek a new career different from teaching, law, or clericalism would do well to have a glance at this little brochure which is full of commonsense hints studded on every page of this brochure.

A more systematic arrangement of the Essays would have given continuity to the author's argument. At any rate it would have sustained the energy and enthusiasm of the reader. When business Institutes are not to be had in plenty in this country such brochures as these do fill in the gap. Men already in the business line would also stand to be benefited by glancing through these pages. The essays entitled "How success can be achieved," "Right habits" and "Key to getting money" are full of sound sense. The essay on some simple facts about Industries is too old-fashioned and could safely have been omitted or the information could have been revised and brought up to date. But as the author rightly remarks success in business depends on planning. One can quote his own couplet which runs as follows:—

"Plan your work thoroughly, than
Thoroughly work your Plan."

This sums up the entire matter of his subject.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselfes

THE LATE MR. HASAN IMAM

We record with sincere grief our sense of loss at the death at his Patna residence on April 19, 1933, of Mr. Hasan Imam, younger brother of the late Sir Ali Imam and a distinguished member of the well-known Neora family of the Province of Bihar. He was renowned as a great lawyer and practised as a barrister both in the High Courts of Patna and Calcutta rising to high eminence in his profession and was elevated to the position of a Judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1911 from which he retired in 1916. He became President of the Indian National Congress in 1918 when in a special session the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Reforms was discussed and was selected as a delegate to the London Conference on the Turkish Peace Treaty in 1921 and served in 1923 as India's representative at the League of Nations.

He won the love and esteem of all communities by his high intellectual and professional attainments, his noble character, large sympathies and affable manners.

We offer our cordial sympathy to his bereaved family.

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A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Krishnabinod Saha, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his theses entitled—

(1) "Economics of Rural Bengal," (2) "Rent in relation to Price" and (3) "Theory of Barter and that of Buying and Selling."

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UNIVERSITY READERSHIP LECTURE.

The Syndicate have recommended to the Senate that Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, be appointed a Reader of this University to deliver a course of lectures on "Indian Cameralism" on a honorarium of Rs. 1,000.

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THREE NEW M.D.'s.

Mr. Dhirendranath Ray, M.B., Mr. Bidhubhushan Bhattacharyya, M.B., and Mr. Subodhchandra Lahiri, M.B., have been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Medicine.

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GHOSE TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIPS FOR 1933-34.

The Ghose Travelling Fellowships available for 1933-34 have been awarded on the usual conditions to the undermentioned scholars to enable them to prosecute advanced study and research in accordance with the scheme outlined in their applications and noted against their names :--

In Literary Subjects.

Name.	Subject of Research.
Prof. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law, Minto Professor of Economics.	Recent Advance in the Theory and Practice of Public Finance.

In Scientific Subjects.

1. Bidhubhushan Ray, Esq., D.Sc.,
University Lecturer in Physics. X-rays, structure of atom ; High Vacuum technique.
The scholar will also visit the following laboratories :—(1) Bragg's Laboratory (England); (2) Upsala Laboratory ; (3) Groningen Laboratory and (4) Copenhagen Laboratory.

2. Harischandra Sinha, Esq., M.Sc., Ph.D., University Lecturer in Commerce. Statistics, theoretical and applied. The scholar will study the method of teaching Statistics in English and Continental Universities and in particular in London School of Economics through Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, in Cambridge and Oxford Universities through Dr. J. C. Sinha : he will have practical training in the Statistical Sections of Lloyds Bank and Midland Bank, London, through Mr. R. N. Bucklet (Dist. Manager for India, Lloyds Bank) and Mr. S. N. Pochkhanwallah (Managing Director, Central Bank). He expects to be able to carry on advanced theoretical investigation in statistics in the Biometric Laboratory of Prof. Karl Pearson through Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis.

An additional Fellowship of the value of Rs. 2,500 has been created for the year 1932-33 out of the accumulated interest of the Fund and the Fellowship has been awarded to Dr. J. C. Gupta, M.B., the subject of the research being 'Study of Cardio-Pathology in Europe and England' ; 3 months, Gottingen, Physiolog. Institute under Prof. Rein ; 3 months in Leipzig, Medizinische Klinik under Prof. Rochrein ; 3 months in Bad-Nauheim, Kerckhoffs Institute under Prof. E. Koch : 3 months in the Cordiological Institute, London, under Sir Thomas Lewis.

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THE INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD, INDIA.

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie offers the following Stipends to Indian Scholars for the Academic Year of 1933-1934.

" On behalf of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie we wish to announce that the following stipends in institutions of higher learning in Germany, will be available for Indian Scholars (male or female) of outstanding ability, for the academic year of 1933-34.

1. Berlin : An Indian physician will have the opportunity of securing practical training in *St. Hedwig's Hospital in Berlin*. He will be taken as a Volunteer Assistant. The

candidate must be a graduate of a Medical College (M. B.) with hospital experience in India. He will receive free board with the hospital staff.

2. Freiberg (Saxony) : One stipend at the *Mining University of Freiberg* consisting of free tuition, free lunch in the Student's Mess (Mittagstisch in Mensa Akademia). The stipend-holder will have the special opportunity of securing lodging including breakfast and supper for RM. 60 (sixty marks) per month.

3. Hamburg : One stipend at the University of *Hamburg* consisting of free tuition and a pocket-money of RM. 30 (thirty marks) per month. The candidate will be given free private coaching in the German language.

4. Hoehnheim (Wurttemberg) : One stipend at the Agricultural University of Hoehnheim, consisting of free tuition and free lodging.

5. Jena : One stipend at the University of Jena, entitling the scholar to receive free tuition at the famous University Institute for Applied Optics and Microscopy (Institute fur angewandte Optik und wissenschaftliche Mikroskopie) and a pocket-money of RM. 30 (thirty marks) per month. Only the most highly qualified students, possessing qualifications for specialising in this branch of study, should apply.

These stipends are tenable provisionally for two academic semesters only. The first semester begins early in November, 1933, and the second semester ends in July 1934.

Applicants for these stipends must be graduates of recognised Indian Universities, preferably scholars possessing research experience. Applications from non-graduates will be given consideration only if they have recognised literary or scientific achievements to their credit. Every applicant must possess good health and supply at least two recommendations from professors or Indian public men, about his scholarship and character. *It is desired that the applicant should have fair*

knowledge of the German language :--as all academic work in Germany is carried on through the medium of German.

No application will be given consideration, unless it is guaranteed for by some prominent professor or an otherwise well known Indian public man that the applicant is really earnest about his application and will certainly come to Germany before the 1st of September, 1933 ; if a stipend is offered to him.

It is imperative that a stipend-holder should arrive at Munich by the 1st of September and stay in the city at his own cost till the academic year begins in November, devoting these weeks to intensive study of German language in the German language courses for foreigners at the University of Munich, where he will be exempted from tuition-fees. It is however presupposed that an applicant for a stipend possesses working knowledge of German. We are forced to take this measure, because a student not having adequate knowledge of German, before beginning his academic work fails to get the benefit of his attending the University and often loses six months time.

We want to make it clear that apart from the stipend, the stipend-holder must be prepared to spend at least RM. 100 per month for the necessary expenses not included in the different stipends.

All applications should reach India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie before the 15th of April, 1933. A special committee of experts will select the successful candidates who will be promptly notified of the decision. Selection of successful candidates will be determined solely by the academic qualifications of applicants. Certificates and testimonials of applicants will not be returned.

All applications should be directly sent to the following address :

Dr. Franz Thierfelder,

Hon. Secretary, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, ' Maximilianeum,' Munich (Germany).

North German Lloyd Company offers a reduction of 10% on the fare for single trip in cabin class or second class for the Indian students of the Deutsche Akademie coming to Germany or returning to India from Germany, provided they travel during the "off-season," *i.e.* from Europe during April to July and from Colombo from July to January. Detailed information on this subject can be secured from the representative of North German Lloyd at Colombo, c/o. the Office Hanseatic Trading Company, Colombo, Ceylon.

We are glad to report to the public that the University of Königsberg has created facilities for an Indian student who is willing to teach Hindi at the University. Since the Königsberg University authorities want the student to take up his work by the 1st of May, 1933, the candidate had to be selected from the Indian students already studying in Germany.

In co-operation with Academy of Fine Arts of Munich we succeeded in granting facilities to an Indian Sculptor, Mr. Sudhir R. Khastgir of Dacca, who will begin his studies at the Academy in April next."

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The Calcutta Review



BENGAL TIGER

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1933

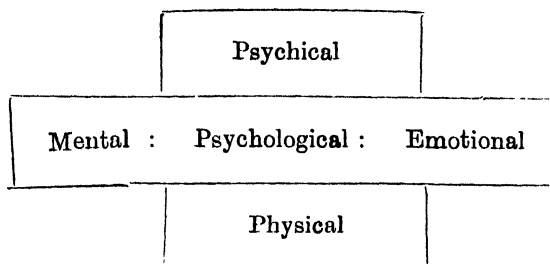


SOME SYNTHETICAL TRENDS IN SCIENCE

Science is the application of the human mind to the acquisition of exact knowledge concerning humanity and its environment. From this exercise of the objective-mental function of the mind, science bifurcates towards such achievements as the discovery of "pure science" that the universe is (or is not) expanding in almost indecent haste ; and the invention, through "applied science," of an automatic machine that, in response to a few button-pushings giving it certain data, will hand you a summary of your character and thus save both yourself and the psycho-analysts a lot of trouble—for "Know thyself" is a fusty Grecian maxim, and it is much easier to let other persons or things know yourself for you !

Science may be broadly classified as : (1) the physical sciences which deal with the objective phenomena of nature and human life ; psychological science which deals with ~~the~~ subjective phenomena of human and sub-human life in their (2) mental and (3) emotional aspects ; and (4) the study of physical and psychological phenomena whose origination appears to be transcendental to the ordinarily approached realm of phenomena, and has been called psychical.

SYNTHESIS OF SCIENCE



This lay-out of the sciences would be regarded by some scientists as too hospitable. Behaviourism would rule out all but its objective aspect, since psychology assumes a state of consciousness, hence some kind of entity of consciousness, while Dr. J. B. Watson denies the existence of such an excrescence on "pure objectivity." But many a scientist and philosopher would demur to the behaviourist limitation.

Indeed, a group of eminent American professors recently faced it with "a battle line" ¹ of eighteen destructive attacks on the behaviourist bluff by which the psychological world in America has been terrorized too long. The language is not parliamentary, but it seems to be the customary "reaction" to behaviourism in the United States. Another scholar, Dr. F. C. S. Schiller, ² says : "The success which has attended behaviourism is really rather a discreditable episode in American academic history..." and more to the same effect.

Even if behaviourism is prevented from abolishing the consciousness, there is another challenger to be met, that is, Naturalism, which is declared to be "the current world-outlook," and to be superseding the religious outlook. ³ In the "naturalistic world-image there is no place and no necessity

¹ "Behaviourism, a Battle Line," edited by W. P. King.

² "The Personalist," *Journal of the School of Philosophy, University of Southern California*, Los Angeles, April 1931.

³ "Religion and the Naturalistic Outlook," by Y. H. Krikorian, in "World Unity," New York, June, 1930.

for the supernatural. Instead of a supernatural world we have the universe of the mathematical physicist, where we trace more and more uniformities. . . Most of the modern biologists and psychologists have given up the notion of non-material agencies, such as vital force, entelechy, or soul, and are developing an observable and experimental science. Living and mental beings are considered to be aggregates or configurations of physico-chemical entities."

But, as the above writer says, not all of the scientists (he only claims *most* of them) have turned to naturalism in the sense stated above, and perpetrated the "bull" of producing a set of purely non-material conceptions as a contradiction to the equally non-material conceptions of supernaturalism. Professor J. B. S. Haldane, out of a life of scientific study, particularly of human respiration, rejects the physico-chemical explanation of life, and offers instead an organic or "holistic" conception.¹ •

Apart from these differences of specialists, it is possible for the intelligent layman, who wants to understand something of his own mental processes, to observe a function which, while normally it does not operate apart from a physical vehicle, is realizable as having characteristics separable from those of the physical vehicle; as the thoughts that I am now expressing are different from the stuff of my brain that remains inside my head while these products of its activity will travel away from it in various directions to individuals in India, California, Europe, Australia, and elsewhere. We call this present function a mental function, as distinct from the physical instruments through which it operates, now in its projection, later in its reception by others. In the operation of that mental function we observe an identity, cohesion, continuity and characteristic quality that allow us to speak of a mental entity with as much definition as the naturalistic

¹ "Materialism," 1932.

scientist above quoted speaks of "living and mental beings" who are "aggregates or configurations" in "the universe of the mathematical physicist." Scientists call the study of this mental entity psychology.

And now both behaviourists who deny psychology, and psychologists who falsify the dogmas of behaviourism, are asked to retire in favour of a combination of psychological and biological examination of pathological subjects, which puts up the signboard "Psychobiology," and in the words of its propounder, "claims that anything that is part of a person, his hopes and his fears, his convictions and urges, his attitude towards right and wrong, and even his religious conceptions and beliefs, is as much a property and quality of the person as anything that can be weighed in the scales or measured by the yard."¹ With notable intelligence Dr. Meyer makes the synthetical suggestion that if this large psychobiological conception of man prevailed, education would have made a difference in the lives of certain human pathological specimens. The technique of this extension of the American "quiz" method of getting at the inside of a human being's mind, is a biographical statement and detailed personality study which treats the facts disclosed "in a spirit of objective description." (But, we here interpolate, education would make a still greater difference in human lives, so great a difference that pathological specimens of humanity would become as scarce as normals are to-day, if psychologists, while they go on for their own gratification making lists of the "free association" responses of persons to the word "tiger," or making them write their biographies, would insist on children in schools being given the opportunity to make the "biographical statement" of art-expression, which is the true expression of the inner being of the individual, beyond subterfuge on

¹ Dr. Adolf Meyer, Prof. of Psychiatry in Johns Hopkins University, U. S. A., lecturing before the New York Academy of Medicine, April, 1933.

the part of the subject, and less liable to misinterpretation on the part of the observer.) Said the late Dr. T. W. Salmon, Professor of Psychiatry in Columbia University: "The old unproductive controversy over what is 'mental' and what is 'physical' in normal or abnormal functions, is ending. The way is rapidly being cleared for the concept of man as organism, acting, even in his most circumstantial mental and physical activities, as a whole."¹ Which is excellent synthetical talk.

Sir J. Arthur Thomson goes further back than the psychiatrist in his recent addition to the growing catalogue of scientific summaries.² Science, he says, has not yet told us what such fundamental matters as life and mind are. Nor is there any warrant for being sanguine of success in explaining life in terms of anything else, such as matter or energy. It may be, he says, an "irreducible," as mind is. This term "irreducible" is reducible to the same significance as the "tanmatras" and "tattwas" of the philosophers of India which are Englished as "eternals." They indicate the human mental reaction at a stage of observation of the phenomena of life, a line separating *this* from whatever *that* may be. Moreover, the ancient scientific philosophers and the modern philosophical scientists both see the process of phenomenal activity in terms of synthesis. "It is the very essence of evolution to be integrative, to build up higher and higher wholes," says the modernist; and those who have read the six Darsanas of India know how very ancient is that conception of the evolutionary process.

Sir Arthur exercises the scientific imagination in visualizing the probable stages of evolutionary integration from the primeval interaction of water-vapour and carbides up to colloidal states of organic matter on the verge of life. But while the laboratory scientist enjoys himself creating a process

¹ Quoted in the programme of Dr. Meyer's lecture.

² "Riddles of Science."

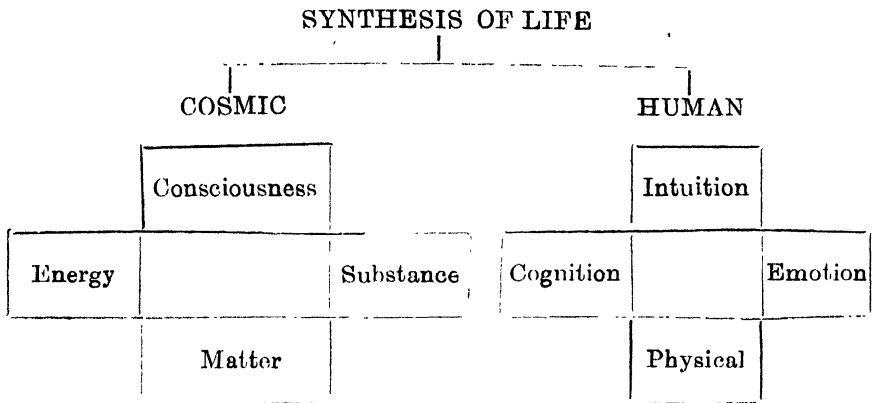
of evolution of life, the philosopher-scientist who inhabits the same brain, pauses in front of life itself, sees it to be beyond laboratory explanation, and makes the suggestion that life arose out of a synthesis of units of matter, such as he has imagined, with units of consciousness. "Perhpas we make the unsolved problem of the Origin of Life more difficult than it really is," he says, "by forgetting that it must have been not merely a biochemical but a biopsychical synthesis."

Thus the modern scientist pushes up from the *Nyaya-Vaisheshika* pluralism of Indian philosophy to the *Samkhya-Yoga* dualism. Life is not, in his view, a synthesis in its own right, but sprang out of a union of two preceding syntheses, one of matter and one of consciousness. There is assurance in the "must have been" of Sir Arthur's statement. It is not, however, the assurance of scientific demonstration, for he has declared that science does not know what life is: it is the assurance of imaginative conviction such as has carried science forward from stage to stage of thinning darkness, and will ultimately carry it on to light.

Finger-posts towards the light are, indeed set up at salient points along the converging paths from the region of matter and the region of consciousness towards the region of life. But they do not announce the way; they ask questions of the traveller. For example: if the union of units of matter with units of consciousness produced life, was not the life-potential-already existent in each? Sir Arthur does say that the old idea of dead matter has vanished from science; but he puts a definite point to life's origin on this side of the colloidal states of matter. Again, if the influences of light, heat and electricity caused various associations and dissociations leading on to the concentration of acids and the formation of metallic substances, in the manner imagined by Sir Arthur, may it not reasonably be assumed that the *capacity* for such interaction was a function of life infused through the whole field of its operation, and including all possible future details

of its operation ? The assumption is as much entitled to the "must have been" as Sir Arthur's point of fusion between the biochemical synthesis and the biopsychical. Further, may not this elemental operation have been a function of the "units of consciousness" which, joined with matter, produced life ? Is it thinkable that, in a universe of law such as science has disclosed, any resultant can be entirely different from its constituents, or, *vice versa*, that any constituent could produce a resultant in which there was no trace of itself ? Is it thinkable that two constituents of a resultant could combine with no antecedent affinity ? How or when did the carbides in the warm rock-crust of the earth learn the trick of responding to the condensed water-vapour ? How did they learn to set free marsh gas ? How did the marsh gas know the exact moment to become marsh gas, and to exhibit the characteristics of marsh gas and not of acetic acid ?

In other words, accepting Sir J. Arthur Thomson's synthesis plus the inferences of the interrogative finger-posts, we may put the matter thus. The phenomenon which we call life manifests itself through the synthetical interaction of matter and consciousness, matter itself being a synthesis of substance and energy also united with consciousness. This synthesis of substance, energy and consciousness goes back to the earliest imaginable, if not demonstrable, phase of their interaction, beyond which analogy and imaginative conviction say there "must have been" (nay, still *is*, for the application of time-measures to these matters gives a false sense of dates to what is a simultaneous synthetical operation) a co-ordinating totality that stands in relation to the details of its "evolution" through time, space and causality, as the realizable, if not yet demonstrable, central totalizing, intuitional impulse in the human psychological endowment stands to its mental, emotional and physical agents, which are the human reflection of the cosmic agents of consciousness, energy and substance.



This does not solve the mystery of life. But it tidies it up somewhat, and it places the point of synthesis far enough back to give scientific justification for tracking out the synthetical process through its subsequent developments in the various phases of the human synthesis, and basing thereon a synthetical technique of life with the assurance that such a technique is nearer nature, therefore nearer humanity, than the present jungle technique which is not even the technique of a decently managed jungle.

In "Chemistry in the Twentieth Century" Professor Irvine Masson makes an excellent synthetical suggestion when he says: "The worker in pure science is a creature whose hope is, not to spoil, but to help to reveal the beauty of the scheme of things, and to portray the tangible unities and the rhythms which rise clear from the seeming complexities of nature." Here pure science is linked up with the artist's response to beauty, the thinker's comprehension of order, and the mystic's sense of cosmic unity.

In an article in "Nature" (1926) Professor Aliotta carries the realization of unity into action. "Science and philosophy," he writes, "try to order the world into the unity of an idea... but this does not exhaust the reality... Harmony of thought is not sufficient; we wish to feel ourselves to be truly living

souls...we wish to realise in feeling and action as well as mentally the concrete unity of life." Thus the modern scientist patterns the expression of the universe of inexhaustible reality on the simple fundamentals seen by the seers of the *Upanishads* of old,—soul, thought, feeling, life action.

But there is something deeper than the surface application of scientific knowledge. There are more profound necessities than creature comforts. Science could conceivably cater for a race of happy human molluscs. But there is always a shadowy spiritual rebel within earshot whispering treason against outer allegiance. The knowledge presented by physical science, says Professor Eddington, "is but an empty shell, a form of symbols. It is knowledge of structural forms, and not knowledge of content. All through the physical world runs that unknown content, which must surely be the stuff of our consciousness. Here is a hint of aspects deep within the world of physics, and yet unattainable by the methods of physics." And lest our respect for science should become inflated, he throws the sum-total of scientific discovery as to the reality of things into the phrase: "Something unknown is doing something we know not what." Which is a very fine discovery.

These expressions of the scientific mind working with an imaginative boldness that would have scandalized some of the scientists of the past, and even scandalized some in this our day of calling spades spades, give confidence to those in search of reality by their collective recognition of a clear and complete and simple classification of the nature of the human individual. They visualise a creative entity, working through thought and feeling, into active realization of personal embodied fulfilment, and of unity with all life. This process has objectivized itself in the general life of humanity as religion, art, philosophy, science; and, as the inner life of the individual remains ineffective without the focus of the body for expression, and thwarted without a constant adaptation of the external aspect of the individual life to its inner expansion;

so does the inner life of humanity remain ineffective without constant progress within its constituents, and a flexible social synthesis for its exercise. Knowledge of these constituents of the human synthesis should therefore be the work of science. To be effective knowledge it should be synthetical. The human unit acts as a unit, though with one phase of its synthesis in Predominance and the others serving it. Knowledge should also act as a unit, with one phase in operation and the others assisting.

JAMES H. COUSINS

PRE-BUDDHISTIC HINDU SHRINES IN CEYLON.

INTRODUCTION

The island of Ceylon is culturally and geographically a part of India, situated at a distance of only 22 miles over the Palk Strait; out of about $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of the Ceylonese (according to the last census) over a quarter are Tamil Hindus and the rest are Singalese Buddhists. The Tamils belong to the South Indian Dravidian stock and are orthodox followers of the Saiva Siddhanta School of Hinduism. Though Jaffna, Trincomalie and Batticaloa are the prominent Hindu colonies yet the Hindus have spread all over the island. The Hindus have about two thousand places of worship in the island, mainly dedicated to Ganeśh and Kārtika, the two sons of Lord Shiva. Perhaps the biggest Hindu temple in Ceylon was lately completed by the late Sir P. Ramanathan (the Sir Surendranath of Ceylon), in the type and model of South Indian temples.

Ceylon adopted Buddhism from Prince Mahindra and Princess Sanghamitra of Asokan royal family about 3rd century B.C. or after 2 to 3 hundred years of the Mahaparinirvan of Bhagawan Buddha. But, beyond a shade of doubt the pre-Buddhistic religion of Ceylon was primitive Hinduism. The Buddhists also adore many Hindu Gods such as Ganesha and Skanda Swami. In some Buddhist houses stone-images of Ganesha are to be seen. It is said when Bhagawan Buddha came to Ceylon he placed Ceylon in charge of God Vishnu for safety and protection. So Vishnudeva is also worshipped in a big temple of Colombo by the Buddhists. Apart from this in Hindu temples, particularly during festivals, Buddhist masses worship the Hindu Gods like the Hindus with all rituals, for instance, dashing of cocoanuts, offering flowers and fruits, etc. When the Hindu kings had sway over Ceylon many Hindu

temples were built and Hinduism was encouraged. In Kandy where some Hindu kings reigned there are near the Holy Tooth Temple three Hindu temples dedicated to Sumanadeva, Vishnu-deva and Kārtikadeva, all owned by Buddhists where both Hindus and Buddhists offer Poojah. Even the ceremonies of the Tooth Temple have been greatly influenced by Hindu rites. In the Adam's Peak, the holiest place of Buddhist worship on a mountain peak about 7,500 ft. above sea-level, where it is said Buddha left his foot-prints of Shiva. Besides, there are four ancient Hindu temples of pre-Buddhistic origin at Kataragama, Trincomalie, Munneswaram and Dondra.

Kataragama.

Kataragama is the most famous sylvan shrine sacred to Hindus, Buddhists and Mohamedans equally. The Hindus delight to worship God in the forest near great rivers and mountains. All those are present at Kataragama, which lies in the heart of a vast forest infested with wild beasts in almost the southern point of Ceylon near the Indian Ocean, the nearest motor-bus station, far from the Railway station, being about 15 miles away from it. For fifty weeks in the year Kataragama is a small village in the forest inhabited by a few families in the temple service. But during two festival weeks in July-August it overflows with visitors and becomes a busy town with shops and markets and a veritable hive of activity with grand peraheras (processions) carried on at night. It is known as Deviganga Kele, a thick jungle almost near the sea-shore known to the dwellers in that wilderness as the Home of God Skanda whom they love and revere. The pilgrimage to Kataragama attracts Hindus, Buddhists and Mohamedans in their thousands from all parts of South India and Ceylon. The origin of this temple can be traced back to the hoary age of Hindu mythology when gods fought the Titans and wedded the daughters of men. Skanda or Muruk, the six-faced son of Shiva, is the

presiding deity of Kataragama, called by the Singalese as Kanda Kumara and by the Tamils as Subramaniam. This celestial being is said to have visited Ceylon in some remote age when it was not an island but part of the lost continent extending from Madagascar to Malaya Archipelago. Lanka was then governed by a Titan called Tarak a lover to the gods who was defeated in a battle at Kataragama by God Skanda, whom the Singalese and the Tamil regard as their god of war. He has a shrine in every Buddhist place of worship and plays a prominent part in ceremonies and processions. According to a tradition, Skanda the war god vanquished the Titans, wooed a Veddah maid and then won her and was consequently acclaimed as the god of the Veddahs and worshipped by them. Another tradition goes to say that Kataragama was the abode of an aboriginal deity, Kadaweramma. It was also the abode of Devasena Kartikeya, the captain-general of the divine forces. There are many versions of the story of Skanda. As far as the Tamil Skanda Puran is concerned, and judging from the description given therein, Kataragama is not a place in Ceylon but in South India. It is rather difficult to say to which period it belongs but it is certainly anterior to the Ramayan. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyanger, a distinguished Sanskrit and Tamil Scholar of modern school is of opinion that Kataragama became a place of worship and pilgrimage in about 3rd or 4th century A.D. According to Skanda Puran there was a war between the Devas and the Asuras and there were the Yakkas and the Nagas, the former being called Devas and the latter, Titans or Asuras. The Yakkas are said to be Tibetans who like the Chinese called themselves celestials and that would indicate why the ancient Yakkas were called Devās. A festival is held annually in honour of god Skanda to commemorate his marriage with his second consort, the goddess Valliamma. This sacred place is also said to have been sanctified by Bhagawan Buddha in his third visit to Ceylon by air. It is also one of the first places where a sort of the sacred Bo-tree at Anuradhapura was planted. Near this sacred Dewala is the

ancient Buddhist shrine of Kiri Vehra founded in 300 B. C. by King Mahanaga of Mahagama.

There is a mountain near Kataragama named Vedahitiya Kanda or Katiramalai which means the mountain on which the great one (Skanda) lives. There Skanda Swami is said to be still watching over the island and there is up to this day a small temple at the summit dedicated to him. Kataragama Deviyo is looked upon by the Buddhists as a national hero or god. There seems to be a mistaken idea that the Tamils had a greater claim to Kataragama than the Singalese. The maintenance and management of this holiest Hindu temple of Ceylon is in the hands of the Buddhists as the holiest Buddhist temple of India, I mean Buddhagaya, is in the hands of the Hindus. As a matter of fact the worship of the god at Kataragama had been known to the Singalese people from the earliest times. *It is quite certain that the Singalese worshipped him before they became Buddhists.* The festival was held in the month of Āsāḍa and Ascla Poojawa was well-known in the earliest times and Buddhists still continue to perpetuate the festival. To the Singalese Buddhists god Skanda is the embodiment of energy as he typies life and principle of life.

The Kataragama temple is situated on the left bank of the river Manick-Ganga, the Ganges of Ceylon, whose water unlike the dirty and muddy waters of most Ceylon rivers is so clear that the sand under is clearly seen in spite of daily pollution. At all times of the day people bathe but the water remains unpolluted, clear and pure like the Ganges water at Hardwar and Benares. Most people who bathe in the water and drink it during festivals are immune from diseases. When this water was subjected by a doctor to a chemical examination it was found to be sterile and free from all germs.

The most impressive feature of Kataragama festival is the heroic penance phenomena of self-inflicted tortures. The devotees pierce skewers into their arms, cheeks, tongues and the backs and the unflinching manner in which they undergo the

process is most marvellous. The fire-walking ceremony also is most wonderful. The devotees walk barefooted on large and deep fireplaces filled with red-hot cinders. In spite of piercing with hooks on the bare flesh of the devotees the reader will be surprised to learn that the sores do not fester nor turn septic. Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D., a leading medical practitioner of Colombo, once mentioned the case of an old road overseer who was suffering from diabetic cellulitis and on whom he was to perform an operation in his famous Hospital at Colombo, namely amputation of a leg but did not do so as he found the man next morning well and needed no surgical operation. The old man explained to him that the night before he saw the God of Kataragama in a dream and that the God told him he would be quite well. The doing of a penance forms part of religious practices not only in India and Ceylon but was too well known in Europe. For even Queen Elizabeth did penance by walking a mile to church wearing high-heeled shoes with peas (not pins) inside.

Trincomalie.

In Trincomalie, an important naval base and one of the finest natural harbours of the world, lies another very ancient Hindu shrine named Swāmi Rock which is an abruptly vertical mass of gneiss. A character peculiar to the rock is the rectangularity of massive boulders upon the summit and the straight sides and face of the cliff about 300 feet high. The risk of falling off the edge into the ocean is great but the fascination of the scene is weird. Men, women and children with baskets of flowers, cocoanuts, brass jugs filled with milk, bundles of betel leaves and some palm flowers, go up chatting gaily with distinct holiday air but on emerging into the tiny plateau by the side of the rock they become not only serious and devout but seem overwhelmed with reverence and awe.

The rugged grandeur of the site probably led to its selection as a place of worship in times lost in the mists of ages—at least

in the pre-Buddhistic age—long before organised Hinduisim built a shrine on the spot. The shrine of a thousand pillars in honour of Siva, the great God, is famous in India as well as Ceylon and is recognised as a special place of pilgrimage. When the Portuguese in 1622 A. D. or the following year perhaps, destroyed the site they not only carried money, jewels, etc., away but they also smashed the columns, threw parts of.....into the ocean and used some fragments of the thousand stone pillars for building. One solitary stone pillar of early Hindu type still remains. It is on the topmost boulder of the landward pair; on it is engraved : “ Tot Gedaghtenis Van Francina Van Rude Tuf^o, Van Mydregt Desen A^o, 1687 : 24th April opgeregt ” in five short lines. From the rock downwards there is a great cleft in which is carved in relief, ‘Ganesh,’ who is worshipped from this open-air shrine. What is important here is that the visitors feel in their souls the reverence and awe inspired by the rock and share in the rituals performed there, an ecstasy of belief-deserving of all respect. It will be difficult to banish from memory that vision—of “bleak cliffs whose smile severe and chaste : Time never hath stirred to vanity, nor age defaced,”—of the endless ocean far below our coign of vantage and the sincerity, simplicity of the open-air worship amid the awe-inspiring surroundings of the Swāmi Rock at Trincomalie.

Munneswaram.

The pre-historic temple at Munneswaram near Chilaw has a lure for the Buddhists and the Hindus alike. The tradition goes to say that it is a Ceylon shrine at which Ramachandra worshipped. Historians cannot say exactly how many centuries back this temple was constructed ; however the legend is that it was built by Ramachandra after the defeat of Ravana. Situated about a mile from Chilaw and separated by a large tract of paddy fields, the Munneswaram Temple is venerated by both Tamils and Singalese. The story

goes that Sri Rama after rescuing Sita was going in his chariot through the air with his brother Lakshmana. The blood and carnage he had passed through on account of the treachery of Ravan haunted him like a nightmare and made him unhappy. At a certain stage in his passage through the air this sadness left him and Rama was struck by the change. He descended to the earth with his retinue and found himself in the Temple of Munneswaram. Sri Rama worshipped at the temple, made suitable offerings and initiated a Shivalingam called Ramalingam. Shiva is the presiding God at Munneswaram who is given the first and foremost chamber in the sacred shrine and is worshipped here as Muni Iswara but the shrine is also particularly sacred to his consort, Parvati, the discovery of whose figure has an interesting legend behind it.

One day a fisherman who was in the habit of casting nets in the river about miles off the temple, saw two children playing together on one of the banks of the river. The next day also he saw the two children playing on the bank and he decided to catch them. Arriving at the river earlier than usual on the third day the fisherman hid himself behind a bush and kept watch. As usual the mysterious children of the wilds came on their usual rounds when the fisherman gave chase and caught one of them, a girl, who mysteriously enough turned into a statue while the other, a boy, escaped into the water. The news spread like wildfire into the country and the then reigning king of the island on hearing this caused the statue to be brought before him as also the alleged discoverer of it. The king disbelieving the story took the statue and leaving it among many other similar statues which he specially got made and pronouncing his story a fraud ordered him to select his statue from among them failing which he would be pelled for spreading false news. Trembling with fear the fisherman went home and in the night it is said Goddess Amman appeared before him in a dream and asked him not to be disheartened but to select the statue that would shake its right leg. At the time of

selection the identification was correctly done and the king, now pleased, caused the statue to be taken in a huge procession to Munneswaram and deposited in the temple where it is to be seen up to this day. Besides the statue of Amman and Iswara there are figures of all the deities of the Hindu Pantheon amongst which the one with six heads and twelve hands representing God Skanda in his martial character was presented to the temple by an ancient king of the Malabar coast. The Portuguese, however, destroyed the temple from time to time and plundered its wealth. A noticeable feature at Munneswaram is that a large majority of people who come to worship at the sacred shrine are Singalese and Buddhists, the Hindus being a minority. From all the country side and the numerous villages they gather with the intention of worshipping 'the unseen God.' Parakrama Bahu VI, King of Kotte, made a pilgrimage to this temple in 1448 A.D. He extended the building, repaired the existing structure and also gifted to it large extents of land. Engraved on the stone walls of the temple the deed of gift is still to be seen. In 1753 Sri Raja Singha, another King of Kotte, hearing of the havoc caused by the Portuguese who once burnt it and razed it to the ground, went there with artisans from India, repaired the temple and performed the Kumbha Abhishekham. A festival is held in commemoration of the meeting of Amman with Rishi Agastya who visiting the island from India led a hermit's life for some years at the temple here and a perahera is conducted every year for 14 days terminating on the full-moon day.

Dondra.

The ancient name of Dondra is Devinuwara or the City of Gods—a rising townlet, about 5 miles from Matara. There we have the Sri Vishnu Dewala which was once one of the most celebrated temples in Ceylon. The place has been the resort of the devotees and pilgrims from the remotest ages.

There are some Buddhist Dagobas but the most important temple is a shrine which in very early times had been erected by the Hindus in honour of god Vishnu. The present shrine known as Devin dra Dewala is about 1,500 hundred years old, having been established in the reign of King Dhappulla II, of Rahuna Rata, and every one of the kings of Ceylon was Dayakar of the shrine. There is a romantic story about the founding of the sacred shrine. One day King Dhappulla was in his palace at Matorn when information was brought to him that a red sandalwood image of God Vishnu was formed on the sea-shore at the royal park. The king immediately proceeded to the spot to see the object. Considering it unsafe to touch the image with human hand he cut a canal about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the spot to a suitable place in the park and had the image floated down to a temporary shed prepared for its reception. With the assistance of priests the image was placed on a dais erected for the purpose and nearby a Dewala was built to house it. He got the buildings covered with sheets of silver and it is said when the sun rose the mariners in the ships admired the sight. King Parakrama Bahu V of Dambu Deniya substituted a golden image in its place which was subsequently taken by the Portuguese when they robbed the temple. Another king built some Kovils in honour of some Hindu gods also. The popularity and patronage extended to the fair held every year for days is so great that it has come to be known as the biggest in the East. The temple was so vast that it had the appearance of a city but this magnificence only excited the rapacity of the ruthless Portuguese who tore down thousands of statues, and temples and buildings were levelled to the ground.

If Rama's expedition and the conquest of Lanka existed in any form or had any foundation more material than a poet's fancy this ruin on the lone rocky point near the shore of the Indian ocean may be considered as an index which has resisted the waste of ages and now battles with the waves of ocean to

maintain its position and mark the utmost limit which remains of Vishnu's wardship of Ceylon.

Conclusion

There are many other ancient places of Hindu worship with which history has little acquaintance but which may after consistent research shed great light on the dark annals of pre-Buddhistic Hindu Ceylon. There is a great task of infinite significance now before the historians of greater India. From the above we know that Hinduism was the recognised religion of Ceylon before Buddhism came. Apart from this the Singalese who from the vast majority of the Ceylonese race are descendants of Vijaya the Bengali prince, and hence in language specially the Singalese has close affinity with the Bengali. Fifty per cent. of words of classical Singalese are identical with those of Bengali. So though Ceylon as a whole is a 'crown colony' of greater India, Singalese Ceylon is an important part of Greater Bengal. Both the Singalese and the Bengali belong to the same stock of North Indian Aryans and so have many things common between them. Comparative philology of Bengali and Singalese will reveal great treasures of linguistic wealth of Greater Bengal. In my paper, "Bengal and Ceylon" read before the Greater Bengal Section of the Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammilani held last December in Allahabad under the esteemed presidency of Dr. Kalidas Nag, I emphasised the urgent need of founding a Greater Bengal Society or Brihattara Banga Samity in Calcutta early, to carry on organised activity and research on this neglected but vitally important subject of Bengal's national history. We are indeed very grateful to S. Jnanendramohan Das, the eminent author of "Banger Bahire Bangali," the first pioneer to explore the supreme existence of Greater Bengal. That modern Bengal will be richer in every way by the services of such a society is open to no doubt. In South Kanara there are people called Gonda Saraswat Brahmins who claim that they are

immigrants from Bengal. Their language Kon-Kini—only a colloquial tongue with no written script—is a South Indian edition of Bengali and nothing else. From this, Guzrat, Java and specially from Singalese Ceylon many things of greater Bengal can be unearthed. Most humbly I beg to draw the esteemed attention of cultural leaders of modern Bengal to consider this matter most favourably as early as possible. I have given a general survey of the subject in an article “India and Ceylon” published in the April issue of “India and the World” of 1933. Greater Bengal Society may be started independently or in connection with the Bengali Department of Calcutta University successfully. Reuter wirelasses that a Greater Asia Society has been inaugurated in Tokyo very recently. So it is high time that a Greater Bengal Society should be started to delve into the dark history of ancient Bengal.

JAGADISWARANANDA

BEYOND NEPTUNE

To a dim lost land down paths uncharted,
Where the King of dreams holds His Regal sway,
And the pull of the Sun is forfeit or thwarted
Beyond the furthestmost end of ultimate day—
I had strayed out there far beyond Neptune,
To the limitless spaces of a dawnless night ;
Where never the trailing robes of a Queen Moon
Are woven and wound in a web of starlight.
Night, black Night, and his shuddering terrors,
Strove, crept and writhed within the sad gloom.
Slime-cold arms of Tartarus known horrors
Flapped about me smothering wings of doom.
Shapes not seen but boding dire menace,
Daunted with fears my all stricken will.
Earth-born dangers but owning no earth chance
Brooded new Sprites in the dank cosmic chill.
Never were winds or shade nor kind shadows,
Since never was raised up plant, forest or tree.
Never summer blown spray, or stinging pearl snows
Swept this passionless waste of drear Eternity.
Morn was not, nor lorn form of beauty,
Blossom of weed pledging care of purpose divine,
Urge of ideal nor flogging spur of duty
Laureled high effort or branded conscious crime.
Then I cried aloud in sore troubled dream tones,
Calling the name of an old comrade, Christ.
Out of sleep-land from misty dim dream thrones
Came the answering token, a rising dawn mist.
Open wide then I threw curtain and window,
Welcoming with joy, thus, the brave light of day,
Knowing that surely fear clouds and shadow
Are but as dust wraiths and blown soon away.

DAVID W. CADE

IS SPINOZA A RIDDLE ?

The philosophy of Spinoza is to this day a riddle. On the one hand, it has been maintained that from his metaphysics, his ethics, perhaps the quintessence of his philosophy does not follow; to be more precise, there is a huge gulf unbridged between them. Others do not like to ascribe any importance to his metaphysics, though they are not at all disinclined to appreciate the beauty and grandeur of his ethics. Russell, in more than one place, expresses this idea. "The ethical work of Spinoza, for example, appears to me to be of the very highest significance, but what is valuable in it is not any metaphysical theory.....nor indeed anything that can be proved or disproved by arguments.....The value of such works, however immeasurable it is, belongs with practice, and not with theory."¹ Others again, without sharing any predilection for the above contentions hold that his metaphysics is of doubtful character, since contradictory conceptions of reality he, at times, upholds.

When Spinoza claims to be an advocate of the geometrical method in the sphere of philosophy, it is really heart-rending to note that his students cannot grasp his doctrines as clearly as the theories of geometry and even specialists differ widely with regard to his world-view. The accuracy and brevity of the geometrician might be present in his philosophy, but plain, certainly, it is not, since masters of the subject cannot pierce through his doctrines. Even a cursory reader of the philosophy of Spinoza will not perhaps fail to observe that his philosophy is nothing but a summation of a few definitions and axioms from which certain propositions have been developed and established after the manner of

1 On Scientific Method in Philosophy, p. 15.

geometry. Spinoza's ethics is rather the philosophical edition of the Euclidean Geometry. Spinoza thought that by following the geometrical method, he would prove the soundness of his doctrines beyond doubt, but considering the results achieved by it, it would not be unfair to opine that he thought wrongly.

Spinoza flatters himself with the belief that the very definition of substance gives the whole of his philosophy, the later discussions are only a development of implications, a clarification of the fundamental concept. His very concept of causality indicates this. He regards the relation between the triangle and the sum-total of its angles as a causal one. The division of the cause from the effect is a psychological and not a metaphysical one; it merely deals with our own standpoint, the angle of vision from which we study entities under discussion. Consequently when he defines substance, which is the cause of every other entities, practically speaking he has finished his philosophical discussions,—all later discussions are nothing but the elaboration of the preliminary concept. As the Geometry of Euclid may easily be shown to be contained in the concept of point, so Spinoza would have us believe that the whole of his philosophy is contained in the concept of substance. Such rigorous is his adherence to the geometrical method, that while everything is clear to him, to our vision everything appears to be dark. This fostering of fond hopes, with regard to his metaphysics, on the part of Spinoza, must have some sort of explanation; it cannot perhaps be ascribed to his foolishness, since a study of his attempt at geometrising in philosophy shows that he has enough of logical acumen.

The failure of Spinozistic philosophy is greatly due to its adoption of the geometrical method. Geometrical method can never be the method of philosophy, since geometry is an abstract science dealing with ideal concepts, imaginary fabrications of intellect, whereas philosophy deals with facts.

With the best of our efforts we cannot draw a purely geometrical point or a straight line and so on. Geometry, in other words, is a science dealing with empirical impossibilities. It has this much merit that it supplies scope for the play of pure dialectic or abstract thinking. It shows that if you are prepared to admit that there are such entities as geometrical points, lines and figures, then you will indubitably be convinced of the veracity and soundness of its propositions. Philosophy, if it follows the geometrical method, would be able to show that there is nothing logically absurd about its conclusions, they would follow through a logical necessity from certain definitions and axioms like the propositions of the Euclidean Geometry. Spinoza, with this belief adopted the geometrical method, but the difficulty is that the Geometrical method cannot properly speaking, be applied to philosophy. Philosophy does not deal with abstractions, or the arbitrary constructions of the human mind which have no actual counterpart. Substance, the attributes, and the modes of Spinoza, are not at least in the sense in which he understands them, abstractions. He would not be content, if we take it for granted for argument's sake, that there are such entities, and further that from the assumption of such entities, the intellectual love of God, as the *summum bonum* of men follows through a dialectic necessity. Not only this, even this intellectual love of God is a fiction, an intellectual construction. It is palpably certain, that even if we are whole-heartedly prepared to give Spinoza the credit of establishing these conclusions through the display of logic but at the same time regard these as imaginary concepts, Spinoza would be the last man to shake hands with us. This is indeed the difficulty of geometrising in Philosophy ; since in doing this we are no doubt making its logical side as perfect as possibly could be expected, but at the same time, we are, consciously or unconsciously, depriving philosophy of its deep, practical

significance by making it a mere intellectual art for the establishment of propositions dealing with purely ideal concepts. Philosophy, thus understood, becomes "logomachy or logic-chopping" which at least, according to Spinoza's unadulterated admission, it is not.

But, alas, even the good side of the geometrical method is not present in Spinoza. The geometrical method, if properly applied, must make a philosophical system free from logical aberrations, must show that its conclusions follow through a logical necessity from its premises. But the conclusions of the Spinozistic philosophy do not follow from its definitions and axioms. Admitting that there are substance, attributes and modes as defined by Spinoza, it can in no wise be shown that his ethical conclusions follow from them. This has led critics to remark that there is a gulf between his metaphysics and ethics. Whether there is such a real gulf between them or not, or whether such a gulf is inevitable, we shall consider later on. But this much might be remarked without hesitation that if there is a gulf between his metaphysics and ethics, there are such gulfs even in his metaphysics. Spinoza believes that from the very nature of substance, it follows that it has an infinite number of attributes which are infinite after their kind,¹ and that these attributes find themselves expressed in an infinite number of modes and last of all, that the highest good of mankind consists in a voluntary surrender to the divine will, which he calls "intellectual love of God." These deductions do not follow from the assumption of a substance whose essence consists in existence; even so much elucidation by Spinoza cannot make them clear. It is said that a tree is best known by its fruits, and the results achieved by the Spinozistic philosophy testify to the fact that he has not been able to deduce his propositions exactly in the manner of Euclid, since, so far as the question

¹ Infinite after its kind may be many in number and should be clearly distinguished from the real infinite which cannot be two.

of the Euclidean Geometry is concerned, nobody feels at sea in understanding the logic of it, and no flaw is generally discovered in his arguments. But the logic of Spinoza is not convincing.

The appreciation of the geometrical method in philosophy is to be traced to Pythagoreanism. The philosophers of the West are, to a fault, enamoured of mathematics. They think that the logic of mathematics must be applied to philosophy in order to make its truth self-evident in the degree in which a mathematical formula seems to be self-evident. This tendency is evident in Socrates, in Plato, in Aristotle and to a remarkable degree in Descartes and other philosophers of the modern era. We do not like to ignore the non-mathematical side of those philosophies but simply like to point out that this spirit reigns supreme in the splendid systems of Western philosophy. Still Spinoza's failure in the application of the mathematical method looms large before our vision of the fact that he makes a rigorous application of this method because by even following in the plain manner the geometrical procedure of defining, axiomatising and deducing.

The failure of the philosophy of Spinoza is seriously due to his leanings upon Descartes in the selection of his method and to his deep knowledge of mathematics. In the modern era, Descartes was the first man who reared the belief that by doubting, it is possible to reach the indubitable. And he had a special attraction for mathematics since he found that mathematics prove beyond doubt its formulae. From this, he imbibed the belief that the application of the method of mathematics to philosophy is a desideratum, for long lost sight of. In fact, his procedure of reaching the indubitable through doubt is nothing but the unwarrantable application of the method of mathematics in the sphere of speculative philosophy. He himself observes—"I was specially delighted with mathematics. I was astonished that foundations so strong and solid should have had no loftier super-structure

raised on them.”¹ As a matter of fact, modern philosophy is so much enamoured of mathematics that even when it affirms by argumentation, that reality is not cognizable by intellect, even then it takes its stand on mathematics. The Critique of Pure Reason of Kant is an attempt at showing that what is possible in the case of mathematics, cannot be actualised in metaphysics, the science of reality. Consequently a tendency to speculate would ever burn in the human heart, but it would never be put an end to by intellect. Metaphysics as a science is an impossibility, though as a disposition it is a veritable reality. But, fortunately for Descartes, the fundamental principle of his philosophy, arrived at with the help of the mathematical method is much more concrete than that of Spinoza. And it is probably for this that the philosophy of Descartes is much more plain than that of Spinoza, and also has not been subjected to such severe criticisms. Further, Descartes tries to establish the very foundation of his metaphysics by the help of the mathematical method but Spinoza never tries to prove it. This has also led to the confusion about Spinozistic metaphysics. This further shows that Spinoza's allegiance to the geometrical method is more apparent than real. Had he been a real follower of the mathematical method like Descartes, either he would have not left his fundamental propositions unestablished or would have frankly admitted that it is an assumption. Our study of Spinozism tells us that he does neither. Whether Descartes had been successful in establishing his fundamental position is an altogether different question, but that he has strained every nerve to prove it, is beyond doubt. It is because of this that Spinoza, inspite of his insertion of the geometrical procedure and language has remarkably failed in his attempt at rationalising philosophy in the manner of geometry. It is one thing to maintain that by following the procedure of mathematics, the conclusions of philosophy should be proved,

¹ The Philosophical Works of Descartes, by Haldane and Ross, Vol. I, p. 85.

and it is quite another thing to assume the existence of entities without any frank admission of these assumptions. Spinoza made an use of the geometrical method in the latter manner, whereas Descartes applied it in the former manner. We have already shown reasons why the mathematical method should not be applied to philosophy; now we simply point out that the manner in which Descartes applies it, is much more prudent than the form in which Spinoza utilises it.

We have nearly finished evaluating Spinozistic philosophy in the light of the geometrical method, laudably advertised by it. The conclusion, arrived at by us, is that the influence of Descartes upon Spinoza is immense, and his very failure is indeed due to his misapplication of the method of the former. He practically failed in utilising the mathematical or what is more aptly called geometrical method in the manner of Descartes. What we say below, would further prove the above-mentioned thesis, and would also show that much of the misunderstandings that have centered round his philosophical thoughts would not have come into being, had he not been attracted by the apparent grandeur of the geometrical method, which is not truly the method of his philosophy.

The method of Spinoza's philosophy should be found out in the light of his epistemology. Everybody now believes in the futility of building up metaphysical systems without previous epistemological considerations. Metaphysical superstructures unless built upon strong epistemological foundations at once fall to the ground. Spinoza builds his metaphysics upon the strong foundation of his epistemology; only due to his unnatural love for the geometrical method, he forgets to bring this prominently to the notice of his students. I am afraid that if we study Spinoza in this light, Locke might not be called the father of modern epistemology, though it is generally customary with us to do the same. Spinoza recognizes three distinct types of knowledge. The knowledge

of the first kind he calls opinion or imagination, of the second kind reason and of the third kind intuition. Opinion is nothing but sensuous knowledge, rational knowledge is that gained by the help of intellect and the intuitive is the highest kind of knowledge. He maintains that sensuous knowledge is always false, but the the rational and intuitive knowledge teach us to distinguish truth from falsity.¹ And in this portion of his philosophy, Spinoza further describes intuition as the highest type of knowledge and maintains that this kind of knowledge alone can give us peace of the highest order to which we are all utter strangers.² But in ascribing intuition a higher status than reasoning, Spinoza does not underestimate intellect. The attempt at knowing reality by the help of intellect is, according to him, a step towards the intuitive knowledge of reality. He observes: "The endeavour to desire to know things by the third kind of knowledge cannot arise from the first, but from the second kind of knowledge."³ Thus, Spinoza's attitude towards intellect is much more respectful than that of Bergson who believes that intellect distorts reality and is useful for the guidance of the active life but not at all helpful in offering a first-hand knowledge of the ultimate reality.⁴ Thus, we see that intuitive knowledge is the real method of Spinoza's philosophy, and consequently in the light of this, his whole system should be studied.

Spinoza's belief in the clarity of his assertions, though it appears like a stumbling block before his students, goes in favour of the above contention. Spinoza strained every nerve to insert the method of geometry into philosophy; consequently, it is fair to expect from him that he would either prove the existence of substance and other preliminary

¹ See Spinoza's Ethics, Part II, Propositions 40, 41, 42.

² See Spinoza's Ethics, Part V, Prop. 27.

³ Spinoza's Ethics, Part V, Prop. 28.

⁴ Bergson's "An Introduction to Metaphysics."

concepts of his philosophy in the manner of Descartes or would clearly point out that these are mere imaginary entities accepted with the avowed purpose of showing a display of dialectic. But we have already shown that he does neither. But at the same time, he maintains that, of the objective existence of such entities man can have knowledge through intuition and as a matter of fact, such knowledge indeed is the be-all and end-all of this human existence. Under these circumstances, we must either call Spinoza a fool, or must maintain that he posits the existence of entities known through intuition at the very beginning of his philosophy and his geometrical method is an after-thought, nothing but a futile attempt at the ratiocination of that intuitive experience. Probably, the clarity which he ascribes to his concepts is due either to his personal intuitions of those, or to his strong belief in the intuitions of other people.

We maintain that if the real method of Spinoza's philosophy is thus, caught hold of, his world-view, however hazy it might be, will not elude our grasp.

We have made it clear that in the determination of the nature of reality as maintained by Spinoza, the final court of appeal should always be intuition. And Spinoza is of opinion that intuition makes a man conscious of the fact that he has no real freedom. He is only a mere instrument in the hand of the Divine and the universe indeed rests in the bosom of God and is thoroughly guided by His will or Him, as we may like to call it. From this, what inference can be drawn? Does it show that his substance is attributeless, or does it go in favour of the thesis that it has infinite number of attributes? Further, he maintains that in knowing reality thus, by intuition, we become immortal. Does this fact go to prove that the substance is the only reality, and is attributeless? Evidently not; all these facts go to prove that his substance is possessed of attributes, something embracing all, or rather an all-embracing all.

Spinoza gives his philosophy the appellation, "ethics," and he concludes his philosophy with an ethical discussion. This evidently shows that his main interest is ethical and not a merely theoretic one. In a letter to one of his friends he writes that he is seeking after a knowledge that would give him perfect peace. Now it would not be fair on our part to interpret his metaphysics in opposition to the trend of his ethical thinking, basing our interpretations upon some ambiguous assertions made by him. Subjectivistic interpretation of the philosophy of Spinoza which denies the existence of the world of experience is hardly compatible with his ethics. Intellectual love of God demands the existence of an all-embracing God who guides the universe, and whose part and parcel this tiny individual, who loves him, is. All subjectivistic interpretations of Spinozism strike a blow to its ethics—the central topic of this philosophy. Even, if there is really a clash between his metaphysics and ethics, in order to understand Spinoza best, certainly we must adopt his ethical portion in preference to his metaphysics. But when the same world-view is described in both places, and only a few ambiguous expressions serve as disturbing factors, it would be wholly unfair to mar the keynote of his philosophy by an unwarrantable and undue allegiance to some of the minor details which can as well be otherwise interpreted.

Apart from these two considerations from his epistemology and ethics respectively, we are trying to prove below with reference to some of the most evident texts of the metaphysical portion of his philosophy, that his conception of reality can never be a subjectivistic one :—

The very first definition of his philosophy proves that his conception of reality cannot be a world-negating one. He observes—"By that which is self-caused, I mean that..... of which the nature is conceivable as existent." A few

lines afterwards, Spinoza treats substance as the only self-caused entity. Now, when the self caused substance is conceivable as existent, how can it be the attributeless Brahman of Samkara whose existence cannot be conceived of? The definition of substance further confirms the same impression—"By substance, I mean that.....of which a conception can be formed independently of any other conception." Here also Spinoza never denies that the substance is not conceivable, but simply means to say that it cannot be conceived through anything other than itself, but certainly it can be conceived through itself. As a matter of fact, one possessing intellectual love of God conceives it through itself. It is quite well known, that Spinoza regards God as the only substance and this God, he defines, as a "substance consisting of infinite number of attributes of which each expresses eternal and infinite essentially." According to Spinoza, God or the substance is the only reality, and when he maintains that "The more reality or being a thing has greater the number of its attributes." ¹ Is it proper to regard his God as attributeless and thus to treat this world as a fiction?

That Spinoza's substance is not the attributeless absolute of Samkara can further be pointed out by the fact that he regards substance as the 'indwelling' as well as the 'transient' cause of all things of the world. When Spinoza describes his substance as the 'indwelling' cause of this world, it cannot be said to be devoid of this world. Thus, it is clear that it pervades the world and consequently is not attributeless. When substance is the transient cause of the world, it follows that substance is not the world as we see it, it transcends it. In other words, Spinoza, like the Hegelians, maintains that the substance though immanent in the world, yet transcends it. ²

¹ Spinoza's Ethics, Book I, Prop. 9.

² Spinoza's Ethics, Book I, Props. 18 and 25.

If Spinoza's substance is attributeless, then this world which is nothing but a modification of the substance under its attributes is automatically negated. But Spinoza never denies the world. The corollary 1 of Prop. 17 of the Book 1 of his ethics amply proves this. The proposition itself runs thus:—"God acts solely by the laws of his own nature, and is not constrained by any one." Corollary 1 adds to it the following commentary—"It follows that there can be no cause which either extrinsically or intrinsically, besides the perfection of his own nature, moves God to act." This shows that the world follows from the nature of God because of his perfection and not due to any want. God, whom "perfection moves to action," has never been attributeless. He reveals himself through this world. This is his activity. But His activities are not guided by any consciousness of want but flows from His perfect nature. No teleological interpretation of the world is applicable here since, this world is nothing but a manifestation of God, whose activities are never guided by purpose and wants. This reminds one of Vedantic interpretation of this world as the Līlā or the play of Brahman. God manifests himself through this mundane series which are nothing but his sports. This concept of Līlā cannot be permanently fitted into systems which deny the existence of this world. Thoughtful readers might point out that even Samkara who ascribes no transcendental existence to this world, believed in the doctrine of Līlā. But, even Samkara had to admit that the concept of Līlā cannot be harmonised with the negation of this world. Samkara observes—

“न चेयं परमार्थविषया दृष्टिभ्रुतिः अविद्याकल्पितनामरूपव्यवहारगोचरत्वात्”

All the troubles about the metaphysics of Spinoza arose perhaps from these two ambiguous statements:—(1) “*determinatio est negatio*”—“every determination is

¹ Brahmasūtras, 2nd Chapter, Sec. I, aphorism no. 33.

negation ;" and (2) the attributes are that which intellect perceives as constituting the essence of the substance."¹ Those who like to ascribe a subjective interpretation to Spinozism, maintain that the attributes of substances are nothing but the perception of intellect, having no metaphysical status. They hold that the dictum every determination is negation implies that substance has no qualities, since to ascribe attributes to it amounts to its determination. But these two statements may also equally be interpreted in a manner that suits well with the realistic note of Spinoza's philosophy. The Spinozistic dictum—every determination is negation might as well mean that the substance has an infinite number of qualities, and consequently to limit the number of its qualities or to regard each one of those qualities as finite, would amount to the negation of the substance possessing an infinite number of attributes, infinite after their kind. Practically in the same manner Rāmānuja interprets one of the aphorisms of the Brahmasūtra which also substantially means the same thing.²

The definition of the attribute may also be interpreted in a realistic manner. Attributes are not mere perceptions of intellect, though—as a matter of fact,—intellect perceives them as constituting the essence of the substance. Of course, with regard to this statement still a bit of misconception remains, whose total effacement seems impossible. When Spinoza maintains that only two of the infinite number of the attributes of the substance, intellect can perceive, how can then, consistently with the above interpretation he maintain that all the attributes of the substances are perceived by intellect? But in another way, this statement even lends an additional support to the realistic interpretation of Spinoza. It is this ; when Spinoza, himself maintains that of the infinite number of the attributes of the substance

¹ Spinoza's Ethics, Bk. I, Def.

² Brahmasūtra, Chapter III, Sec. II, aphorism no. 22.

only to two of them intellect has an access, how can the rest of them be treated as mere subjective projections of intellect? Further, when the fundamental trend of his thinking has by other serious considerations been determined to be a realistic one, it would be very unfair on our part to forego them for the sake of some ambiguous statements.

It seems quite incomprehensible why Hegel should in face of these realistic tendencies describe Spinoza's substance as a "lion's den" towards which all beasts proceed but from which none returns, and also compares it to a night in which all cows are black, meaning by the statement that Spinoza really leaves no scope for the mundane series. It is not easy to trace the cause of this world-negating interpretation of Spinozism in the hands of Hegel. Spinoza never speaks of the degrees of reality, and does never trace the course of the manifestation of the absolute through the world, but simply describes it as an all-embracing entity. He is on this point at one with Rāmānuja who does not believe in the doctrine of the degrees of reality, though he regards the absolute as immanent in the world-series. Hegelianism speaks of the grades of reality, and generally regards the reality of mind or spirit as of a superior order than that of matter. Perhaps, such categorical denial of this Hegelian doctrine was the cause of this misunderstanding. Otherwise no serious cause of this sort of interpretation of Spinozism can plausibly be conceived.

We have, purposely, not grouped Spinozism under any fixed metaphysical school, since to categorise it under any 'ism' might lead to misunderstanding. We have simply shown, that Spinoza is not a believer in the doctrine of the degrees of reality though he upholds the conception of substance or God or the absolute who embraces within itself the whole world, including individual selves and guides them all, being impelled not by necessity but by its innate perfection. Our humble consideration shows us that such a conception of

reality comes properly neither under pantheism or panentheism. It is not pantheism or a cosmism since it never denies the existence of the world, and it is not panentheism of the Hegelians, since it never lays stress upon the doctrine of the grades of reality.

After determining the nature of the Spinozistic metaphysics as best as we could, we now pass to the consideration of his ethics. His ethics is significant in many respects. It holds with Socrates that the supreme knowledge is indeed the supreme virtue. He believes with the Upanishadas and the distinguished systems of Indian thought that the knowledge of the ultimate reality makes one automatically moral. His ethics should not be interpreted as intellectualistic implying by the term that Spinoza believes in dire opposition to facts that mere intellectual knowledge makes a man virtuous. Spinoza knows well that to be a scholar is not necessarily to be virtuous. Such criticism cannot fairly be urged against Spinoza since by knowledge, he does evidently mean the knowledge not of the intellectual order, but intuitive knowledge which presupposes total control over all emotions, in a word, the transformation of the whole being. Spinoza regards blessedness as not the result of virtue with Kant-but treats it as virtue itself.¹ Here he shakes hands with the author of the Bhagavad-Gita. To differentiate blessedness from virtue is to underestimate it, and this leads to an insertion of a mechanical connection between virtue and blessedness as it has been the case with Kant in his critique of practical reason.

Spinoza in his ethics seems to combine the metaphysics of Ramanuja with the ethics of Samkara. Samkara holds that mere knowledge of reality suffices to remove all sufferings, and nothing besides knowledge is required for the attainment of perfection. Spinoza, also maintains that mere knowledge of the nature of substance would remove all ignorance and

¹ See Spinoza's Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 42.

give us bliss. But whereas Samkara maintains that with the dawn of this knowledge, the individual ceases to exist and becomes one with the absolute; Spinoza with Ramanuja maintains that that indeed is the true immortality of the individual. He observes :—"The human mind cannot be destroyed with the body but then remains of it something that is eternal."¹ He prescribes knowledge as a sovereign remedy for all passions and even maintains that proper knowledge of passions and emotions strikes an axe at their root. "An emotion, which is a passion, ceases to be a passion, as soon as we form a clear idea of it."² The Bhagavad-Gita also upholds the doctrine of intellectual love of God as the highest virtue, but whereas Spinoza thinks that a mere knowledge of the ultimate reality would result in such love, the Gita maintains that without divine grace neither such knowledge nor such love, the individual can obtain. In fact both agree in maintaining that such knowledge and such love are inseparable. Critics might say that Samkara also often speaks of divine grace as an indispensable condition of the dawning of the highest knowledge upon the individual, consequently he is not at one with Spinoza, on this point. In fact, Samkara speaks of divine grace sometimes but as ultimately he does not recognize the 'existence of God, his utterances about grace loses the metaphysical value, otherwise they would have appropriated.

The ethics of Spinoza really contains innumerable gems of immense value and deserves separate treatment. We cannot, however, resist the temptation of quoting some of its dictum of immense significance.

(I) "He who loves God, cannot endeavour that, God should love him."³ This enforces the selfless nature of divine love as distinguished from all earthly love. This truth has been preached as well as felt by all religious reformers.

¹ Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 33.

² Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 3.

³ Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 19.

(II) "The more we understand particular, the more we understand God."¹

"God is without passions, neither is he affected by any emotion of pleasure or pain."² This gives a very grand conception of God and the world, and makes God certainly the moral ideal. From the moral standpoint, this is a really ennobling conception of God.

(III) "In proportion as each thing possesses more of perfection, so is it more active or less passive and *vice-versa* in proportion as it is more active, so it is more perfect." This reminds one of the activism of Eucken, the desireless activity of the Bhagavadgita and the categorical imperative of Kant.

(IV) "Neither do we rejoice therein (blessedness) because we control our lusts, but contrariwise, because we rejoice therein, we are able to control our lust."³ In other words, a taste of divine joy makes self-control a very easy task. It reminds us of the following couplet of the Gita—

"The man who refrains with struggle from sense objects, no doubt, possesses some sort of self-control, but the real self-control automatically follows from the knowledge of the ultimate reality."⁴

The concluding paragraph of his ethics cannot but sound a note of hope in every aspirant after liberation and amply shows that he had at least a taste of that covetable stage. "How would it be possible, if salvation were ready at hand, and could without great labour be found, that it should be by almost all men neglected? But all things excellent are as difficult as they are rare." It reminds us of the following utterance of the Kathopanishad—"Men of illumination say that,

¹ Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 24.

² Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 17.

³ Ethics, Bk. V, Prop. 42.

⁴ Bhagavadgita, Chap II, 59th couplet.

the path of realisation is very sharp like the end of the razor, and is very difficult to traverse but still ye arise, awake, and stop not till the goal is reached." ¹

The philosophy of Spinoza thus understood leaves no gulf between its metaphysics and ethics. Spinoza upholds that the knowledge of reality as outlined in his metaphysics is enough for liberation. But, as a matter of fact, there is and there will ever be a gulf between metaphysics and ethics. Metaphysics simply tells us what the nature of reality is, but whether the knowledge of that reality is the highest boon of man or not, no metaphysics can tell. It must for ever remain silent on that point. In contemporary philosophy, a tendency of dissociating ethics from metaphysics has been ushered in.² It is held that the guidance of our active life can have no vital connection with metaphysics. This is rather a social topic. This view is about as true as false. Certainly, a nature of ultimate reality can by itself have no connection with the guidance of our active life. But if, as a matter of fact, it is found that the knowledge of the ultimate reality gives us the highest amount of peace, then metaphysics has some sort of connection with our ethical life. But, after all, this is a connection which does not follow from metaphysics as metaphysics, but something discovered by ethics in its search after the *summum bonum*. But the treatment of ethics as a social topic, in no way, solves the alleged problem of the connection of metaphysics and ethics but simply evades it. Ethics may be a social topic, but it is not always found to be so. Ethics, after all, is primarily connected with peace and happiness of the individual and this may not at all be social happiness, if social happiness stands in the way of the individual weal. Thus, we see that ethics is of pragmatic origin; it is ultimately utilitarian, and its

¹ Kathopanishad, Chap. I, Sec. 3, 14th couplet.

² An Out-line of Philosophy, Russell, Chap. on Ethics.

connection, if any with metaphysics, is established by ethics and never follows from the very nature of metaphysics.

When we critically evaluate the philosophy of Spinoza as a whole, we find that his ethics is splendid and his metaphysics is mainly, based on intuition, though garbed under the cover of the geometrical method. Thus, to Spinoza, substance, attributes and the modes are real facts, intuited and not huge assumptions made for the building up of a philosophic system of purely theoretic import. The more we will go to emphasise his allegiance to Descartes, and consequently to the geometrical method, the more we will be unable to realise the deep significance of his philosophy. He seems not to uphold the doctrine of one substance or that of parallelism merely to remove theoretical inconsistencies of the philosophy of Descartes. It is probably through intuitive knowledge that he came to know them. The less we speak of the geometrical method in Spinoza, the better for us. Spinoza in taking his stand on intuition has not been guilty of what the realist calls the 'fallacy of the speculative dogma,' since his substance, attributes and modes are veritable entities experienced through intuition. After all, whether Spinozistic conception of reality is right or any other conception is right, can finally be determined not by argumentation but by an immediate knowledge of reality. The beauty of Spinozistic philosophy lies mainly in its statement of a fact and not in its argumentative flights.

Our study of Spinoza would scarcely be complete if we fail to refer to his really philosophic life. He is, undoubtedly, one of the brightest luminaries in the philosophical firmament of the West. His own philosophy was as a matter of fact a faint echo of his life, absorbed in the intellectual love of God. As a humble glass-polisher of Holland, he passed his life without thinking of hollow name and fame. His friends and admirers appreciated his merit by offering him a big post which his unambitious nature refused to accept.

Spinoza, was to his co-religionists, a heretic, quite unknown to the mass, only the fortunate few that came into close contact with him saw in him a mighty thinker, life combined with genius. He was a philosopher in the true sense of the term, since unlike others he believed in what he preached. He reminds us of Samkara and Ramanuja, and other philosopher-saints of India, of Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Plotinus ; and of Kant and Hegel.

GOVINDACHANDRA DEBPURKAYASTHA

THE GENESIS OF MIR QASIM'S WAR WITH THE ENGLISH

It has often been held that the Nawab had never actually meant to break with the English, and that it was Ellis who was really responsible for the ultimate rupture. This view has been repeated so often since the days of Vansittart that it sometimes passes for a self-evident truth. Popular imagination has pictured Mir Qasim as an unfortunate martyr who fell a victim to the unrighteous greed and hostility of the English. His fate has evoked pity, and he has been regarded by many an Indian writer as a patriotic hero who nobly sacrificed his 'masnad' in defending the rights and privileges of his unhappy subjects groaning under the tyranny of the English merchants. Contemporary evidence, however, belies this popular notion, and supports the belief of the Nawab's avowed opponents who condemned him as an implacable enemy of the English. There is no doubt that the Nawab had, from the beginning, aimed at establishing his complete independence of the English, and that he patiently strove to break the supremacy which they had obtained after the revolution of 1757. His object was to establish an independent and unfettered 'Subahdari' in Bengal by reducing the extraordinary power and influence of the European traders.

Mir Jafar's dependence on the English had been galling to Mir Qasim, and as an interested spectator of the affairs in Murshidabad, he had not failed to notice the utter subjection of the Nawab to English control. He had, what is generally lost sight of, fully learnt the anti-English designs of Miran, his rival, whose example must have created a deep and lasting impression on his mind. He was only more ingenious and artful than Miran, and knew how to proceed with his plans cautiously and with dexterity. He lacked the dashing impetuosity and military aptitude of his rival, and thus had to rely more on diplomacy,

and intrigue when he sought to achieve his object. The unquestioned highhandedness of the English 'gumashtahs' gave him a good pretext for attempting to put an end to the whole of the English inland trade. The violence of the Chiefs of the factories was an equally serviceable excuse for demanding the withdrawal of the Company's troops from the interior of the province. Owing to Vansittart's policy of strict non-intervention, the Nawab had already secured full autonomy in his internal administration, and had developed a large and efficient army, besides transferring his seat of government to a distant centre in Bihar. All those who had been known to have any connexion with the English, or with the late Nawab were systematically removed, punished, or even executed on some pretext. All this pointed to an unmistakable desire on the part of the Nawab to free himself from English control. Thus, a conflict between him and the English was really inevitable sooner or later.

For over two years, the Nawab had been busy with the work of administrative re-organisation and consolidation, so he could not have thought of hostilities in the meantime. He had to make his government financially solvent, before he could dream of embarking on ambitious projects. Above all, he had to disband the existing rabble forces, and create a new and efficient army. Thus, up to the end of 1762, the Nawab was busily occupied in husbanding his financial resources, and in re-modelling his army. The Nepal expedition which was undertaken early in January, 1763, was the first visible indication of the Nawab's aggressive designs. He was now in a position to put his military strength to the test. It was after his return from Bettia that he seriously contemplated hostilities with the English. He had scarcely come back to Monghyr when he sent an intermediary to the Emperor, and to the Wazir of Oudh in order to seek their alliance against the English. According to Ghulam Husain, the Nawab entrusted Mirza Shamsuddin, one of his trusted 'Wakils,' with this mission.¹ As Ghulam Husain was

¹ Siyar (Lucknow Text), p. 718.

an intimate friend of the latter, he heard from him all about this secret errand, and his information therefore is extremely valuable. Kalyan Singh also writing from personal knowledge says,¹ "He (*i.e.*, the Nawab) submitted representations to the king and the Wazir.....praying for help."² It is therefore clear³ from the above that the Nawab had now determined on breaking with the English and was looking for convenient allies. This is admirably illustrative of his characteristic shrewdness. He had surely realised that his struggle with the English would be both difficult and prolonged, and consequently he deemed it prudent to enlist the moral and material support of the Emperor Shah Alam, and his powerful Wazir.

In the meantime, the Nawab was undoubtedly making secret preparations for war.³ Mr. Chambers wrote to Mr. Batson from Cossimbazar on April 3, 1763, "It is publicly talked at the City that the Nabab is determined to get rid of us one way or other.....Several parties of horse and foot have arrived at the city, within these two or three days and great preparations are making for defence, in case our army comes this way....."⁴ That the Nawab had himself ordered a movement of his troops to different places was admitted in his own letter to Mr. Amyatt, wherein he clearly stated that this was not a preparation for war, and that he was merely recalling the troops from places where they had been stationed for a long time past.⁵ It was obviously a lame excuse, and thus could not convince Mr. Amyatt who strongly complained to the Nawab of this mysterious concentration of the latter's troops at Patna.⁶ The Governor also protested against the sudden stationing of Muhammad Taqi Khan and Shaikh Haibatullah

¹ Khulasat (J.B.O.R.S. V. p, 609.).

² *Vide*, also Tarikh-i-Muzaffari (Alld. Univ. Ms., p. 783).

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., April 1, 1763.

⁴ Beng. Pub. Cons., April 12, 1763.

⁵ Trans. P.L.R., 1763, No. 12, p. 8.

⁶ Trans. P.L.R., Apl.-June, 1763, No. 10, p. 8.

with their troops at Katwa, who were reported to have declared their intention to invade Burdwan.¹

The capture of Patna by Ellis has usually been regarded as an extremely unjustifiable action and he has been generally condemned for his high-handed aggression. But the circumstances which finally led him to conclude that war was inevitable, and that an offensive alone was the best possible means of averting a disaster have not been adequately stressed. A more tactful and cool-headed person than Ellis might have waited a little longer, but it is undeniable that there was sufficient evidence to show that the Nawab was bent upon driving out the English from Patna, sooner or later.

The facts which could not fail to indicate the suspicious character of the Nawab's intentions may be thus analysed :—

(i) Immediately after the failure of his Nepal expedition, the Nawab thought it proper to remove Naubat Ray from Patna to Monghyr, and appointed in his place Mir Mahdi Khan who had so long commanded the force in Shahabad.² The very appointment of one of the principal commanders as Naib at Patna was significant, and was really meant to be a warning to Ellis.

(ii) The new Naib strangely enough, did not pay³ the Chief the usual compliment of even informing him about his arrival. Evidently the Nawab did not desire even the slightest familiarity between his Naib and the Chief.

(iii) Scarcely had Mir Mahdi Khan arrived at Patna when it came to be reported that preparations for war were being actively made on an unprecedented scale.⁴ Ellis in his letter to the Council, dated March 5, 1763, wrote, “.....he carries on the preparations for attack or defiance (for as yet we

¹ Trans. P.L.I., 1762-3, No. 57, p. 59.

² Siyar, p. 718.

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., March 18, 1763.

⁴ Letter from Ellis to Mahdi Khan. Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept 1763, No. 43 B; p. 67.

know not which to call them) with more vigour than his predecessor, and thereby adds to the terror and alarm of the inhabitants..... It is commonly talked that the Nabob has sent Mindy Cawn to drive out the English.''

(iv) Every attempt was being made to stop all intercourse between the factory and the town. On March 4, the gates of the town were kept shut for most part of the day, and the relief of the English hospital guard were refused admittance. On a protest being made, although the guard came to be admitted, the 'Burbunna' wicket remained closed.¹ According to the author of the Muzaffarnamah, the Nawab also issued strict orders that no Englishman, or his agents should be allowed to enter the fort.²

(v) Since February, the Nawab had been sending troops into Patna, and Ellis reported³ early in March that a number of commanders in different parts of Bihar were already under orders to march to Patna. This massing of troops at Patna was inexplicable, because there was no immediate danger to the province.

(vi) The English troops at Patna were further harassed by a practical stoppage of the supply of provisions.⁴ Ellis complained,⁵ "The Nabob seizes all provisions coming from Bengal, and such is the scarcity here, that had it not been for the 'gunge' which so much pains was taken to abolish, we had long e'er now been obliged to take up arms to procure our daily sustenance.'"

(vii) Early in June, Ellis reported that the Nawab's agents had been secretly inducing many of the Company's sepoys to

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., 18th March, 1763.

² Muzaffarnamah (Ald. Univ. MS., p. 338).

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., 18th March, 1763, and also Letter from Ellis, dated April 5, 1763.

⁴ Amyatt during his stay at Monghyr complained of the fact that a number of boats laden with grain, and going to Patna were being detained (Trans., P.L.R. Apl.-June, 1763, No. 15, p. 15).

⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., 9th May, 1763.

desert by promising them a higher salary in the Nawab's service.¹ As the sepoys continued to desert in large numbers, Ellis had to raise the allowances to stop these desertions.²

(viii) Encouraged by the fact of the Nawab's open estrangement from Ellis, Mahdi Ali Khan's men did not hesitate to abuse and insult the English sepoys whenever possible.³ Mahdi Ali Khan himself set a 'chauki' on the house of a 'Gomashtah' of the Company on mere suspicion.⁴

(ix) The Nawab suddenly came to an understanding with Kamgar Khan against whom operations had been in progress for a long time past, and the troops so long stationed in the latter's country were ordered down to Patna where they arrived on June 5.⁵ This was another proof of the fact that the Nawab was concentrating most of his scattered forces in Bihar at Patna. It is no wonder, therefore, that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay wrote in their letter to the Council, dated June 14, "It appears to us from the Nabob's disposition of his forces, both by his strengthening the detachments towards Beerbhoom and Murshidabad, and his ordering to be assembled at Patna, his troops from the Mey country and other places to the westward, and from what he has dropped in conversation, that he designs to attack, at the same time, both Burdwan and our forces at Patna in hopes of subduing them before they can be succoured."⁶

The detention at Monghyr of the boats laden with arms for the Company's troops at Patna must have further deepened the suspicions of Ellis, and the demand for his recall from Patna along with most of the Sepoys indicated an unusual defiance on the part of the Nawab. Under the circumstances, the Council

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., 17th June, 1763.

² *Ibid*, Letter from Ellis, dated June 6, 1763.

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., 9th May, 1763.

⁴ Letter from Amyatt to the Nawab, dated June 9, 1763 (Trans. P.L.R., Apl.-June, No. 16, p. 15).

⁵ Beng. Pub. Cons., 17th June, 1763.

⁶ Beng. Pub. Cons., 23rd June, 1763.

decided, on June 9, to direct the gentlemen at Patna to be upon their guard, and act as they might be advised by Messrs. Amyatt and Hay.¹ This point is too important to be lost sight of. It is clear that Ellis was definitely instructed by the Council to be prepared for any sudden emergency.

Being convinced therefore that war was imminent, Ellis had been making every preparation for the coming rupture. This was reported to the Nawab in exaggerated terms by Mahdi Ali Khan and others, and the Nawab conveniently adopted it as a good pretext for augmenting his own forces at Patna. The Nawab magnified in all his letters to the Governor the alleged bellicose preparations of Ellis; and explained away his own preparations for war. On June 19, the Nawab wrote, with respect to Mr. Ellis, how shall I speak, or how shall I write what quarrels he has made with my people from the beginning, and how he has injured my affairs? Now he is every day making preparations against Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn, and making a show of his forces before him, and is ready to attack him. In this case, I and my people are without remedy.² A few days afterwards, the Nawab again wrote in similar vein, "As to the particulars of Mr. Ellis, what shall I write? Daily he is seeking occasion to quarrel with Meer Mahomed Mehdee Cawn, and now by what I can learn, that gentleman is bent upon the design of assaulting the fort of Patna."³ The Nawab enclosed certain papers of news⁴ to justify his allegations against Ellis. It is easy to criticise Ellis on the basis of the Nawab's representations alone, but it must be admitted that the Nawab's own preparations had compelled Ellis to take measures in self-defence. The Nawab bitterly complained against the latter with the object of justifying the hostilities which he had lately decided upon⁵ at the instance of Gurgin Khan.

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., 9th June, 1763.

² Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 50, p. 77.

³ Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 51, p. 80.

⁴ Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, Nos. 51A, 51B, 51C, 51D, 51E, pp. 82-84.

⁵ Siyar, p. 725.

On May 26, the Nawab wrote in a threatening mood, "However desirous I am of avoiding the worst, yet I see no means of it, and my patience is near exhausted."¹ On June 19, he similarly threatened, "It is a duty on every man to defend his own honour."² Again, on June 22, he reminded³ the Governor, "Since the Chiefs of the factories are stretching out their hands against my honour and reputation, I and my people are in every respect without remedy, nor is it in my power to use any longer forbearance." Could anything be more expressive than such successive threats? Above all the fiery words⁴ of Mehdi Ali Khan, "If that chief is determined on a quarrel, I will put up with no more insults, but will fight with him," were intended to be an ultimatum, and must have been inspired by his master. Dr. Fullarton who was an eye-witness of the affairs at Patna says that preparations of war were carried on with great vigour inside the fort from the 17th of June.⁵ Ellis was thus hardly unjust in making counter-preparations in self-defence.

Ellis directed the attack against Patna on the 25th of June,⁶ and this commenced the war which ended in the downfall of the Nawab. Simply because Ellis decided to strike the first blow, he has been accused of deliberately forcing a war on the unwilling Nawab. The latter too declared subsequently, "Although I have in no respect intended any breach of public faith, yet Mr. Ellis regarding not treaties, or engagements, in violation of public faith, proceeded against me with treachery and night-assaults."⁷ Mr. Vansittart too argues in his narrative that Ellis was responsible for the war, and that it could have been

¹ Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 49, p. 76.

² Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 50, p. 77.

³ Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 51, p. 80.

⁴ Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 51A, p. 82.

⁵ Fullarton's Narrative (Beng. Reb. Cons., 19th December, 1763).

⁶ *Ibid*, and Diaries of Surgeons Anderson and Peter Campbell, June 25, 1763.

⁷ Letter from the Nawab to Adams, dated September 9, 1763. (Trans. P.L.R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 53, p. 85).

prevented.¹ "My own opinion is," he says,² "that Mr. Ellis's intention was, from the beginning, to break with the Nawab." However morally unjustifiable the attack against Patna may have been, the action of Ellis, when closely examined in the light of the actual circumstances admits of some justification. It is true that by commencing the hostilities himself he needlessly laid himself open to the charge of treachery or foul play, and that a more prudent person would have waited till the Nawab's people took the offensive but, in fairness to Ellis, it must be admitted that peculiarly placed as he was, he considered an offensive alone to be the only safe course under the circumstances. His was probably an error of judgment, which in that critical moment was difficult to avoid.

Ellis was fully aware of the active preparations of war³ going on in the fort, and he had also been convinced by other circumstances that the Nawab meant war. His decision to capture Patna by surprise was therefore not due to a sudden whim. The question arises, "what led Ellis to decide upon an attack?" The facts that appear to have finally determined the decision were the following:—

(i) The Council had decided on June 9 to instruct Messrs. Amyatt and Hay that they should before departing from Monghyr direct the gentlemen at Patna "to act in the manner they judge most proper for their own security, in case the Nabob

¹ Vansittart's Narrative III, p. 388.

² *Ibid*, p. 387.

³ This was proved by certain letters written by the Nawab to Mahdi Ali Khan, which had been discovered after the fall of Patna (*vide* Beng. Sel. Com., 31st Jan. 1765). The following ones may be cited:—

(i) A letter, dated 11th Ramazan, 1176 (30th or 31st March, 1763) which contained an account of the Nawab's plans against the English.

(ii) A letter, dated 3rd Shawwal, 1176 (20th or 21st April, 1763) which contained instructions for the arrest of Ellis.

(iii) A letter, dated 9th Zilhijj, 1176 (21st or 22nd June, 1763) ordering the commencement of war.

(iv) A letter, dated 13th Zilhijj, 1176 (26th or 27th June, 1763) directing Mahdi Ali to capture or kill Ellis.

marches, or sends any troops to attack them.”¹ It is certain, therefore, that Amyatt must have given the aforesaid warning to Ellis. The former wrote to the Council on June 14, “The last time we were with the Nabob, he told us that peace, or war depended on the removing our troops from Patna.”² Naturally he must have written similarly to Ellis.

(ii) Amyatt wrote in cypher both to Ellis and to the Council on June 21 that he and his party had virtually been made prisoners, and that his boats had been seized.³ Ellis must have concluded, therefore, that war might be declared any moment!

(iii) It was definitely known at Patna on the 23rd June⁴ that Amyatt's negotiations had been broken off, and war was consequently imminent. It had been understood from the beginning that the success of Amyatt's negotiations alone could avert hostilities, hence the news of the failure of the latter's mission could only mean war.

(iv) On the 24th June, a message was received⁵ in the evening that Amyatt had left for Calcutta the same day, leaving Hay as a hostage at Monghyr. Matters were thus critical indeed!

(v) On the 21st June, the Nawab⁶ suddenly ordered⁶ a large force under an Armenian officer, Marcat⁷ to march to Patna. This was what influenced Ellis most. The news of the march of about six regiments⁸ to Patna was sufficient to convince him that the Nawab intended to attack the English

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., 9th June, 1763.

² Beng. Pub. Cons., 23rd June, 1763.

³ Beng. Pub. Cons., 4th July, 1763.

⁴ Surgeon Anderson's Diary, June 23rd, 1763, and Surgeon Peter Campbell's Diary of the same date.

⁵ Surgeon Peter Campbell's Diary, June 24, 1763.

⁶ Beng. Pub. Cons., 5th July, 1763. (Letter from Amyatt, dated 25th June, 1763.)

⁷ Beng. Pub. Cons., 5th July, 1763.

Gentil's Memoires, p. 211.

⁸ Siyar, p. 727. Muzaffar-namah, p. 340.

at Patna. In this connexion, the opinion that Major Adams gave in the Council on April 14 is worth quoting, "...should the Nabob march a large force towards Patna, without any apparent reason, or otherwise commit any act of hostility, they (*i.e.*, the gentlemen at Patna) should take any step for their own security, even to the taking of the city of Patna....."¹ It is obvious therefore that Ellis followed the instructions of Major Adams in surprising Patna, when he heard about the approach of Marcat at the head of a big army.

The only other alternatives² open to Ellis were, either to wait till the factory was actually threatened by the Nawab's troops, or to leave it beforehand. That the first course was fraught with the greatest danger will be readily admitted. The factory could hardly be defended, if it were to be besieged by the enemy. Moreover, the intelligence of a formal declaration of war could never reach Patna in time to enable Ellis to take the offensive with any advantage. The second alternative was equally objectionable. Firstly, the abandonment of the factory would have affected the morale of the sepoys, and might have encouraged further desertions. Secondly, the magazine lay in the lower part of the house, and could be blown up by a common rocket. Thirdly, the hospital and the sick lay within the town and could not be sacrificed, their immediate removal being out of the question, even if it were permitted. Fourthly, the supply of provisions being scarce, and almost cut off, it would have been difficult to hold out till the arrival of re-inforcements. Fifthly, Ellis was at this time hard pressed for money, and he had hardly sufficient funds to meet the demands of the troops. Finally, desertions were continuing, and it was found impossible to stop these without an increment in the allowances. For all these reasons, Ellis deemed it impolitic and even suicidal to remain on the defensive in the ill-fortified factory, and ultimately decided

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., April 14, 1763.

² Beng. Pub. Cons., May 9, 1763. (Letter from Ellis to the Council.

to seize the city. "Our distance from Calcutta is very great, and whenever the Nabob marches this way, our communications will be cut off, and most probably not opened but by your army. If therefore we should obey nature's first law, we hope we shall not be found culpable, though it may not perfectly coincide with your orders." Thus replied ¹ Ellis to the Council protesting against its resolution of April 14, which made it obligatory on him to remain on the defensive until he had received notice of war from the Council.

There is satisfactory evidence ² to prove that the Nawab did decide upon war after the failure of his negotiations with Mr. Vansittart, although he had undeniably hesitated earlier. Mr. Vansittart's contention ³ that the Nawab was inclined to peace till Ellis's attack on Patna is absolutely untenable. In short, the Nawab seriously thought of, and prepared for, war after his treaty with Mr. Vansittart had been disapproved by the Council. Messrs. Amyatt and Hay wrote to the Council from Monghyr on May 18, "We had a good deal of conversation with him on different subjects, in which it appeared he had considered himself as in a state of war with us for some time past, and had issued orders and made preparations accordingly....."⁴

The account of Ghulam Husain who was present at the Nawab's Court during this period makes it abundantly clear that there were two rival parties⁵ in the Court—one headed by the Nawab's closest friend, Ali Ibrahim Khan, who strongly advocated peace and friendship with the English, and the other was represented by the Armenian Commander, Gurgin Khan, who prevailed on the Nawab to welcome hostilities, and thus establish his independence of the English. After a good deal of hesitation, the Nawab adopted the counsel of the war party, and

¹ Beng. Pub. Cons., May 9, 1763.

² Siyar, pp. 724-5. Muzaffar-namah, p. 338. Tarikh-i-muzaffari, pp. 785-7. Khulasat (J. B. O. R. S. V., p. 609). Riyazu-s-Salatin (A.S.B. Text), p. 382.

³ Vansittart's Narrative, III, p. 389.

⁴ Beng. Pub. Cons., May 30, 1763.

⁵ Siyar, p. 724.

banished all thoughts of peace from his mind.¹ In resolving upon hostilities, he appears to have had a number of objects in his view. It may here be pointed out that the dispute in regard to the duties on private inland trade was neither the sole, nor even the principal cause of his war with the English. He had wider, and more ambitious, designs when he finally determined to go to war.

In the first place, he was from the very beginning bent on freeing himself² from the control of the English. He had closely watched the dramatic rise of the English as the supreme authority in the country after 1757, and had witnessed the utter subordination of his predecessor to the latter. This position he intended to change either by diplomacy, or war. He disdained to be bound, hand and foot, to the English alliance, as his father-in-law had been. By sheer diplomacy, he had been able to win from the well-meaning Governor a degree of freedom which his predecessor could never have dreamt of under Clive. It was, however, the question of the private inland trade of the Company's servants, which unexpectedly hastened the inevitable clash of interests between the Nawab and the English. The former realised that a successful war alone could vindicate his dignity and independence.

In the second place, he aimed at ruining the whole private inland trade of the English, but his motive was entirely political. The question of the duties was not only secondary, but was immaterial too. It was the privileged position of the English that was galling to him, and he regarded their private commercial activities as³ a serious menace to his authority. He believed that unless the inland trade of the English happened to be completely stopped, the gentlemen of the factories and their insolent 'gumastahs' would ultimately reduce the authority of

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 725.

² Verelst's View, etc., p. 47. Grant's Sketch, p. 197.

³ Letter from the Nawab, dated Feb. 26, 1763. (Trans. P. L. R. Jan.-Sept. 1763, No. 22, p. 23.)

his government to nothingness. Backed by the Company's military force, their trade appeared to be a grave danger to his internal administration, hence nothing short of an entire abolition of the private trade of the English could have satisfied him.

In the third place, he was determined to avenge himself on Ellis whom he proclaimed as his worst enemy, and whose consistent opposition to himself aroused his bitterest rancour and hatred.¹ In fact, the vindictive Nawab seems to have welcomed a rupture with the English more out of personal spite against Ellis and others who had condemned his elevation and had opposed him throughout than from any other motive.

In the fourth place, he looked upon war as the only means of obtaining a heavy indemnity² for his alleged losses due to the rapacity of the English 'gumastahs.'

In the fifth place, he was eager to recover the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong, which he had ceded to the Company after his accession to the masnad. The loss of these important districts must have rankled in his heart, and he only awaited a suitable opportunity for demanding³ their restitution with their rents for three years.

Lastly, the Nawab appears to have cherished the hope of driving out⁴ the English from the country altogether.

The war between the English and Mir Qasim was a logical sequel to the revolution of 1757, and it resulted from the latter's

¹ Letter from the Nawab, dated June 19, 1763. (Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 50, p. 77.)

² Vansittart's Narrative, III, p. 331.

³ Letter from the Nawab, dated June 28, 1763. (Trans. P. L. R., Jan.-Sept., 1763, No. 52, p. 84.)

⁴ Muzaffarnamah, p. 344.

Riyazu-s-Salaten, p. 382.

Beng. Pub. Cons. 17th Jan., 1763.

" " " 15th Feb., 1763.

" " " 22nd Feb., 1763.

" " " 1st April, 1763.

" " " 12th April, 1763.

" " " 4th July, 1763.

vain attempt to undo the effects of the revolution, and restore the '*status quo*.' The real point at issue was whether the English could have suffered themselves to be relegated to the position they had occupied till the time of Sirajuddaulah. If the Nawab had been content to play the rôle of an indolent pleasure-seeker like his predecessor, the final trial of strength between the English and the Bengal Government would only have been postponed. But, Mir Qasim was an ambitious ruler keen on establishing himself as an independent Nawab, and this obviously meant an unavoidable conflict with the English whose predominance was a settled fact after the rise of Mir Jafar. From the beginning, the Nawab had assiduously sought to get rid of the English domination in Bengal, and had prepared for war, knowing it to be certain, but he needed only a fair pretext for it, and this was supplied by the hostile attitude of the Council in regard to the question of the English inland trade, and the attack on Patna by Ellis.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

GAUTAMA BUDDHA

Up to the threshold where his young wife slept,
Nestling their infant son in soft embrace,
Like a ghost in the white of the moon he crept,
And sorrow lay in his eyes and on his face.
"This is another tie to break," he sighed,
And turned him forth, and rode through the white
moonlight
Into a distant world where no voice cried
Save the woe of the world he yearned to set aright.
A startled peacock cried upon the dawn ;
Above the rice-fields rose the burnished sun ;
And she awoke to a prince and lover gone,
He to the lonesome road and the quest undone.
Over his eyes the white of Nirvana stood,
And the world's woes were a bell crying in his blood.

WADE OLIVER

EARLY EXPERIMENTS WITH SINKING FUND IN INDIA.

1. Sinking funds were established from time to time to redeem Indian public debt from its early origin. They are not therefore recent experiments in the history of the redemption of the public debt of India, as some economists tend to hold. The earliest sinking fund can be traced to the year 1798, when for the first time one was established in Bengal (3rd April).¹ In the next year the operation of the fund was extended to Madras.²

It may be mentioned here that before 1798, Philip Francis, the renowned councillor of Warren Hastings, in course of discussion of a conversion plan, which is unnecessary to be dealt with here at length, proposed a sinking fund. His advocacy did not however mature into action. The credit for the inauguration of the first sinking fund, therefore belongs to Mr. Myers, the then Accountant General of Bengal.³ With him may be associated the name of Sir Alured Clarke, who during his office as an acting Governor-General (6th March to 18th May, 1798), gave practical shape to the proposal of Mr. Myers.

The salient points of this plan of sinking fund in Bengal were as follows :—⁴

(1) A fund was to be established in Bengal for the redemption of the existing and future debt of the East India

¹ Calcutta Gazette, 12th April, 1798. The notification was dated the 3rd April, 1798.

² Letter from the Governor in Council of Madras (Pub. Dept.), to the Court, 9th Oct., 1799.

³ Letter from the Governor-General in Council at Bengal (Secret Dept.), 16th March, 1798.

⁴ Extracts from the Bengal Secret Department Consultation, 3rd April, 1798, quoted in the Pub. Consn., 26th July, 1798, No. 48; also Calcutta Gazette, 12th April, 1798.

Company in India, to be provided out of the surplus resources, if there were any, and mainly by bills drawn upon the Court of Directors. The annual amounts to be drawn were to consist of no less a proportion of the principal of the current debt than two per cent. plus an equal amount of interest that might accrue upon the securities to be redeemed.

(2) The amount of cash received in the General Treasury by the issue of bills, and also the amounts that might be received by the Commissioners from the General Treasury on account of the interest and the principal of the securities purchased, when they would come in course of payment, were to be separately allocated to the account of the Commissioners of the sinking fund.

(3) The Commissioners were to apply all monies so placed to their account to the purchase of government securities, whether the same might be at, above, or below par.

(4) The Commissioners were to divide the whole of the money to be disposed of by them in as equal weekly portions as might be conveniently practicable and to divide the amount into two weekly purchases to be made by acceptance of offer at which the creditors would sell their securities.

(5) The Commissioners were at liberty to subscribe any part of the fund in case there be any balance remaining idle, towards any public loan.

According to the calculation of the Accountant General, it was presumed that in about twenty years the whole of the Indian debt could be extinguished. Although such a contention was held in the official circle with considerable pessimism, it was believed that the plan would be highly efficacious in raising public credit to such an extent that there would be no further difficulty in raising public funds by future loan operations. This will be evident from the preamble to the notification of the sinking fund, wherein it was stated that the Governor General in Council "having adverted to the great depreciation of the public securities" adopted such a

measure "for upholding the value of the securities in future."¹ In a despatch to the Court of Directors the same object was elaborated as follows :—

"Although the plan may not be productive of all advantages stated in Mr. Myer's letter, we are satisfied that, besides providing for the discharge of your debts in the most advantageous manner, it will contribute greatly to uphold the value of public securities, especially at periods when the exigencies of Government may render it necessary for them to avail themselves of their credit to a considerable extent ; and consequently, that we shall be enabled to raise supplies, not only to a larger amount, but on terms more favourable than has hitherto been practicable, without, at the same time, occasioning that great depreciation of the public securities which had hitherto invariably followed every extraordinary demands on our resources, and which in its operations has been equally injurious to your interests, to those of the great body of holders of your securities." ²

• Looking to its object and methods of working, the earliest sinking fund in India was very defective. Its end as a fund for the repayment of the debt and for its extinction was subsidiary and remote. Its immediate object was to expedite the realisation of future loan operations. A sinking fund worth the name should be provided out of surplus ; this was an artifice principally at the cost of the home treasury—perhaps to avoid the limitation of amount and exchanges imposed by the legislature on the transfer plan previously undertaken. In addition, the securities purchased by the Commissioners were not to be cancelled immediately ; they were to be held up indefinitely in order to receive interest ; the interests received were to be reinvested by fresh purchase of securities, so that the capital of the fund might increase with compound interest. Hence, the fund was in no way

¹ Calcutta Gazette, *op. cit.*

² Letter to the Court (Secret Dept.), 16th March, 1798, *op. cit.*

designed to lighten the immediate anxiety of the general treasury in respect of the discharge of the debt and its burden. On the other hand, the utility of such a fund was quite illusory.¹

2. To revert to the actual working of the sinking fund in India, we find that it operated down to the year 1808-09, when redemption of the capital of public debt was effected up to the amount of £ 4,038,696, composed of £ 3,412,430 in Bengal and £ 626,266 in Madras. In addition, it redeemed a certain amount of floating debt.²

The following are the capital amount of public debt bearing interest that were redeemed in the respective years :—³

	Bengal.	Madras.
	£	£
1798-99	177,843	...
1799-1800	209,736	22,534
1800-01	270,751	56,090
1801-02	335,072	61,916
1802-03	400,978	140,789
1803-04	451,295	100,065
1804-05	251,251	113,841
1805-06	234,490	99,821
1806-07	380,968	37,210
1807-08	401,390	...
1808-09	296,656	...
Total	£ 3,412,430	£ 626,266

The above table supports the statement made beforehand that the sinking fund in Bengal did not operate later than

¹ For full criticism, *vide infra*.

² Commons Committee, 3rd Report, 1811.

³ Calculated from App. 7, Commons Committee, 3rd Report, 1811.

1808-09 and that the institution in Madras stopped business from 1807. The account of the sinking fund was formally closed in February, 1810, until circumstances would render it expedient that the Commissioners of the sinking fund should renew their business. The main reason of the closure of the fund was the contemporary pressure on the home finance on account of the great demand for bills upon the Court. At the same time the high premium upon government securities made the purchases of the commissioners unprofitable and the operation of the fund unnecessary.¹

The account of the sinking fund in Bengal, from its origin to its suspension, was as follows : —²

	Sa. Rs.
Amount received by bills on the Court ...	2,59,27,815
Amount received as interest on securities purchased	1,10,93,678
Amount of gain upon purchase of securities at a discount	14,50,395
	<hr/> Sa. Rs. 3,84,71,888

Deduct :

Principal of securities purchased	2,94,17,500
Interest accrued on ditto at the time of purchase	10,11,960
	<hr/> 3,04,29,460
Balance, in favour of the commission on the 30th April, 1809, proposed to be transferred to the credit of account current London ...	<hr/> 80,42,428

Thus of the total amount redeemed, £3,007,627 was received by bills on the Court; and as an effect of the institution no less than £168,246 accrued to the treasury as gain.

¹ Bengal Financial Consn., 23rd March, 1810, No. 9; Letter to the Court of Directors (Fincl. Dept.), 22nd Oct., 1810.

² Letter of the Accountant General, 19th Feb., 1810; Bengal Fincl. Consn., 23rd March, 1810.

The sinking fund in Bengal seems to have sufficiently justified the purpose for which it was instituted. It brought down the average rate of discount on the public securities—possibly in conjunction with other factors—as the following calculation will show :—

	Capital value of securities purchased in Bengal. ¹	Amounts of profit derived from discount. ²	Average percentage of discount calculated.
	£	£	p.c.
1798-99	177,843	28,011	15·7
1799-1800	209,736	20,590	9·8
1800-01	270,751	30,820	11·4
1801-02	335,072	35,873	10·7
1802-03	400,978	22,409	7·3
1803-04	451,295	5,888	1·3
1804-05	251,251	1,386	·6
1805-06	234,490	5,572	2·4
1806-07	382,968	3,220	·8
1807-03	401,890	6,390	1·3
1808-09	296,656	2,178	·8

Reviewing the operation of the sinking fund on a later occasion, the Government of Bengal wrote in 1812 :—

“ Although what has been termed the sinking fund at this Presidency, was not supported by any distinct and independent source of revenue, the institution of the fund was made to answer a very useful purpose. The purchases of the commissioners, by creating a regular demand for the Government paper and by taking off that portion of it which was forced occasionally into the market for sale by the necessities of the proprietors, had the effect of maintaining the credit and

¹ *Op. cit.*

² Commons Paper, 318 of 1812. The current rupee has been converted at the rate of 2s.

value of the public securities generally and probably tended to enable the Government to negotiate their loans on more favourable terms than would otherwise have been practicable.”¹

3. Encouraged by the results of this sinking fund and being aware of its efficacy several other sinking funds were established in Bengal as temporary measures, the history of which may be recorded here.²

Scarcely two years and a half were allowed to elapse from the close of the first sinking fund, when another fund was brought into operation. Towards the latter part of 1812, when for certain reasons the credit of public securities was at a low ebb in the market, and as at the same time the Government had to float a new loan in order to redeem certain debts in Bombay, the Accountant General again suggested in August that the sinking fund be re-established in Bengal.³ Accordingly, on the 29th August, 1812, a resolution was adopted to that effect, and commissioners were immediately appointed.⁴

The object of the new fund, like that of its predecessor, was to raise public credit with a view to promote the success of the financial operation already referred to.⁵ In a letter to the Court of Directors it was intimated that the very circumstance of a public fund being established for the purchase of Government paper was likely to bring forward private capital in competition with it which might otherwise

¹ Financial Despatch, 17th Aug., 1812.

² In 1808, immediately after the suspension of the purchases by the Commissioners of the first sinking fund, Mr. Rickards, a civil servant of Bombay, suggested another sinking fund. But the proposal did not materialise. For all documents connected with this see Commons Paper, 306 of 1812-13.

³ Letter of the Accountant General, 20th August, 1812; Bengal Fincl. Consn., 29th August, 1812, Nos. 16-18.

In January 1812, the Accountant General suggested that the sinking fund be revived; but for certain reasons, which made it impracticable, the proposal was dropped.

⁴ *Ibid*, No. 18.

⁵ Financial Despatch, 5th Sept., 1812.

be withheld from the market. The competition by itself would also tend to enhance the value of securities generally.¹

Unlike its predecessor, this sinking fund was to be supplied with cash from a portion of the subscriptions received on account of the new 6 per cent. loan.² Thus the very principle of supporting a fund of this nature out of loan was objectionable by itself, though not so very prejudicial in this particular case; for in this case the amount so raised and appropriated for redemption through the sinking fund did not bear any higher charge than that borne by the debt to be redeemed.

This time the object of the sinking fund appears to have been attended with doubtful success. Credit in the market did not improve to any great extent.³ Discount on the government securities was on a fluctuating scale; it sometimes rose to an unprecedented amount and sometimes fell to a very low figure.⁴

The very plan of its working out of loan instead of surplus, proved how difficult it was to operate the fund. As in course of time, the Supreme Government in Bengal experienced a great deal of difficulty in assigning funds for investments on account of the home treasury, appropriation for the sinking fund was reduced by degrees. The sums allotted for this purpose became very limited.⁵ On the 23rd of August, 1813, Mr Egerton, the Accountant General of Bengal wrote: "As the operation of the sinking fund are to a very inconsiderable extent and the funds provided for their purpose are raised by incurring other debt at the same rate of interest, I take the liberty to recommend that instead of

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ See Dr. Hamilton's criticism of Dr. Price's Theory of the efficacy of a sinking fund, supported by loan, in raising credit.

⁴ Financial Despatches, 19th Dec., 1812, and 6th Feb. 1813.

⁵ Financial Despatch, 6th Feb. 1813, sec. 24.

carrying these purchases to separate head on the General Book, I may be authorised to close the transactions on the books of each year.....”¹ In reply, the required permission was given.² But as it was not thought to be prudent to suspend altogether the purchases of the commissioners—for their sudden discontinuance would lead to an unfavourable effect upon the credit of the public securities—the sinking fund in Bengal was allowed to linger on without any sign of life, while the appropriation of the fund had been “reduced to a trifling sum.”³ Towards the beginning of 1814, the operation of the fund was, however, entirely discontinued.⁴ The amount redeemed by the sinking fund during this short lease of life did not perhaps exceed 30 lakhs of sicca rupees (*i.e.*, £348,000).⁵

4. In 1817 another sinking fund was created for the same reason as had led to the institution of funds of this kind in the past, *viz.*, depreciation of public credit.⁶ This time there was no particular plan for its operation, good or bad. The fund was allocated from cash balance, independent of the ultimate surplus or deficit. Two years later, when there was an unusual abundance of money in Calcutta and the public securities were bearing little or no discount, its function was again postponed until change of circumstances would necessitate its revival.⁷

¹ Bengal Fincl. Consn., 28th Aug., 1813, No. 2.

² *Ibid.*, No. 3.

³ Financial Despatches, 30th Oct. and 18th Dec., 1813.

⁴ Financial Despatch, 5th Feb., 1814.

⁵ *Vide* enclosure to Financial Despatch, 27th March, 1813. This amount (30 lakhs) was said to be redeemed during 1812-13. It is strange to note that in the Parliamentary return of Indian accounts (Commons Paper, 334 of 1814) it has been noted that the purchases made by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund amounted to Sa. Rs. 21,15,537 during 1812-13. Neither in the MS. document nor in the Parliamentary return of the next year is anything stated as to whether any amount was redeemed during 1813-14.

⁶ Bengal Fincl. Consns., 9th May, 1817, Nos. 8 and 9.

⁷ Bengal Fincl. Consn., 10th March, 1819 No. 5.

After lapse of nearly two weeks, the sinking fund was renewed, being encouraged by a new circumstance.¹ The Court of Directors, according to the spirit of the late Charter Act enjoining that the surplus commercial profit of the Company in England should be applied in reduction of the principal of the debt in India,² remitted to Bengal a certain amount of treasure for the required object.³ The sinking fund was therefore revived to give effect to the wishes of the Directors.

At this time a new issue arose which limited for a time the operations of the fund and which ultimately changed the administrative personnel and methods of its operation. When the amount of treasure was sent to India to alleviate the burden of public debt, there was no definite instruction on the procedure to be adopted. A question arose as to whether any portion of the sum could be subscribed to any new loan if the exigencies of the public service should require such assistance.⁴ The Accountant General of Bengal held that as the surplus revenue in India was inadequate to repay the charges defrayed from commercial funds in England, a portion of the profits forwarded to India should either be appropriated for investment in India or for subscription to new loans that would be required. He expressed his doubt as to how far the remittance in question could be considered applicable, with ultimate profit, to the discharge of the debt so long as the surplus revenue of India should be insufficient

¹ Bengal Fincl. Consns., 28th March, 1819, Nos. 6-7.

² 53 Geo. III, cap. 155, sec. 57.

³ Financial Despatches, 30th Sept., and 14th Oct., 1818.

The amounts of consignment of bullion to India in aid of the sinking fund were valued at £1,000,537 in 1818-19 and at £166,302 in 1819-20. In the year 1821-22, another instalment of £1,500,000 was directed to be advanced to the sinking fund (*vide* App. Nos. 8 (3) to the Commons Report, 1832, II Finance).

⁴ Financial Despatch, 8th Oct., 1819, S. 8.

to defray the charge in England.¹ But as the instruction of the Court, in a despatch of the 2nd April, 1819, was for strict appropriation of the fund to the reduction of the principal of the outstanding debt, a new commission with a change of personnel was created. This body was described as the "Commissioners for the Reduction of the Debts of the Hon'ble Company in India."

The policy which the Commissioners pursued was to buy up the securities from the market, regardless of the discount or premium that they carried. In 1820, the disadvantage of redeeming the public debt in this manner became evident when the public securities were above par.² In August, therefore, on the recommendation of Mr. Sherer, the Commissioners were authorised to appropriate the funds in paying off the registered debt by advertisement rather than in purchasing securities from the market.³

Henceforward, the sinking fund in Bengal under its new garb turned out to be a permanent organ for the management of public loans—their issue, transfer, conversion and actual discharge of principal as well as interest. There was no permanent plan envisaged to bring down the public debt in India.

5. This is, in short, the annals of the sinking funds in Bengal during the early history of Indian public debt. Looking back into the course of their career, it is evident that the prior sinking funds were regarded, to put it in the words of Mr. Sherer, an Accountant General of Bengal, as official arrangements intended to uphold public credit rather than as positive plans for liquidation of public debt.⁴ In the last phase of their

¹ Letter of the Accountant General, 15th Sept., 1819; *vide* Bengal Fincl. Consn., 18th Oct., Nos. 4-6.

² Financial Despatch, 21st April, 1820.

³ Financial Despatch, 25th Aug., 1820.

⁴ Bengal Fincl. Consn., 9th May, 1817.

career, the commissioners constituted merely a department of the office of the State to execute its debt operations.

5. Looking back to these early experiments with sinking fund in India, we find that the first fund erred in many ways, by the very principle of its purpose and its management. When it came into existence in 1798, the financial world had not yet had sufficient experience in managing sinking funds. Half-hearted experiments had been going on for over three quarters of a century in the United Kingdom. Frequent raids upon these funds and the continued diversion of their resources from their legitimate objects failed to make the financial world in any way wiser. After the termination of the American War, reduction of their public debt received the particular attention of the British public. At this period, during the seventies and eighties of the eighteenth century, Dr. Richard Price propounded his theory of sinking fund, which has since become notorious. The sum and substance of Dr. Price's principle was that periodical contributions to an established commission, even in years of financial deficits, would, by repeated investment, accumulate at compound interest. A sinking fund, growing thus at a geometric ratio, would enable in course of time to wash off any amount of public debt. This theory of Dr. Price captivated the imagination of the economists and financiers alike, till the Scotch mathematician, Dr. Robert Hamilton, pointed out its shallowness.¹

On the basis of this theory, Pitt formed his sinking fund of 1786 (26 Geo. III, cap. 31). The American sinking fund of 1790 was guided by this theory of Dr. Richard Price. Sufficient evidence cannot be found to state definitely whether the propounders of Indian sinking fund in 1798 placed before them the theory of Dr. Price as their ideal, But from all appearance it was practically English. A commission was

¹ Vide P. Datta, Growth of Public Debt, in the *Calcutta Review*, July, 1932.

created ; the contributions to it were invested in the securities of its own Government by regular purchase from the market. The interests received from the fund were re-invested. As in its methods of administration, so in its objects, the Indian sinking fund appears to be dominated by the theories of Dr. Price. Besides wiping out the debt in a cheap and effectual manner by such fund, Dr. Price had maintained that by its operations fluctuations in stocks would be prevented, and public credit would always be kept firm and flourishing. In one respect, however, the method of Indian sinking fund differed from the English fund as instituted by Mr. Pitt ; for the contributions came from the Court of Directors.

All the sinking funds in Bengal decidedly proved to be misnomers, as did the contemporary funds in other countries. But due to its source of contribution, different from that advocated by Dr. Price in years of financial deficits, the first sinking fund of 1798 amply justified certain of its objects. Though the capacity of a sinking fund to maintain credit, if it be fed out of borrowing, has been exploded, the sinking fund of 1798 really regulated the fluctuations of discount rates on public securities and thus alleviated the difficulties in the money market to the great relief of trade and commerce. It enabled the Government in a quiet and imperceptible way to afford relief in times of emergency in a manner advantageous to itself and profitable to the community. For similar reason the sinking fund experiments of the Marquis of Hastings were successful in mitigating fluctuations in the prices of securities. But simply because the second sinking fund was maintained out of loan, in a line with Dr. Price's advocacy, it proved to be a total failure.

P. DATTA

MERRY-GO-ROUND IN WINTER

Gone are the tunes of a summer's day,
Silent the laughter of children at play.
The horse has ceased its rocking,
The lion's mane has lost its flair,
The zebra's stripes are shocking,
And sad the tiger's lonely stare.
The whirling tubs no longer spin
With-merry tots held fast within ;
Wind worn their wood of purple hue,
Mist marred their decorations, too.
To the sound of sweet Calliope's playing,
None asks, " Oh, may I ride once more ? "
For the paint on idle gear is graying,
The jingle and jangle is o'er.
All in the air of winter is stilled,
Age mourns the dreams that children build.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

THE PATHWAY TO PERFECTION

" In this broad earth of ours,
Amid the measureless, grossness, and the slag
Encased and safe within its central heart
Nestles the seed—Perfection."

The expression "perfection" has numerous definitions—and may be summarised in the all-embracing term "that which is incapable of being improved upon"—Truth Supernal is synonymous, as it were entwined, so conjointly in their applied meaning work in harmony together.

Now, it has often been said—perhaps with undue consideration to so important a subject—that "Perfection" to the finite mind is unattainable—moreover, that, even if it were so, in its application there would be no finality and in qualification and support of the theory man is quite unable to produce even one thing of that ideal standard.

We will carefully search into this fascinating subject-matter and shall find that the first question that arises is: Who would have the temerity to designate himself judge—to discriminate—to demarcate—draw the definite line to determine this or that is *not* Perfection?

All products are Creator-made; man cannot produce in actuality, but nevertheless he can make—mould, and improve; finish and potentially perfect that which he undertakes to do; his particular mission lies, as it were, as a worker in God's vineyard, for not one article can he form and bring into being without first going to the prime Source, his Creator's earth, for the requisite materials of which to gather some portion, whether it be trees (for wood); mould, clay, gravel, stone, slate, iron, copper, gold, silver; coal for heating requirements, and water for intermixing or cleansing purposes, in order that they

may, individually or collectively, fashion—in accordance to man's varied degrees of acquired skill or excelled craftsmanship—into buildings pretentious to the palatial, engineering minute to the colossal, clothing coarse to the finest fabric, ornaments crude unto the beautiful, articles numerous in varied degrees of quality and so on.

In one of our museums there stands a pair of superb, exquisitely moulded and carved vases—in material value possibly priceless—said to have been brought from China. Who shall say that in the production of this particular kind they are not perfection—for who can prove that the like could ever be excelled or even produced again? Furthermore, for example, let us take the dovetail part of a cabinet of first order workmanship—an art in itself; nothing has been attempted to even improve upon this unique, satisfactory method of joining parts together, or probably ever will be. Possibly herein lies perfection in this particular branch of a part of a whole.

It is stated that “A good beetle will work for days and nights with only a short time of rest in between, kneading, chiselling, and finally polishing till she has the perfect round standing there in the dark. Then she makes a tidy hole in the top and deposits her eggs but even after the curves appear absolute to a magnifying glass, she still continues her work of Perfection, completing and polishing her sphere.”

We observe in this tiny creature or insect “Perfection” demonstrated—yet man, God's greatest intellectualist, will say, the human cannot aspire to that supreme standard.

We will next take the all-glorious rose—which 'tis said that the Egyptians were the first to cultivate and devote to the God of Silence—Horus, or Harpocrates—and thus it became the emblem of reserve and faithfulness.

Botanists inform us that we have alone nineteen species of native roses in England. The cultivated rose generally is a larger and fuller kind obtained through perseverance of the gardener—nurtured, strengthened and by skilful crossing we get

wonderful examples; yet we are informed that if their cultivation is neglected, remains untended by absence of scientific treatment for certain periods, according to their kind, they will gradually but assuredly return again unto their common native species—the dog-rose, wild briar, etc.

Here again we observe indisputably demonstrated the working of the great Divine *through the agency of man* to further and potentially perfect some part of His material creation which He has ordained to be.

E. Gibson Cheyne, in her writings, "The Voice of One Crying," says: "God can do nothing without man's co-operation; He can make no man good against his will; can only manifest Himself—finally and fully in some radiant human being. He cannot give the world a message unless a man is ready to be a prophet—and accept the reward of a prophet. He needs man from each dawn to night, each night to dawn—Man is part of God and God part of him."

Voltaire, so far back as 1750, could see the truth of the possibility of attainment to perfection, for he said: "Perfection walks slowly—she requires the hand of Time."

Now, as to what is termed the higher calling of man—his ethical essence and attributes—and to that end.

If we set out to find Perfection we may complete our quest sooner than we anticipate—there is no need for the individual to wait, for he may become an example in himself. If we wish to see a better or perfect world we must have better or perfect people—there is no alternative.

To bring this into being we shall have to train our thoughts to a different order of things—a vision perfect; and in its gradual unfoldment we shall come to the conclusion that it was in man's *opinion*, in his turmoil and unprogressed condition, difficult to receive so divine a truth.

Grace Rhys says: "Think of us men, what we are, *how nourished*—by what slaughters and captivities of living things; how *coarse* and fierce we are in many of our ways."

Nevertheless, the Scripture clearly reminds him of his duty to his Creator—not the impossible, but the possible—the sureness of reaching the Peak Empyrean—if *he will but seek*, for it is written “*Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect.*” Matt. V. 48.

Further instances we find in :—

Gen. VII. 1. “ Walk before me and be perfect.”

II Cor. XIII. 11. “ Be perfect.”

Phil. III. 15. “ As many as be perfect thus minded.”

II Tim. III. 17. “ Man of God may be perfect.”

Heb. VI. 1. “ Let us go on unto perfection,”

James I. 4. “ Let patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect.”

“ Divine Education is that of the Kingdom of God : it consists in acquiring divine Perfections, and this is true education ; for in this estate man becomes the centre of divine appearance, the manifestation of the words.”—Elizabeth Herreck.

According to Church History perfectibility is a generic designation for any Christians holding the doctrine that Perfection is attainable in this life. This doctrine is often supported by a reference to I Cor. II. 6.

Many Divines have held that by contemplation and devotion the soul becomes so united to God that all that is sinful in it is annihilated, and it participates in the *Divine Perfection*. This was held by the Molinists, the Jansenists and other religionists and mystics.

If we believe there is no finality—then we doubt unrestrictedly in the Supreme Being as the finality, and Perfection—The Absolute.

We unhesitatingly claim to be emanations of that great Power, *i.e.* the verity must necessarily be impregnated in each human being, of either sex or colour—and to be revealed, through the medium of the Esoteric—the Light within.

One of the principles of the Teachings of Theosophy (God and Wisdom) is that inasmuch as all mankind are of the Divine Spirit each has inherent the seed of Perfection.

We as spiritual entities, though with outward physical envelopes conforming to Natural Laws, while in earthly Sphere, are given the opportunity to develop and increase that Light unto "Perfection"—we fully realise that the mind of man is the cause of bondage and *release*.

Bahram, the unique Persian literary critic, says :—

"Every moment of our lives is a Divine event. If we do not make it so, that is not the Creator's fault. He has given us the means to Perfection. Wilfully we wound ourselves, knowingly we cover our eyes. Think of this enchanting world we live in; think of the Divine Power vested in us to make it fine.

"Think of God's Creation of life—that superb example and never-ending miracle, set before our very eyes day by day, hour by hour, minute by minute, which we have but to apprehend in order to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth."

• Chesterfield, statesman and author, said : "If we could achieve the attainment of doing all to the glory of God, we would not willingly offer to Him that which costs us naught, but would rather be willing up to our power, yea, beyond our power, to make all we do perfect."

Next, let us visualise from our present shadowed standpoint—glance down an imaginary pathway, at the termination of which we observe a great Illumination—" 'tis where Imperfection ends and Perfection rules."

We begin to traverse this pathway but to our chagrin and surprise through past narrowness of thought and self-centredness ; we find many difficulties and obstacles of a gross kind beset and impede our progress—it then seems consistent to say : "Perfection is impossible, neither can there be finality—for our mind is clouded and of an undeveloped spiritual condition."

• Yet we can seek the path if we will, and press forward onward and upward ; but before we may reasonably expect to do so

we must put ourselves to the ordeal of a crucible test—in a searching manner question our thoughts, works, ways, habits and customs that we countenance and support and their effect individually and collectively upon ourselves and our kind.

“Every soul once he comes to the fulness of life’s laws, begins the examination of self, and finds there is much to do and much to undo before he can come to the perfection he would fain desire”—for he who wins as a man may often lose as a spirit.

Our first step will divulge to us that the path is one that necessitates the practice of patience; we are mobile, plastic and impressionable beings and find ’tis the path of self-mastery, of abnegation—that it is better to love than be loved, to forgive where others would condemn, to be gentle where others would be indignant, to have the same composure in censure as in praise, to adopt steadfastness and humility, to foster the spirit of goodwill and fellowship to man, animal and birdkind—reverence the one-ness, dignity and sacredness of life—and in its loving and practical application, refuse to be a co-party to or partake of the slain bodies of the hairy and feathered kind.

“God giveth life so life is good
As all is good that He has given.
Earth is the vestibule of Heaven.
And so He feeds with Angels’ food (uncarnivorous)
Those in His likeness He has made
That death may find them unafraid.”

Paradise calls for paradise souls, therefore paradise men and women—idealistic in the material. Keep the Ideal ever shining before you, identify yourself with that Ideal, make it real and then you will sorrow at thoughts, words and deeds that stain its purity.

Be ever willing to give the breath of experience—always remembering that the quintessence of self-sacrifice is mulcted in—
“How much can I give—Not receive?” fully realising that this

material life is in most part artificial—and unfailingly transient—that these Pearls of the Spirit are without price, never pass away, are factors which memory, the repository of impressions, perceptions and cognition retain for ever—triumphing over so-called death.”

Having accepted the promptings of the Soul and practically applied them he steps further forward in happy confidence, for intuition tells him that he can be the Master of his Destiny and the Captain of his Soul and, by example rather than critic help, show the ‘path’ to others.

He visualises—

“ Nobler modes of Life,
With sweeter manners,
Purer laws,”

and cries aloud, “ Lord, how long ! how long ! ” Then he hears “ Perfection ” reply from the “ Goal of Light.”

Here *can* be reached—for Man is an emanation, an integral part of Him—the perfect Creator, Who is waiting, and has been throughout the ages—century following century, decade after decade, year succeeding year, for man to co-operate and work in unionism with Him to bring into being His Kingdom on Earth. “Perfection” is mankind’s destiny—individually. Disassociate yourself with Imperfections, voice and labour for their cessation, adopt the Spiritual pearls, through which you will receive a vision clear unto transparency and the true purpose of life shall be revealed and manifested in you.

You will never be lonely, for God will have claimed you for Himself. Again, take heed of the Christ’s message :—

Be ye Perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect.”

HENRY J. BAYLIS

BALLOON MAN

He whistles the children along the street,
The waifs of the city to come and buy
His airy baubles that bob and greet
With gaudy colors the ravished eye ;

A piper who holds in his grimy hand
Dreams that sway from a tiny string,
Bubbles of magic from Samarkand,
Purple delights to joy a king,

Dreams for sale in the dusty town,
Purple of Tyre and silver of Ind,
Dreams that forever bob up and down
As feathery light as the sunset wind.

O dreams, O scurry of little feet,
O whistling rover drifting by,
O blown dust sifting the squalid street,
O baubles bobbing against the sky,

There is nothing so rare the whole world over
As a sickle moon, and a night in Spring,
And youth in the heart, a whistling rover,
And dreams that sway from a silken string.

WADE OLIVER

HINDU PROSTITUTION IN BENGAL

Debadasis or immoral temple women are unknown in Bengal proper. Puri and Gauhati are the nearest places where they are to be found. Generally Hindu prostitutes form a caste by birth or adoption. It is to be remembered that the caste of Vaisnavas in Bengal proper and of Bairagis in Chattisgarh can be adopted by Hindus irrespective of the castes they are born in, unless very low. In Calcutta, a Brahman was known to have adopted the Methar caste. Hindu women of this class, whether by birth or adoption, accept their social or extra-social position as the fruit or outcome of sins committed in a previous incarnation to be expiated by calmly bearing their social degradation. The touch of a woman of this class defiles food and water, however high her caste by birth. By contact with her the floor of a dwelling house needs purification by washing with cow-dung dissolved in water—such is her position in general Hindu society. This degradation is evidently intended to be a protection of domestic purity by showing the social misery attendant on it. Their post-mortem welfare depends on pupilage of a particular class of Brahman, on acts of charity, visiting places of pilgrimage, specially Brindaban and Navadwip, bathing in the Ganges, building temples and other similar acts, esteemed as piety. It is to be added that, under the Hindu Law until recently current, a special rule of inheritance was applied to the prostitute class giving preference to daughters over sons as heirs and excluding relations, not belonging to that class.¹

¹ Sir Gurudas Banerjee's Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan, 3rd Edition, pp. 463-467. (1913), pp. 407, *et seq.*, and also see 5th Edition (1923), pp. 458 *et seq.*

Orthodox Hindu society makes it the exclusive privilege of this class of women to sing and dance before Thakurs or sacred images on festive occasions and singing hymns at ceremonies ending periods of mourning (*srādh*). In the ceremony of first home-coming into a newly built dwelling house, the presence of at least one prostitute is necessary. The sight of a prostitute by one setting out on a journey is deemed propitious (*Siva Jātrā*). The use of a pinch of earth from the entrance to a brothel in sanctifying the image of goddess Durga is well known. Many distinguished women of this class are known to have retired to Navadwip and devoted their lives to acts of piety such as are open to them under prevalent usages.

Hindu women of this class specially in Calcutta, as moral justification for the life they lead, go through the ceremony of Mock Marriage. It will be useful to subjoin a few extracts from a paper dealing with "Mock Marriage;."

"In one form of such marriage the bridegroom is a degraded or pretended Brahman who goes through the form of marriage observed among the higher castes, for the usual fee of Rs. 5 and the nether garment, called *dhuti*, and the upper one called *chadar*. He never sees his bride after the ceremony is concluded and departs with silent, if not express, consent to his bride's subsequent career of sin and shame in the world's eye."

"A girl is initiated into the profession by marriage with a god. In the case of idol already established for public worship the ceremony is quite simple. It consists in the officiating priest's placing vermilion powder on the parting of the girl's hair just above the forehead from a receptacle previously placed on the idol's foot. A fee is paid to the priest for the service. If the idol be a private one the regular ceremony is performed, the priest uttering on the idol's behalf the *mantras* or formulas prescribed by the Shastric ritual on the part of the bridegroom. In this latter form, upon accidental destruction

of the idol, the surviving wife has to abandon all marks of widowhood ; the vermilion is rubbed out and the left wrist bared of the iron wristlet. In all other respects her life continues its even course. In the other form where the idol is public the risk of widowhood is removed."

"The ceremonies described are evidently intended to preserve the religious purity of the whole sphere of prostitution. The consent of the human or the silence of the inanimate husband justifies the action of the prostitute and her patrons. The husband-god dwells in every male heart as its ruler. Marriage with him is marriage with every man. Thus prostitution is taken as a bringer of sanctification and not sin into the world. Earth scooped out of a brothel has its use in some forms of religion, the prostitute being apparently regarded as a social protective against male propensity for evil."¹

The only Western institution that has any resemblance to the Hindu prostitute caste is the Turf Club. Race-gambling like all other forms of gambling is not recognised by Law, but Turf Club helps the gambler who wins to realise his claim against the loser. The defaulter is excluded from further gambling. Judges who cannot recognise race gambling in their Courts administer Turf Clubs as individuals. Christian charities close their hands against Turf Club gifts which civic charities receive with gratitude.

Is it difficult to understand that in existing circumstances removal by Law of a child from her natural or adoptive mother of the class mentioned should be resented by her as unjust interference with her religion and resisted by expensive litigation ? Costs of litigation are often met out of refreshment allowance or *Jalpāni* received by such mothers from men desirous of securing for immoral purposes immature girls when they attain maturity. Smallness of child-birth among women of this class may have a scientific explanation. But there is

* ¹ From the Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. XXII, 1926, No. 6, pp. 322-23.

no doubt that it is an incentive for adoption of infant girls, either foundlings or willingly parted with by their mothers and relatives and even small girls friendless or unprotected. Women, not *declassé*, to hide their shame in social obscurity give birth to children in some hospital or in holy places like Navadwip, Benares or Brindaban. Male children are disposed of by small payments to Methars or Murdagarashes (hireling assistants at cremation ceremonies). And sometimes they find protection in Christian foundling institutions. But a girl child is sought after most eagerly and earnestly by women of the town of a particular class. There is another source of recruitment in Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapore, comparatively poorer Districts of Bengal. A considerable portion of the Hindu inhabitants of these Districts have usually to purchase brides. The price is said to be Rs. 100 for every year of the prospective bride's life. Most of the men desirous of marriage are labourers, hand-workers or of a slightly superior class. It takes them long years to lay by the necessary price for their brides who are therefore very often left child-widows. Women of sufficient means belonging to the class referred to take them in adoption even on payment of small sums to their relatives or protectors. These are some of the ways in which the numerical strength of this class is maintained.

Does not the conclusion seem justified that prostitution is strongly condemned by Hindu Society but is there any sufficient condemnation of that class by Hindu Religion? One instance may be cited from the Ramayan and the Mahabharat. During a period (Adi Kanda, Adhyay 9 *et seq.*, Banaparva, Adhyay 110, etc.) of severe famine the only remedy placed before the king by Brahman sages was the performance of the sacred rite by Rishya Sringa, a pure youth leading a strictly ascetic life in the forest hermitage of his father, the sage Ribhandaka. A cluster of women of this class headed by one of mature years under Royal commission attracted

Rishya Sringa away from his solitary asceticism to marry a princess and relieve the kingdom of dire famine by performance of a mystic sacrifice which none but he could perform. "Kāma Sūtram" is the earliest, completest and most authoritative treatise in Sanskrit on sexology, having been written in the Maurya period. The author Vātsyāyana declares that the work was undertaken at the instance of the highest order of metropolitan women of the class mentioned (Nāgarikānām gaṇikānām preranāt).

The only class of Bengali Brahmins who accept prostitutes as disciples are the Goswamis of Khardah, the descendants of the honoured Nityananda Prabhu, the intimate associate of Sri Chaitanya Maha Prabhu. In most part of East Bengal the term "Vaisnavi" or women of the Vaisnava sect is applied to prostitutes in polite parlance.

In the Sakta system of Hinduism, prostitution is not recognised as a speciality. It recognises in addition to the form of marriage generally current and called Brahma, marriages which may be temporary with widows irrespective of caste. Instances are known of Sakta Theologians of high position marrying Musalman wives in the Saiva form prescribed in the Tantras (Maha Nirvan Tantram). Its English translation is by the well known scholar under the pseudonym Arthur Avalon.

In conclusion attention may be recalled to the question:—Is there any Hindu religious condemnation of prostitution or is the condemnation though extremely severe, purely social?

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THE BUGLE CALLS

The curtain falls and the lights burn low,
 The Past is finished, we are done with that show
 We will find to-morrow waiting outside the door
 At the first street-turning, where fresh winds blow.

We are well equipped and we are rested now,
 Those who have no mounts will like tramping well
 The Earth is yet fair tho' some are burdened sore
 Come nights by the road there will be tales to tell.

Life is never worn threadbare ; I tell you, No.
 You greybeards there, you have seen nothing yet,
 And Baldpate you will sound the marching note.
 We travel far who follow this new sunset.

What Ho, there is grace for him who craves rest ;
 Rest you, brother, and if winter should come
 Build you a shack and be sung by the fire.
 He also serves who rears dream castles at home.

But most of us go 'tis the way we are made
 We will bridge the rivers and tunnel the hills
 We will melt the ore and string cobwebs of steel
 For the urge within us this our great need fills.

Mayhap we shall punish a traitor or a coward lash
 For the weak hath a law and high right a need
 To quibble with wrong is not the way of free men
 Nor is pillage condoned by the thin-skinned breed.

No man shall be afraid who journeys with us
 Who helps break the road to to-morrow's morn
 Thus we plotted the game in aeons long gone
 What Ho ; for to-morrow, our bugles call unto days
 unborn.

DAVID W. CADE

JOHN GAY

The time is late in the year 1732—December 4th to be precise ; the place, that fashionable quarter of London known as Burlington Gardens. There was always a mild kind of excitement there for the average Londoner, for any day one could see handsome equipages roll up to the door of a stately house, Lord and Lady Such-a-One alight and, the cynosure of all curious eyes, pay their call upon their private friends, a minister of state, or some court favourite. Ladies of fashion were no uncommon sight in that part ; every afternoon they could be seen setting off for the park or the public walks, every evening coming home in their chairs from Drury Lane or the Haymarket. The mere tradesman from Cheapside looked on approvingly and enjoyed this little piece of romance. After all, it was but a small episode, an inconsiderable distraction in a somewhat prosaic life ; but the ladies and gentlemen took it more philosophically. To them there was nothing particularly interesting in it ; it was just part of the daily round, and at the bottom of their hearts (though they would never have dared to admit it) they would have given anything to live for one week the unconventional, care-free life of the "cit" ; to be rid, just for a while, of the tyrannical necessity of sitting out an Italian opera and gushing forth hypocritical praise of a performance of which they had actually never understood a single word. And their friends knew they had not, and they knew their friends had not ; but it would never have done for either party to admit it.

Yes, there was always excitement of a kind in Burlington Gardens, but on this occasion there was unusual excitement. An abnormal number of coaches drove up—first one, then another, sometimes two together—and they all stopped at one door. The house of the Duke and Duchess of Queensbury

was in mourning. All the coaches had come on the same errand ; all the occupants looked glum, and the servant that opened the door to admit them spoke in a low voice. The great life of London went on as usual, the mighty heart beat as it had always beaten for years past ; but at Dublin Swift was in a fit of the spleen, feeling apprehensive that some disaster was impending ; at Twickenham Pope was overcome with grief for the loss of a valued friend, while behind the drawn curtains in Burlington Gardens lay the mortal remains of John Gay, author of *The Beggar's Opera*.

Gay was dead ! The news spread around the town like lightning. It was told at White's, where the wits had gathered to take their coffee and discuss the latest scandal ; it was received at Court, where Walpole gave a sigh of relief ; it travelled amongst the booksellers of St. Paul's Churchyard and Paternoster Row, and it was whispered in salons and drawing rooms. Gay was dead ! One could hardly believe it, for he (or rather his name) had become so much a part of the life of the day that it seemed incredible that he could ever die. Literary London without Gay ! It was unimaginable. He had been a strange, droll creature. Born near Barnstaple in 1685, only three years before the Revolution, he had come from an old but decayed Devonshire family. Both his parents died at an early age, and so, when still but a child, he left Barnstaple Grammar School, where he had received the rudiments of his education, and came to London. Here his first employment was that of apprentice to a silk mercer—not by any means a bad trade, so far as trades went in those days. Many a young lad had started worse, and many a man destined later to become famous in literature and upon the stage had entered upon the life of the great world in a similar capacity—to wit, George Lillo and Edward Moore. But Gay was dissatisfied. He could not settle to business ; he became depressed in spirits, and “not being able to bear the close confinement of a shop,” as one of

his friends declares, he returned to his native town, and for a while lived with an uncle, the Reverend John Hanmer, a Nonconformist divine. Even this did not suit his disposition. Idleness, to be sure, did not come amiss; but Barnstaple was unspeakably dull after London; so it was not many months before Gay decided that his spirits were "re-instated," and returned to the capital. There was, however, one difficulty before him; he had renounced business once for all. What was he to do for a living? Like many another hard-pressed youth, in his attempts to gain some kind of subsistence, he turned to literature. Not that he had much reason to hope for success in that quarter; but he was always an optimist. He was, too, a devoted disciple of Bacchus, and it was not surprising, therefore, that his first attempt at literary composition was a poem entitled *Wine* (1708) in which he attempted to show that no literary genius was ever nourished on water. Of course, the piece was half humorous, half extravagant; but even though to-day we cannot share the author's bacchanalian sentiments, we can discern behind the piece a jolly, companionable, if slightly irresponsible personality. It is not difficult to understand why Gay so appealed to his age. He had a certain irrepressible *gaieté de coeur*, a nonchalance which charmed and delighted all who knew him. It was not a profound age in many ways; nor was Gay profound. He refused to take life seriously.

Life is a jest, and all things show it;

I thought so once, and now I know it.

he once wrote; and from his first entry into the world to the day of his death, he lived up to that motto. Troubles he had in abundance, but he never let them worry him. So long as there were wine, women, and song, what mattered?

Other poems followed. *Rural Sports* appeared in 1713, *The Shepherds' Week*, a mock pastoral, in 1714, *Trivia* in 1716, and two volumes of *Poems on Several Occasions*, bearing the

invariably with no qualifications whatever for the post they held, were entrusted with affairs of state, directed the governance of the realm, or went to represent their country abroad. Addison was a Secretary of State, Fielding a Licensor of Plays and Prior British Ambassador at the Hague. Gay never held any high or lucrative office, but he did occupy several minor posts at different periods of his life. In 1712 he was made a Domestic Steward to the Duchess of Monmouth, while in 1714 he accompanied the Duke of Monmouth to Hanover as Secretary to the British Embassy, returning, however a few months later on the death of the queen. In 1723, after the South Sea failure had left him penniless, he accepted with gratitude the post of Commissioner of State Lotteries at a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds a year (he at least knew something about lotteries and their chances); but when, later in life, he was offered the position of usher to the Princess Louise—a sinecure which would have given him enough to live on and have left him free to indulge himself as he wished—he indignantly rejected it. “I have endeavoured,” he wrote to Swift, “in the best manner I could, to make my excuses by a letter to Her Majesty. So now all my expectations are vanished and I have no prospect but in depending wholly upon myself and my own conduct. As I am used to disappointments, I can bear them, but as I can have no more hopes, I can no more be disappointed, so that I am in a blessed condition.” Swift, who was genuinely indignant and championed his cause in a number of satirical verses, condoled with him and persuaded him that he had an enemy at court, else he would never have been offered such an indignity; under which circumstances, he concluded, he was better outside the court circle than in it. Pope, too, tried to reconcile him to his fate by pointing out the blessings of independence; but he needed no consolation from friends. He may have felt at the time that hope was at an end, but his temperament was such that he could not grieve over his loss for long.

The truth probably was that he expected something bigger ; to be set as guardian—even if only nominal guardian—to a small child, was an insult which his pride and dignity could never brook. If he could not get what he wanted, he would have nothing at all. Now this was just characteristic of Gay ; it was typical of his conduct all his life, from the time when he first entered upon his apprenticeship as a silk-mercier, to the day of his death. He always had a complaint ; he always felt a grudge against his friends and patrons ; he was always allowing chances to slip because they were not just what he wanted, or because they were not good enough for him ; and the result was that he died a dependent of the Duke and Duchess of Queensbury, when he might have been living a care-free, independent life. Yes, he had made many thousands of pounds in his lifetime, and had run through them all as soon as they were made. Yet people loved him, and when he died, he was buried in Westminster Abbey “like a peer of the realm,” as his friend Arbuthnot declared.

To the present-day student of literature Gay is known principally as a dramatist and an opera-writer. This fact is due in some measure, no doubt, to the recent revivals of his great *chef d'oeuvre* at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, by Sir Vigel Playfair, and the crowds which flocked to see it then, and the applause which it invariably elicited, are ample proof that its charm has decayed no whit since the eighteenth century. But in his own day Gay was equally well-known as a poet. Indeed, in 1730 he considered he had a better title to the laureateship than Colley Cibber ; and so he had, for before *The Beggar's Opera* had made Gay rich and Rich gay, ladies and gentlemen were reading and admiring his verses. *Rural Sports* is a delightful poem of English country life, which nothing of its age can excel. In spite of the fact that, with the exception of the first few years of his life, he was town-bred, Gay had an intimate knowledge of the country ; and he loved it, too. He may not be a great nature-poet like

Wordsworth, nor even like Lady Winchelsea ; he may not be able to boast any nature-philosophy, but he had a certain knack of creating in a few telling lines the true country atmosphere, and this it is which gives his rural poetry its charm. It was a simple, unambitious, child-like love of the country scene that inspired it, and there is a tender *nâiveté* about it all ; for Gay was himself *nâïve*. True, the hurry and bustle, the high life and finery of the town appealed to him strongly, while even the more lowly aspects of it did not pass him by unheeded, but he could find joy in the countryside as well ; perhaps not in nature in the more restricted poetic sense of that term, but in the human scene amidst nature. *Rural Sports* is a most interesting record of country occupations and country life. The language is not entirely free from the typical Augustan conventions ; what language then was ? But it is as fresh and vivacious now as when it was first written, revealing a poet of wide sympathies, clear perceptions, and more than the average faculty of expression. Take for instance this little picture of mowing :

When the fresh Spring in all her state is crown'd,
 And high, luxuriant grass o'erspreads the ground,
 The lab'rer with the bending scythe is seen,
 Shaving the surface of the waving green,
 Of all her native pride disrobes the land,
 And meads lays waste before his sweeping hand ;
 While with the mounting sun the meadow glows,
 The fading herbage round he loosely throws ;
 But if some sign portend a lasting show'r,
 Th' experienced swain foresees the coming hour,
 His sunburnt hands the scatt'ring fork forsake,
 And ruddy damsels ply the saving rake ;
 In rising hills the fragrant harvest grows,
 And spreads along the fields in equal rows.

Now no-one, I suppose, would call this great poetry ; but he would be a severe critic indeed who could deny that there

is the genesis of great poetry in it. It equals anything to be found in Duck's *Thresher's Labour* or Bloomfield's *Farmer's Boy*, the one more than twenty and the other over eighty years later; and it certainly could not have been written by one who knew his countryside only from books. There is a ring of life and of reality about it, which links it with the work of such poets as Anne Finch, John Dyer, William Shenstone and Oliver Goldsmith.

Gay was closely interested in life and humanity; that is why so much of his poetry centres around people rather than things, around sights rather than feelings; but there is poetry of another kind in those few lines towards the end of *Rural Sports* in which he describes a sunset at sea:

Far in the deep the sun his glory hides,
A streak of gold the sea and sky divides;
The purple clouds their amber linings show,
And edg'd with flame rolls every wave below:
Here pensive I behold the fading light,
And o'er the distant billow lose my sight.

This is almost great poetry: here the soul of a true artist stands enwrapped before the divine beauty of the universe.

The Shepherd's Week, published by R. Burleigh in 1714, is again, as its title suggests, a poem dealing with the country, but this time written in a strain of parody and mockery. During the Augustan age the pastoral was a favourite form with poets; but it was a debased, debilitated kind of pastoral which they practised, bearing about as much resemblance to its predecessor of the Elizabethan age as did the tragedies of Rowe and Phillips to those of Shakespeare and Marlowe. Practically every poet attempted one or two; Pope wrote four, and none of them entirely lacking in merit when compared with the average work of the kind. But by far the most prolific of these pastoral poets was Ambrose Phillips, famous (or rather notorious) for his baby-verses, which earned

him the name of Numby-Pamby from Henry Carey. Now Phillips' pastorals were the talk of the whole town. They were mawkish, puerile, artificial, both in conception and execution, and portrayed a rather courtly countryside, populated by somewhat sophisticated nymphs and swains (for the pastoral poet never dared to talk of men and women), who did nothing all their lives but love, betray and forsake each other. Of course, they went under the guise of shepherds and shepherdesses, and owned the classic names of Strephon and Chloe, but minding sheep occupied but an infinitesimal part of their lives. Most of them seem to have neglected their charges for the more attractive pastimes of courtship and dalliance. They were strangely intelligent and cultured rustics, too, who could display their polished wit as ingeniously as any court lady or fine gentleman. As it happened, Pope was Phillips' sworn enemy. He was always looking for a chance to mortify him, and he found it in his pastorals. When he held them up to ridicule, Phillips hung up a rod at Button's Coffee House, and threatened to treat the little wasp of Twickenham to a flogging the next time he appeared there; but believing, with a Falstaff, that discretion was the better part of valour, Pope saw that there never was another time. The attack, however, was not relinquished; instead, he persuaded Gay to join in, and the result was *The Shepherd's Week*, written as a burlesque on Phillips' pastorals in particular, and on the pseudo-Shakespearean imitations in general.

"It is my purpose, gentle reader," the author tells us in his proem, or preface, "to set before thee, as it were a picture, or rather lively landscape of thy own country, just as thou mightest see it, didst thou take a walk into the fields at the proper season.....Thou wilt not find any shepherdesses idly piping on oaten reeds, but milking the kine, tying up the sheaves, or if the hogs are astray driving them to their styers. My shepherd gathereth none other noseays but what

are the growth of our own fields, he sleepeth not under myrtle shades, but under a hedge, nor doth he vigilantly defend his flocks from wolves, because there are none.....For as much as I have mentioned Maister Spencer, soothly I must acknowledge him a bard of sweetest memorial. Yet hath his shepherd's boy at some time, raised his rustick reed to rhimes more rumbling than rural. Diverse grave points hath he also handled of churchly matter and doubts in religion daily arising, to great clerks only appertaining. What liketh me best are his names, indeed right simple and meet for the country, such as Lobbin, Cuddy, Hobbinol, Diggon and others, some of which I have made bold to borrow. Moreover, as he called his eclogues the *Shepherd's Calendar*, and divided the same into twelve months, I have chosen (peradventure not over rashly) to name mine by the days of the week, omitting Sunday or the Sabbath, ours being supposed to be Christian shepherds, are to be then at church worship. Yet further of many of Maister Spencer's eclogues it may be observed; though months they be called, of the said months therein nothing is specified; wherein I have also esteemed him worthy of imitation."

Gay, then, was attempting to bring the pastoral down to the level of actual life; and, be it remembered, his object in doing this was to ridicule it; but strangely enough, like Shenstone, who some years later tried a similar experiment with the same result, the intended burlesque became a really delightful and naturalistic picture of country life, with all its comedy and tragedy, its laughter and its tears. When Gay touched anything like this he simply could not help making it delightful. He was never a really successful satirist or parodist, for the simple reason that on the one hand he could never sustain his indignation long enough to rail effectively, and on the other he had too positive a personality, which he infused into all his works. It is an ironic fact that in everything Gay wrote with a satiric aim, the satire

has been lost in the more permanent (and more attractive) qualities which he gave it; and so it was with *The Shepherd's Week*. We see the village occupations and sports, with the love-making and the quarrels; we hear the village songs, and listen to the gossip; we are introduced to the reapers, the milk-maids, and the haymakers; and all this under that charming aura which only Gay knew how to cast about the life of a rural community. Marion, bemoaning the desertion of her Collin, seeks help of the gipsies, but the result is not quite what she had looked for.

Last Friday's eve, when as the sun was set,
I, near yon stile, three shallow gipsies met.
Upon my hand they cast a pouring look,
Bid me beware, and thrice their heads they shook;
They said that many crosses I must prove,
Some in my worldly gain, but most in love.
Next morn I missed three hens and our old cock,
And off the hedge two pinners and a smock,
I bore these losses with a Christian mind,
And no mishaps could feel while thou wert kind.
But since, alas! I grew my Collin's scorn,
I've known no pleasure night, or noon, or morn,
Help me, ye gipsies, bring him home again,
And to a constant lass give back her swain.

Then there is a delightful picture of a drunken labourer, singing his tipsy songs on a variety of subjects, ranging from love-stories to pious exhortations. All the maidens throng around him as he proclaims the joys of country life and of hunting; then he changes his note to something more rollicking:

Now he goes on and sings of fairs and shows,
For still new fairs before his eyes arose.
How pedlers' stalls with glitt'ring toys are laid,
The various fairings of the country maid.
Long, silken laces hang upon the twine,
And rows of pins and amber bracelets shine;

How the tight lass knives, combs, and scissors spys,
 And looks on thimbles with desiring eyes.
 Of lot³'ries next with tuneful note he told,
 Where silver spoons are won; and rings of gold.
 The lads and lasses trudge the street along,
 And all the fair is crowded in his song,
 The mountebank now treads the stage and sells
 His pills, his balsams, and his ague spells ;
 Now o'er and o'er the nimble tumbler springs,
 And on the rope the vent'rous maiden swings.....
 For buxom Joan he sung the doubtful strife,
 How the shy tailor made the maid a wife.
 Then he was seiz'd with a religious qualm,
 And on a sudden sung the hundredth psalm.

But after all, whatever we may say of his rural poetry, Gay was a town-bred person, and he showed his zest for town life in his poem *Trivia, or The Art of Walking the Streets of London* (1716), for the copyright of which Lintot paid him forty-three pounds. No doubt, the piece owes something to Swift's *City Shower* ; it may even have been suggested by it, but that does not detract in any way from its merits as a literary performance. Not that there is anything remarkable about the style. It is written in the usual heroic couplet form, and while it lacks the energy of Dryden, it is wanting also in the correctness of Pope. But Gay's aim was to give verity, and he refused to sacrifice truth to any tricks of writing, however much the conventional technique may have dictated it. *Trivia* throbs with life. With its author we walk the streets of the capital, the poor quarters as well as St. James' and the Mall, and as we proceed he points out to us all the sights of eighteenth century London ; not the remarkable and the spectacular, but the little everyday occurrences that many a poet would never have noticed. We are warned to beware of enquiring the way of errand boys, for nothing delights those urchins more than to lead one astray as a practical joke ; then we must keep clear of the powdered beau, or our clothes will

be soiled with the dust from his wig. A shower of rain comes on, and pedestrians take shelter in shops. When it abates, and the streets are alive once again, along comes a hackney coach, and *splash*!—a shower of muddy water has gone over madam's dress. We pass along bye-streets, "where brewers down steep cellars stretch the rope"; a butcher's boy slides up with a basket on his head; accidentally he brushes against a finely dressed pedestrian, a hand comes from the basket, and *whisk*!—my gentleman's wig disappears, while the butcher's imp goes on his way whistling. So we spend a day in town with Gay, finishing up at night with all the hurry, bustle, and excitement of a fire. I doubt whether anything quite like *Trivia* is to be found in the whole range of Augustan literature. In one sense it is typical of its time, for its primary interest is in humanity—and humanity of the town at that; but it is full of detailed observation, and the candidness, the simplicity, and the charming intimacy of the style gives it an individuality all its own. It is perfectly natural, and for a poem of the neo-classic age, this in itself was something unusual.

"The best poems of Mr. Gay," declares the author of the *Biographia Dramatica*, "are his fables;" and though we may not be able to share this opinion, most of Gay's contemporaries would certainly have endorsed it. Published in two volumes in 1727, they immediately became popular—so popular, in fact, that they had only two rivals, De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, the last of which had been published in the previous year. Before long they had been translated into most foreign languages, even Urdu and Bengali. To-day it is difficult for us to see the exact reason for the *furore* which they created; true, they are pretty, neat, well-finished pieces of verse, but they do not, as a whole, approach to the level of *Trivia* or *The Shepherd's Week*. We have to remember, however, that the fable was a favourite poetic form in the eighteenth century, probably because writers were so fond of

moralising upon life, and the fable, therefore, proved a most convenient instrument for their purpose. Lady Winchelsea wrote fables, Prior wrote a few, and so did Edward Moore towards the middle of the century. Gay, then, was merely following a tradition which had become firmly established before his day ; but with his joviality and his ready wit he was enabled to do well what others did only moderately. His fables are always neat and crisp ; they are direct and simple, too, but they never fail to hit the point. *The Poet and the Rose*, *The Man and the Flea*, *The Farmer's Wife and the Raven*, *The Gardener and the Hog*, all have an ingenious moral application ; but the best known of all is *The Hare with Many Friends*, in which the author vents his ire upon his literary companions for what he considered their unmerited neglect of them. It tells how

A hare, who, in a civil way,
Complied with everything, like Gay,
Was known by all the bestial train
Who haunt the woods, or graze the plain.
Her care was never to offend,
And every creature was her friend.

One day, pursued by the hounds, she besought each of her friends in turn to help her to escape, but all refused ; so she was left to the tender mercies of her pursuers. At one time Gay's fables were known to every school child, for they were used as text-books of morality, and as reading primers alike ; and not a few grown-ups, even in this, the twentieth century, can read them with enjoyment.

But to-day, as I have remarked before, Gay is remembered chiefly as a dramatist. His earliest experiment for the stage was a burlesque on the style of Shakespeare on the one hand, and of Dryden on the other, entitled *The Mohocks*. The satire was topical (for the Mohocks were a notorious

streetgang of the time, who molested foot-passengers in dark alleyways at night) and because of this, it was bound to have a temporary appeal, if nothing else. It is clever, but little more can be said for it. It was a nine-days wonder, and then it died, quite deservedly. Some advance is shown in *The What-D'Ye-Call-It*, A Tragi-Comical-Pastoral-Farce, in which are mingled burlesque, sentiment, and satire. As a successor to *The Rehearsal*, and a predecessor of *Tom Thumb*, *Chrononhotonthologos* and *The Dragon of Wantley* it is interesting enough; but it also displays its author's ingenuity in picking out just the most assailable points of the contemporary drama and welding them together in so whimsical a manner. The sentimental heroine is a certain Kitty, who thus addresses her lover Filbert:

I can sow plain-work, I can darn and stitch;
 I can bear sultry days frosty weather; -
 Yes, yes, my Thomas, we will go together;
 Beyond the seas together we will go,
 In camps together, as at harvest glow.
 This arm shall be a bolster for thy head,
 I'll fetch clean straw to make my soldier's bed;
 There, while thou sleep'st, my apron o'er thee hold,
 Or with it patch thy tent against thy cold.
 Pigs in hard rains I've watched, and shall I do
 That for the pigs, I would not bear for you?

Näive, slightly grotesque, perhaps; and yet there is something of genuine feeling in it. Then there is a ghost scene (again intended as a burlesque), full of forceful meaning, which shows that Gay really did possess the true humourist's feeling for the pathetic. Just as three justices, sitting over their tankard, are learnedly discussing some nice legal point, they are confronted by a procession of spectres who all point their fingers accusingly at them and charge them with responsibility for their deaths.

1 Ghost.

I'm Jeffery Cackle.—You my death shall rue;
For I was press'd by you, by you, by you.

2 Ghost.

I'm Smut the farrier.—You my death shall rue;
For I was press'd by you, by you, by you.

3 Ghost.

I'm Bess that hang'd myself for Smut so true,
So owe my death to you, to you, to you, to you.

4 Ghost.

I was begot before my mother married,
Who whipt by you, of me poor child miscarried.

5 Ghost.

Its mother I, whom you whipped black and blue;
Both owe our deaths to you, to you, to you,

Then all the ghosts shake their heads, dance around the justices in a ring, sing a dismal song, and vanish, the justices taking to their heels in fright.

But it was, of course, in *The Beggar's Opera*, a fusion of satire, farce, sentiment, and burlesque, produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre in 1728, that Gay reached the summit of his achievement. Here, moving amongst the underworld of London, he was in his element; and he writes so naturally about it all, too. It was a transcript from real life, just as *Trivia* was a transcript from the everyday life of the London streets. Macheath, Polly, Lockit, Filsh, all of them are actual, living characters, not mere stage puppets, strutting here and there, or performing their antics as their author pulls the wires; and around the whole of the underworld which the opera depicts, is cast a semblance of reality which lifts it above anything else of its time. The hint came

from Swift. In a conversation with Gay he happened to drop a chance remark that a Newgate pastoral might make a pretty spectacle, never dreaming that his companion would take him at his word. But Gay liked the idea ; he saw possibilities in it ; he sat down to work it out, and the result was *The Beggar's Opera*. His friends did not quite know what to make of it ; they prophesied that it would either fail ignominiously or find an enthusiastic reception, and most were inclined to the former view. At Drury Lane Cibber rejected it, but Rich, the manager of Lincoln's Inn Fields, was more far-seeing. In spite of the fact that Puin, his principal player, refused the rôle of Macheath, in spite, too, of the pessimism of all his colleagues, he put the play upon the boards, and soon he found his faith amply justified, for it became the rage of the town, and achieved a run of sixty-two nights during the first season—a record for those days, when fifteen to twenty nights was a good average. That initial run brought into the theatre a sum of £5,351-15-0 ; on his own estimation Gay made about £800 profit on it, and Rich about £4,000.

The Beggar's Opera is indicative of the reaction against the rather mawkish sentimentality which had appeared in many comedies during the past few years. Yet, though it is partly a burlesque upon this type of play and upon the Italian operas ; although, too, it is a parody of the heroic drama, with all its exaggerated romanticism, at the same time it is not devoid of sentimentalism itself. At bottom, be it remembered, the piece is a political satire, ridiculing the Walpole administration. Macheath is no other than the Prime Minister himself, a “ gentleman ” robber who pockets the public money without any qualms of conscience, rules the roost amongst his fellow-politicians and uses all with whom he comes into contact to serve his own ends. Macheath's well-known song,

How happy could I be with either,
Were t'other dear charmer away.

is supposed by some critics to refer to Walpole's intrigues with Moll Skerrett and the obvious difficulty in which he found himself when the affair became known to his wife ; but this is a debatable point. Whether or not Gay intended his audience to read this into the incident, there is no doubt that he did mean to satirise politics and politicians ; and the particular aspects of political life which he holds up to ridicule are its corruption, its duplicity, and its deceit. Even the most disinterested spectator could not fail to see the point in a song such as that with which Peachum opens the play :

Through all the employments of life
 Each neighbour abuses his brother ;
 Whore and rogue, they call husband and wife,
 All professions be-rogue one another :
 The priest calls the lawyer a cheat,
 And the lawyer be-knaves the divine :
 And the statesman, because he's so great,
 Thinks his trade as honest as mine.

or in the observation,

"My daughter should be like a Court lady to a minister of state, a key to the whole gang."

Or again, in this song of Lockit's in the second act :

When you censure the age,
 Be cautious and sage,
 Lest the courtiers offended should be :
 If you mention vice or bribe,
 'Tis so put to all the tribe,
 Each cries—That was levelled at me !

Now the social evils which Gay satirises here were just those which Cibber, Steele, Mrs. Centlivre, and the rest of the sentimentalists had been decrying for the past twenty years. The social and political sides of the *Beggar's Opera*, therefore, were sentimental in tendency. But we can go even

further than this. The characters themselves are conceived in the same strain. Macheath belongs to what Mr. Bateson calls¹ the school of 'secondary sentimentalism. True, he is something of a rake and a libertine lacking in over-much respect for conventional morality, but in his own way he is a fellow likable enough. He has a code of honour all his own and his good heart covers a multitude of sins. He is, in fact, the lineal descendant of Farquhar's Sergeant Kite and Sir Harry Wildair. Polly, a simple artless girl, virtuous amongst vice, loving even to a husband who is never too careful of his marital duties, is quite a typical, sentimentalised, virtuous maid.

Polly, the sequel, is a far less meritorious play. With the shifting of the scene to the Indies the whole tone has degenerated into that of melodrama; yet still something of the sentimental bias remains. Polly, faithful as ever to her banished husband, crosses the ocean to remain by his side and to comfort him in his exile. But once in the New World, she is beset with snares. Ducat, her employer, becomes enamoured of her, tries to entice her away, and makes an attempt upon her virtue, but her native sense of honour and morality brings her safe through all her difficulties. Never once does she break her trust to Macheath, and when he dies, like an honest widow she takes to herself a second husband in the person of the noble savage, Cawwawkee.

The portrait of Gay painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller gives the impression of a jovial, happy-go-lucky fellow, who always showed a bright face to the world, whatever the grief or disappointment in his heart. Thackeray called him "a little, round-faced, French abbe of a man, sleek, soft-handed and soft-hearted," and this, one feels, is how he must have struck his contemporaries. A fair, succinct character-sketch of him is given by the *Biographia Dramatica* :

¹ F. W. Bateson, *English Comic Drama, 1700-1750* (1929).

"As a man he appears to have been morally amiable. His disposition was sweet and affable, his temper generous, and his conversation agreeable and entertaining. He had, indeed, one foible too frequently incident to men of great literary abilities, and which subjected him at times to inconveniences which otherwise he need not have experienced: *viz.*, an excess of indolence, which prevented him from exerting the full force of his talents."

Yes, a constitutional indolence was Gay's great drawback. There was about him, too, something of the spoilt child. He always expected to be the centre of attention, he always wanted his own way, and if he could not have it, then so, to speak, he withdrew from the game in a temper and refused to play again until the others would give in to him. Amenable to reason he certainly was not; the only way one could get anything from him was to humour him. He loved wine and eating, he loved finery, and he loved gossip. Then he always fancied himself a special favourite of the ladies, as no doubt he was, but rather for their amusement than their affection. "Any lady with a coach and six horses would carry you to Japan," Swift once observed to him; and Jonathan knew his man. It was true enough; constant dangling after the sex, from Mrs. Howard, with whom he kept up a lengthy correspondence while she was at Tunbridge in 1723, to the latest Court favourite, occupied a good part of Gay's life; and yet it was only harmless dalliance. None of them took him seriously. Indeed, even his closest friend could never do that. "He was the general favourite of the whole assembly of wits," wrote Dr. Johnson, "but they regarded him as a playfellow rather than a partner, and treated him with more fondness than respect." Irresponsible, careless, imprudent, and indolent, he must have been a most annoying person to deal with; but luckily his friends had patience. Staunch, long-suffering friends they were, too, ever ready to help and advise him, never tiring of his

importunities, always prepared to forgive his faults as mere peccadilloes. Never was poet more ungenerous than was Gay in the fable of *The Hare with Many Friends*.

Compared with the average writer of his age, Gay had little to boast about in his career. His gifts were only moderate, and his education was not good, but in spite of this (or was it because of it?) he is less often guilty of unrelieved dullness than his fellows. Genial, easy, volatile, he had a veritable *flair* for interesting and vivid writing. He was possessed of the quick eye, which could take in at a glance all that was significant in a situation, and a busy interest in the common affairs of daily life which found romance even in the seemingly dull and prosaic. That, probably, is why all his verse is characterised by a bright precision of detail; he was made for the appreciation of little things. Take for instance his poem *The Fan*. As a complete entity it cannot rank very high; yet there are delightful parts in it, where the wit, the facility of language, and the fine imagery all unite to make a gem of literary composition.

Then there is a certain gentle humanity about Gay, patent in many of his letters and evident also in some of his verses. He may have been a humourist, but pathos was never far from his heart. As an example of this side of his nature at its best, let me refer the reader to that extract from one of his letters, quoted by Thackeray in his *English Humourists*, which tells of the death of a simple country maid and her lover in a hayfield during a thunderstorm. It was only a story when Gay heard it, but he tells it affectingly and pathetically as only a man who felt could tell it.

“There was heard so loud a crash as if the heaven had burst asunder. The labourers, all solicitous for each other’s safety, called to one another; those that were nearest to our lovers, hearing no answer, stepped to the place where they lay; they first saw a little smoke, and after, this faithful pair—John with one arm about his Sarah’s neck and the

other held over her face as if to screen her from the lightning. They were struck dead, and already grown stiff and cold in this tender posture. There was no mark or discolouring on their bodies, only that Sarah's eyebrow was a little singed, and a small spot between her breasts. They were buried the next day in one grave."

It was just this gift of feeling that made Gay the poet that he was. In his admirable *Contemplation on Night* it evidences itself as a feeling for nature; in the ballad of *Black Ey'd Susan* it is feeling for humanity, which, allied with a lyrical gift rare for the age, makes that poem one of the few really successful Augustan poems of simple life. Perhaps, too, it was this same faculty which so endeared him to his friends; for there is no doubt that the bond between them was unusually strong. Pope was always anxious at the least news of his ill-health, and for days Swift could not trust himself to read the letter announcing his death. Even those who knew him only by name, as the creator of the *Fables* and *The Beggar's Opera*, could never believe that he had gone, for his personality was one of those which seem immortal. Of all the writers of the early eighteenth century Gay appears most modern. His mind was more agile both intellectually and imaginatively than that of any of his contemporaries, and his Muse was freer. In short, he was undoubtedly an attractive man, and therefore, since he puts himself candidly into his poetry, he was, and remains an attractive poet.

FREDERICK T. WOOD

SONG

Why is the flower fair ?
To please the bulbul's loving eye
To soothe the baby in his sigh,
To call a shower from the sky,
And scent and fill the air.

Why Is The Meadow Green ?

To hail the glamour of the beam,
To serve the shepherd in his dream,
To wake the poet to heavenly theme
Beyond the height's unseen.

BAL GURDYAL SINGH WADALIA

DISARMAMENT

No international question arouses more popular interest than that of Disarmament. And rightly so, for that this is the master key, which regulates the war, is undeniable. A few months back the Disarmament Conference was held at Geneva. It made the barren tongues loud. Papers sang the deepest measure through their columns. Queen Earth rendered all homage in all her splendour. Every eye glanced at the conference in all her glory. It spread all over her a charming spell.

It is, perhaps, a mania of modern times—it is a world mania—to talk of world citizenship, world federation, world culture, disarmament and a lot of such fine things. No doubt it is a most fascinating and noble mission in life, but devoid of its net results it is a sad one. These phrases mean one thing for us and another for them. These are all emotional talks. Optimistic outlook of life, indeed, is befitting to poets and not to eminent statesmen. Diplomacy is a profligate woman. She changes colours, as many colours come and go on a piece of copper when it is heated.

What has been achieved up till now? What has been done since the armistice of 1918? Has the world become more safe for world-federation? It is idle to pretend any hopeful view about these questions. Conferences have been held without any hope—nay not even a flicker of hope. Peace-makers attend with a noble mission of Peace and make their exit with the worst mission of War.

It may be worth while to turn our attention for a moment or so to the study of the Disarmament problem. Is it possible or not? If possible, how? By what means and methods? Late-ly the conference was held at Geneva. What has it done?

The curtain of the drama went up amidst the thundering blessings of the guns at Shanghai. More than sixty nations sent their representatives. Statesmen came with sheathed swords and

went out unsheathed to see if more brasso was required to polish and clean their swords after comparing them with others. Every one came with a steel hand under a velvety glove. They did not gather there for disarmament but for armament. Strange to say, there was no proposal for the reduction of armaments. The recent Geneva Conference was unfortunately a tragedy of good intentions frustrated. It was just like the sight of a large crowd gathered round the lion's cage, or like a notable zoo, it received plenty of attention from visitors and admirers. Sorry to say, it had less chance of becoming a favourite.

Why all this talk of Disarmament? Simply to avoid war. Can we abandon war? The problem is a psychological one. There are two kinds of war. One is bloodless and the other is with bloodshed. Disarmament can stop the latter and not the former. There is a bloodless and non-violent war going on in India without any arms. What is the effect of disarmament on India? Have you not read Mahatma Gandhi's letter sent to the Viceroy? "It has reduced us politically to serfdom," he wrote. "It has sapped the foundations of our culture, and by the policy of disarmament it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking inward strength, we have been reduced by all but universal disarmament to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness." How true it is. This is all about Indian Disarmament.

Nqw, what about the world-disarmament problem? There are tremendous obstacles to it and to the world-peace. The ground is not yet prepared for it. Paper resolutions and polyglot speeches cannot achieve it. Political antagonisms breed every sort of antagonism. National prestige is the greatest force. Extension of extra-territorial protection to property and credits, monopolies, exclusive rights of trade and, above all, the racial differences between Whites, Yellows and Blacks, and the allied and specific activities of these types are the chief factors which will never allow disarmament.

How funny it is; besides the above two kinds of war there are still two more to reckon with. One is official and the other

is non-official. This classification of wars is not a new thing for the students of Indian history. We had such wars known as Anglo-French Wars in India. These wars were not sanctioned by the Home Government. Whatever kinds of war it be, whether official or non-official, bloodless or with bloodshed, the results are the same, save in bloodless war where the toll of Death is *nil*. In all other respects, the lesser griefs breed a thousand economic crises.

Wars official or non-official is another way of putting the same thing in a different light. Japan and China are not fighting. They are at peace. It is simply their soldiers that are fighting. So was the case with the Anglo-French wars in India. The English and the French were not fighting, they were at peace in Europe, but simply soldiers and generals of the respective nations fought in India. This is a diplomatic way of saying the same thing. It is a talk of lawyers, when they prove a part is legal but the whole is illegal or *vice versa*, as is usually done in contracts or documentary evidence. All such political talk is meant to disguise the real facts. They do not mean real business but are futile talk. It is a sport with words.

Suppose for a moment all the nations agree to disarm. Undoubtedly, the world peace will be established. Will it stop war! It will make war less formidable. Nations cannot agree to dispense altogether with arms. They want arms for self-defence. Then, there would be bloodless and non-violent wars. But what kind of peace will it be! It will be a peace of the burial ground. A very grave thing. Will the world like it? After a violent storm we can enjoy and appreciate the value of a calm atmosphere. It is only after getting ourselves shut in a dark cell we can know the value of fresh light. 'If winter comes, can spring be far behind.' The world cannot do without war. It is the inborn tendency of mankind to fight. The spirit is always combative. It is not non-combative. The world enjoys tragedy and comedy both. History repeats itself. Are the lessons of history to be left aside like the cruel Australian bird

which leaves its eggs to be stolen by anybody. So it is after a great war the world shall be able to appreciate the value of peace. Perhaps, some one will have to fiddle again, O Peace! where are thy charms which patriotic men have seen in thy face! My dear Goddess of Peace, indeed you must have been afraid to walk in the darkest of Europe surrounded by the ghosts of old hatreds, envy, rivalry, jealousy and power.

The next thing which naturally arises in our minds is, Is Disarmament an impossible thing. No, it is not so. There are two kinds of disarmament, artificial and natural. It is artificial when we try to reduce the armaments by agreeing in conferences as at Geneva. It is natural when armaments are reduced and destroyed in war. We may call it positive and negative checks on war. We have seen that artificial disarmament is not possible for they do not mean to agree amongst themselves. Disarmament is only possible for a nation which has authority to do so. The hand that wields the sword can achieve it very easily. This is an infallible remedy. Recently another theory of 'Self-imposed limitations' has come forward. Are the nations so righteous as to do it most willingly? It is like beholding the mote that is in the brother's eye and not to perceive the beam in one's own eye. It is all back-chât.

The present scientific civilization contains within itself the seeds of her own destruction. It will surely defeat its own creations. Disarmament to be successful needs another Great War. It is as inevitable as the rising sun.

The Western part of the globe is more combative than the Eastern. Recent events in the East connote that Asiatic nations too have sucked in the spirit of the West. India is the least warlike continent. In past as well as in modern times India has always stood for world peace. Envious of none, India is determined to be pleased with all. India is a pioneer nation in this respect. She can teach this lesson well to the world by her own example. The nearer we come the more we quarrel. It is impossible that men would like to live in a joint-family system

of world-federation. This is absolutely a foreign idea. By nature mankind as a whole is combative and warlike.

Apart from all these arguments, there is another way. It is by enlightening the young generation. Particularly, schools in Europe ought to change their traditional outlook. It is here that the future citizens are trained. How true it is to say 'Waterloo was won at Eton.' It is the lessons of the school that the foolish youth transfers to the world. To revive ancient bitterness and differences is not a happy way of achieving a world co-operation. Schools should stop sending out to the world combative men imbued with nationalistic ideas. Such patriotic men are like trustful infants who play with waxen fingers around their mother's neck, and know nothing beyond their mother's eyes. This is the first peg on which we can hang our ideas of international co-operation. It is here in schools that the sun of mankind casts his radiant rays in many dreams of high desire.

Whatever fickle tongues may say, the Disarmament Conference at Geneva is whispering from her dying lips sweet bitter curses. It is a car forever parked in the Geneva garage. She must die or she will weep. Let us drop a wet blanket over this ugly scene.

How can we take a very hopeful view towards a world-peace from such conferences! The nations will have to change their nationalistic outlook of life. Until that is done everything is impossible. Thus, then, conduct teaching in a right direction with a view to world-co-operation; without this, every other means must fail. Let us tie the whole world with a strong bond of culture; it means making life worth living.

VAMAN H. PANDIT

COMRADES

There are roads that wind and roads that fail
When the need for a road is great.
Ever are trees well blazed on a beaten trail
That leads away to where drear years wait

But wind we all to the cloaking night
Where all roads fade in a misty gloom.
Then look we must to the stars for light
Since the earth has become but a quiet tomb.

No script can we read when the light is gone,
And we fear the thing that we cannot see,
Forgetting quite that we are never alone ;
That Dawn and the Dark are of one pedigree.

The wind that sweeps and each burning star
Are brothers all in Infinite law and ken.
And twilight thrown on the evening air
With the trees and grass are comrades with men.

The dancing rain and the roaring 'blast,
The thunder poured from a throbbing sky.
The glowworm's torch with bright suns is cast
In brotherhood firm of the eagle and fly.

The linnet's treble and the frog's hoarse bass,
My humble song and an organ's chime,
Are co-owners of life, in a faultless case,
From an unknown start to the end of time.

DAVID W. CADE

Reviews

"**Ronald Ross: Discoverer and Creator**" by R. L. Mégroz, with a Preface by Osbert Sitwell (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 10s. 6d. net) is a successful attempt to adequately present the totality of a versatile genius and many-sided personality. Its authenticity is largely due to the opportunities the biographer secured of having questions answered by Sir Ronald Ross himself, specially about technical matters, and of constant assistance received from his personal private secretary, Miss Maude Lafford. It was also reserved for this biographer to reveal to the world in general aspects of Sir Ronald Ross's genius and intellectual activity as a mathematician, master of music, poet, novelist and literary dramatist little known hitherto and less appreciated. The value of the book before us is thus inestimable.

It is, in view of its comprehensive scope, divided into two parts; the first biographical and scientific (containing eleven chapters) and the second on literary work (described with greater fullness in as many as twenty-three chapters). If "the fame of Sir Ronald Ross's work in Medical Science," as the author's note reminds us, had hitherto "overshadowed his reputation as a creative artist in literature," the danger, if any, after the publication of this more-literary-than-scientific biography will perhaps be the other way about. The bias of Mr. Mégroz, as may be naturally expected, is in the direction of literary over-emphasis. Shall we be open to the charge of being unjust, if we make bold to go a step further and hint that he is better qualified too in accurately and adequately appraising Sir Ronald Ross the imaginative writer rather than the scientific expert? Mr. Sitwell in his Preface writes "a few words on the poetry of Sir Ronald Ross" in which he detects "a curious and delightful modernity" and bears testimony to the great man's "extraordinary diversity of genius"—observing appropriately that "that such a man of science should be such a poet must in itself be a cause of pride to all lovers equally of poetry and science." He owns to "the greatest shock of pleasure" with which he "discovered that he was a novelist." That is precisely our own feeling too.

Apart from the four significant chapters in the biographical portion of this volume—suggestively named "The Scavenger's Task" (Ch. IV), "The Quest" (Ch. V), "The Discovery" (Ch. VI) and the rather cynical "The Discoverer Punished" (Ch. VII), this last being decidedly "peppery,"—in which a laudable endeavour is visible of doing justice to

a thwarted investigator and a wronged man, suffering systematically from the world's neglect, but worse still, from the misrepresentation and even vilification of discreditable rivals, the entire volume indicates, by numerous stinging or sarcastic remarks scattered over it, that the biographer's temper must have been too strongly tried.

Nevertheless, we are completely helped in these 253 pages of very carefully collected and ably presented relevant materials in properly realising the true greatness of one of the greatest benefactors of humanity who happened at the same time to be a real literary, genius and are grateful to Mr. Mégroz.

The biographer impresses upon us the nature of Sir Ronald Ross's uphill work as a wonderfully successful investigator of the whole Malaria problem in all its intricate details and the ungrudging and patient industry and indomitable perseverance, inspired and guided by intuition, that ultimately resulted in one of the most glorious scientific and humanitarian achievements of the nineteenth century for which the name of the discoverer of the Malaria parasite and of the fact of the disease being spread by a type of the *Anopheles* mosquito, is to-day a household word all the world over. "Malaria is an endemic disease over about one-third of the earth's surface." According to Professor Müller's estimate "some 800,000,000 people of the world suffer from malaria." "In India alone, in an unexceptional year, some 1,300,000 people die of malaria." As calculated by Dr. A. Balfour, the economic loss due to this fell disease for the British Empire alone may be "expressed as between £52,000,000 and £62,000,000 a year." These few figures quoted from the volume before us will suffice to place before the reader's imagination the magnitude of the scourge which Sir Ronald Ross has successfully sought by consecrating his whole life and his energies to the service of mankind.

We must leave it to Mr. Mégroz to carry his reader through the interesting history of the whole process of Sir Ronald Ross's arduous and baffling researches described in some detail in his book. It may not, however, be out of place to draw their attention to the fact of this great discoverer's birth at Almora only *three* days before the breaking out of the Indian Mutiny, to his appointment in 1881 as Surgeon in the I. M. S. and being attached to the Station Hospital at Madras and *first* becoming interested in mosquitoes at Bangalore, and, finally to the year of his greatest achievement, *e.g.*, 1897.

Mr. Mégroz rightly observes (p. 72) that "character counts in research as in other work" and admirably shows (pp. 45-50) what a sympathetic and tender heart may beat behind a scientific mind.

The literary section of this biography presents before us in detail Sir Ronald Ross as a poet, satirical, gnomic and lyrical, as a critic, a dramatist, a general prose writer and a great novelist. We have here masterly summaries of plots, sketches of character, elaborate quotations in illustration of the author's characteristics and merits and critical estimates of his performances.

The usefulness of the volume is increased by its 5 appendices and a general index.

J. G. B.

"Monsieur Thiers" by John M. S. Allinson, professor of History, Yale University, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 10s. 6d. net, is a well-written biography of a talented Frenchman who has left his mark on the history of France as a great historian, political thinker, successful diplomat and wise councillor and administrator. The history of Monsieur Thiers' life and rise into power and eminence is very closely connected with the stirring events and revolutionary changes in France from the close of the Napoleonic wars to the establishment of the Third Republic and "to the last hour of his life he remained an important figure in the political life of France," whose greatest aim was to introduce into France the ideal of a parliamentary system. This valuable book is the result of Professor Allinson's assiduous researches and it traces in a pleasant and interesting manner the stages through which this representative of the bourgeoisie and child of the revolution had to successively pass from the position of an obscure student at the Lycée de Metz which made of him "an acute military historian and a patriot with an intense and perilous desire for the glory of a French Empire" (1811) and an ambitious young barrister at Aix-en-Provence (1818) to that of the President of the Republic (1871). Monsieur Louis Adolphe Thiers came, in the course of his brilliant career extending over a little more than half a century, into close contact with such eminent figures as Prince Metternich, Prince Bismarck, King Leopold of Belgium, Guizot, Tallegrand, Palmerston and Gladstone, contended for supremacy with Broglie, Molé, Barrot, Guizot and Gambetta, did carry on most difficult negotiations with Austria, Prussia, Russia and England in some of the darkest days of France and established an active and strong foreign policy in the French Government—and in all these trying circumstances his indomitable personality won the day.

Professor Allinson gives us within 288 pages of this many-sided life-history also a fascinating picture of the history of France in

close association with the main currents of European diplomacy and politics. We can clearly visualise, for instance, conditions in France in 1824 at the death of Louis XVIII, state of political parties after August, 1829, the growing power of the public press which owed "a great deal to Thiers himself, especially of the "National" in which Thiers defined in 1830 his political creed, parties in French politics with their heads and programmes after the setting up of the July Monarchy of 1830, Thiers' new ideal of a sound government and his grand oratory, Thiers as the Minister of the Interior in the critical days of 1832, the attitude towards the Orleanist Monarchy of the Counter-Revolutionary European Courts, Thiers as Minister of Public Works, the troubles created by the Legitimists, Republicans and the extreme Radicals, Industrial and Labour troubles, characteristics of the Bourgeois Monarchy of Louis Philippe, the powerful factions against the Thiers Cabinet specially in 1838-39. Reform Movement of 1840, the crucial year for Thiers, the Revolution of 1848, Thiers in his forced political retreat and seclusion in Paris and the new Thiers that emerged in 1863 after 12 years of political retirement and his growing power and influence up to 1869 and his new programme of 1864, Thiers in 1871 and the scandals invented by his enemies and sedulously circulated and his final retirement from active politics in 1873 besides new movements in literature, science, philosophy, economics, social life and the sharp contrast in changed attitude of the French people as a whole between the *second* half of the 19th Century and the first.

This must be acknowledged as a great literary effort and achievement made by the biographer. He had to incorporate into what is mainly intended for a biography a large amount of the history of France in an age of tumultuous political activities, changes and experiments.

We may particularly draw the attention of our readers to the following features of this important and interesting volume.

Competent handling by the author of the intricacy of tangled affairs in France and acute analysis made, when necessary, of baffling problems and complex situations (*vide* specially pp. 38, 46, 52, 69-72, 76-79, 92, 96-106, 107-9, 111-12, 121-22, 123-24, 129-30, 161, 172, 216 and 228-29).

Relevant facts are carefully sifted, collected and presented in an orderly series, details seldom being allowed to blur the main outline. Lucid, vivid and, occasionally, dramatic pictures of critical situations are deftly drawn and spiced with a flash of humour.

Principal figures and representative groups, with their policies, plans and programmes, made to appear in the historical perspective in their

appropriate guise and the main current of events shown to flow clearly and uninterruptedly, all cross currents being subordinated to it but never suppressed.

Swift movement of events towards culmination or crisis skilfully seized and utilised so that the true relation between sudden revolutionary changes and the gradual development or slower process of necessary evolution may be correctly grasped by the readers whose eyes are always directed to the position actually occupied by the subject of this biography in this chequered history of France from 1816 to 1873.

In presenting the character of his hero to us the author has, with a touch of humour, given amusing or important details regarding his embarrassing father, natural brothers and sisters, relation with his mother, his friendships, relation with his patrons and political rivals, his marriage, the influence of his pompous mother-in-law, his wife and the salon and hospitality of the Place Saint Georges, and his love for the theatrical and the spectacular.

"In his wife (Elise Dosue) Thiers found all the satisfaction that he sought" and "the Salon Thiers-Dosue became a great political centre."

Thiers laid down the principle that "the King reigns and does not govern" and tried all his life to act up to it as a responsible minister. He laid the foundations for a great economic change in France and made laws to meet, as far as he wanted, the demands of industrialists and capitalists. He inaugurated the birth of a Reform Movement. As President of the Council he was a disappointment and was attached to his "creed of the Middle Class." The author of a *History of French Revolution*, *History of Consulate and Empire* and other writings is not considered by Professor Allinson to be a scholar but only "a romanticist who dreamed of being a historian." The latter performance was, however, "hailed as the master history of the First Empire." Thiers also "flirted with sciences" and formed an outline scheme of his "Plan d'un Ouvrage de Philosophie." He recognised five essential liberties—Liberty of the Individual, Liberty of the Press, Freedom of Elections, Freedom of Parliament and Ministerial Responsibility. He opposed Gambetta who made "Democracy march triumphant into the Corps Legislatif." During the extremely anxious days of the D  b  cle of 1870 Thiers became the most important Frenchman in the eyes of Europe and later on successfully tackled Bismarck and in 1872 "envisaged the establishments of much the same sort of Constitution that France received after his retirement"—his plan being the establishment of a *R  publique Conservatrice* in France.

" After his death " (which took place on September 3, 1877) " the manuscript of an address to his future constituents was found on his desk. It contains all the spirit and all the fire of patriotism that he had shown in the past, but it betrays, as well, a wise Thiers, his final evolution. It concludes with these words :—" National Sovereignty, Republic, Liberty, Scrupulous Observance of the Law, Liberty of Religion, Peace—these, my dear electors, are the opinions that I have held all my life, that belong to our Nineteenth Century, and that will make a mark in the history of France and of humanity " (p. 287).

The book is provided with an extensive Bibliography or list of readings and an Index.

J. G. B.

Unemployment in India—by Sir M. Visweswarayya, K.C.I.E., LL.D. The Bangalore Press, Bangalore City, 1932, As. 8, pp. 66.

This is an address delivered by the distinguished economist, practical politician, and successful administrator of Mysore to the University Union, Bangalore. Put in a nutshell his opinion is that Indian economic organisation is so " imperfectly planned that besides chronic under-employment " and low standard of living the primary problems of poverty and increasing unemployment have to be tackled successfully by the conjoint and co-operative efforts of the people and the Government of India.

Middle-class unemployment arising out of excessive literary education, chronic under-employment of the agricultural classes and growing unemployment as a concomitant feature of nascent unorganised industrialism and natural unemployment caused by the increasing growth of population, are the main contributory causes for this widespread menace.

The economic blizzard passing over India has intensified the already acute problem of unemployment. The general low standard of living means under-nourishment and if under-work due to unemployment were to still further aggravate the economic situation the outlook is indeed dismal, dreary and dark. If horrid famines of the 19th century days are no longer to be experienced it does not mean that the economic problem has been fully achieved. Had an active statistical bureau existed the number of unemployed could have been easily gauged as in the case of the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. He however hazards at the guess that 40 millions out of 350 millions fall under the category of employed and under-employed. Including the under-employed the " actual number is roughly a hundred million " (p. 6).

A predominantly agricultural country like India has to experience a low *per capita* income unless and until the opportunities for rationalising agriculture and industrialism are grasped and an industrial policy has been inaugurated to develop the existing resources in a fitting manner. In this age of technocracy, India cannot hope to successfully compete in her own internal market with the go-ahead and progressively industrialised countries like Japan, the U.S.A. Continental Europe and Great Britain.

After briefly surveying the limited work of the different Unemployment Committees of the Provincial Governments of Bombay, the Punjab and Madras (pp. 16-21) he considers the general remedies vouchsafed by them. Illiteracy, neglect of industries, lack of regular and steady employment, incapacity in choosing professional occupations, primitive industrial and agricultural technique and dumping by foreign industrialists, are considered as the general causes for this menace.

The Government Committees have indeed outlined some remedies such as Governmental action and collective co-operation of people with the Government. The working habits, discipline and industry of the people need reorientation so that individual and national income might expand thereby. The Government itself has to help the process of rapid industrialisation, rural reconstruction, and establishment of practical training institutions. This is the needed programme to solve the major economic evils of the country including that of unemployment. Undeterred by any failure new industrial concerns—large, medium and small-scale—should be started by men of managing ability who are provided with the necessary materials, machinery and money.

Rural reform itself should aim at producing good workers and efficient businessmen. The important urban areas are to start practical training institutes and schools so that practical work in different cottage industries is learnt and the intelligence bureau run by it should disseminate the statistical information collected by it. In addition to the above work outlined by him he wisely insists on the people forgetting certain economic and social theories circulated by interested men who are bent on making the people or children of the soil mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. This would create the general conditions for the growth of prosperity. He thus attempts to solve the "Master Problem of the Age." But nothing is more important for us to remember than the cardinal factor that prior political salvation is all-indispensable for succeeding economic progress.

We only wish the unemployed educated middle-class youths would found such concerns and that the local community people would co-operate with them and make their plan a success and the Government would not misunderstand their zeal but co-ordinate their activity with such concerns.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAO

Some Materials for the Study of Agriculture and Agriculturists in Ancient India (1932)—by Prof. R. Ganguli, Serampore College, published by N. C. Mukherjee & Co., p. 147.

The author attempts to do pioneer work in assembling important material for a study of the agricultural industry in Ancient India down to the end of 7th century A. D. His sources of information are the Vedas, the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the Jātakas and the law-books of those times. His secondary sources of information are Kāutilya's Arthashastra and Parasara's "Kṛṣi-Tantra," Asoka's Edicts, Khana's popular aphorisms and maxims and the observations of such foreign travellers of the period as "Megasthenes" and "Periplus."

Though a "satisfactory portrait" could not be prepared by the author he has however stimulated research workers to undertake research work in this important field and complete "the picture" he has drawn. He has however dealt with such important problems as land revenue, animal husbandry, irrigation practices, laws relating to land, famine, and the general social outlook of the agriculturists of ancient India. Before undertaking a detailed study of these problems he outlines the then political system of the villages briefly. According to the author agriculture attained a degree of perfection in that "golden age." He substantiates his remarks by quotations from the recent Royal Agricultural Commission's Report which entirely corroborates his points of view. Then as now agriculture was the predominant industry of the people. In times of Rīgveda it attained a high state of perfection and agriculture was considered a noble craft and every family possessed a number of corn-fields. By the time of Yajurveda the Vaisyas alone consider agriculture as their natural occupation. During the Brahmanic, the Sūtra and Epic periods agriculture fast became a decadent industry and became confined to the lowest strata of the population.

Coming to cattle-breeding the author proves by citing Manu, Dr. Das and Kāutilya's Arthashastra that cattle-breeds were fine, milch kine, more productive and plough cattle more efficient than in modern days.

He accounts for the deterioration of cattle as due to the decrease of grazing area, poverty and ignorance of the cultivators. It is interesting to note that he criticises the findings of the Royal Commission on Agriculture which recommend the exportation of fine breeds of cattle from India at a time when there is a serious deficiency of bullock-power.

Griffith's Rig Veda and the Jatakas provide him with ample material to outline the life of the ancient Indian agriculturists of the Vedic and post-Vedic periods. Summing up the idyllic life of these ages the author says that people lived a happy and contented life. But for occasional famine troubling them they lived quite a contented life. The few famines that occurred were however less terrible and devastating than the modern famines.

In the concluding chapter he assigns reasons for the gradual disappearance of the Vaisya agriculturists.

We heartily recommend a perusal of this book by all modern agriculturists of the country and the wealth of agricultural maxims quoted does really testify to the perfection of ancient agricultural practices.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAO

Ourselves

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE : THE 9TH DEATH ANNIVERSARY

On the 25th of May every year since 1924 people wend their way to the Durbhanga Building, as pilgrims to a shrine, to pay homage to the memory of the great son of Bengal held by his countrymen in everlasting affection, esteem and regard. On the noble staircase and on the spacious landing assemble people of all castes and creeds and the bust of Sir Asutosh decked with white lotuses and green foliage by loving hands is surrounded by his sorrowing friends and admirers with bare feet and bent heads. This annual function has gained for itself a special significance as it focuses the entire genius of the people of the country for education as embodied in the efforts of the great Vice-Chancellor.

On the occasion of the 9th Death Anniversary the solemn assembly led by Sir Nilratan Sircar garlanded the bust in token of love, esteem and gratitude and amidst chanting of Vedic Hymns recounted the achievements and the greatness of the beloved Master. The sombre evening—the setting sun—the scent of flowers and burnt incenses and the intensity and earnestness of the praying assembly created an atmosphere, calm and serene, diffusing purity and benevolence all round. Songs specially composed were sung amidst pin drop silence and the sweet melody added to the solemnity of the occasion. The ceremony terminated with the recitation of the epic sorrow of Rādhā for her beloved, and when the assembly parted late at night there was hardly a man who had not moist eyes.

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THE LATE PROF. PURNA CHANDRA SEN

We regret very much to record the sudden and unexpected death of Prof. Purna Chandra Sen of the Scottish Church College

which melancholy event took place on Wednesday, the 24th May 1933. Prof. Sen was an educationist all his life and he was connected with a large number of educational institutions in North Calcutta. His genial personality, his unfailing courtesy and his devotion to duty endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. He worked hard for the social and economic regeneration of the Subarnabanik community of which he was an accredited leader. His death removes from our midst a useful citizen, a veteran educationist and a prominent social reformer. We offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family.

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KING GEORGE V. PROFESSOR OF MENTAL AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY

Dr. Adityanath Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D., has been appointed King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy from 1st May, 1933, on his retirement from the office of the Registrar of the Calcutta University which he held for two years from 1931 to 1933. He discharged his onerous duties as Registrar with great success and the Syndicate placed on record their appreciation of the good work done by him. His varied intellectual gifts, his social graces, his charming personality, his unfailing courtesy had gained for him the love and respect of every one, from the highest to the lowest, connected with the University. Dr. Mookerjee is an erudite scholar, a man of high culture and academic attainments. Before he joined the post of the Registrar he was the Principal of the Sanskrit College. We are confident that he will keep up the prestige of the great chair to which he has been appointed.

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RESULT OF THE D. P. H. EXAMINATION, PART I, HELD IN MAY, 1933

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 23 of whom 23 passed, none failed and none was absent.

**PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP IN LITERARY
SUBJECTS FOR THE YEAR 1932**

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in literary subjects for the year 1932 has been awarded to Mr. Bimanbihari Mazumdar and Mr. Makhanlal Roychaudhuri.

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THE GRIFFITH MEMORIAL PRIZE IN LETTERS FOR THE YEAR 1931

The Griffith Memorial Prize in Letters has been divided equally among the following candidates on the usual conditions :—

Names of Candidates.	Names of Theses.
1. Sukumar Sen, Esq., M.A.	... Syntax of Early Bengali.
2. Miss Mrinal Dasgupta, M.A.	... The Early Indian Idea of Religious Devotion and its Historical Background.
3. Nalininath Dasgupta, Esq.	... Learning and Literature in Early Mediaeval Bengal.
4. Bimalacharan Law, Esq.	... The Pali Pitakas—Chronology and General History, Parts I-IV.

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A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Jayanta Kumar Dasgupta, M.A., one of our contributors, has recently been made a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts in the University of London. He worked at the School of Oriental Studies under Mr. Sulton Page, Reader in Bengali in the University of London, and his research work was on Bengali Literature. Mr. Dasgupta also participated in the teaching work of the School of Oriental Studies of London.

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INDIA INSTITUTE OF THE DEUTSCHE AKADEMIE

We have received the following communication from Dr. Thierfelder for publication in our paper :—

DEAR SIR,

India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie would thank you for kindly publishing the following communication :

Members of the Labour Party have been maintaining in the House of Commons that the safety of the Indians pursuing their studies in Germany was compromised by recent political events. This news has also been divulged in the foreign press. India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, which looks after the interests of a considerable portion of such Indians as study in Germany, assures the public at large that the safety of the Indian students pursuing their scientific work and refraining from interfering with politics is guaranteed at present and in future. Indian students who come to this country in order to acquaint themselves with German things and to promote cultural relations between Germany and India can safely be assured of being now as before welcomed at German Universities. News to the contrary propagated by the foreign press have no foundation in the actual facts.

Faithfully yours,
DR. THIERFELDERS.

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COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION FOR THE MINISTERIAL SERVICE
(1ST AND 2ND DIV.) OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO BE
HELD IN JULY, 1933.

A competitive examination will be held on Monday, July 3rd, 1933, for appointments as assistants and clerks in the First and Second Divisions of the Ministerial Establishment of the Government of India Secretariat and Attached Offices.

2. Candidates who are successful at this examination will be eligible for appointment in vacancies which now exist, or which occur on or before the 30th September, 1934. The number of vacancies, whether open or reserved for minority communities, will be announced later.

3. Successful candidates will be offered posts, in the order of their merit in the examination, as vacancies occur, and posts reserved for candidates of a particular community will be offered

to candidates of that community in order of merit, provided that in each case the Public Service Commission are satisfied that the successful candidate is suitable for employment in the Ministerial Establishment of the Government of India.

CONDITIONS APPLICABLE TO THE EXAMINATION

Section A.—General.

4. Applications to appear at the examination must be made on the prescribed form and must reach the Public Service Commission, together with *all* the necessary documents, not later than the 30th April, 1933. Application forms may be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Metcalfe House, Delhi, Kennedy House Annexe, Simla. *Requisitions received less than ten days before the last date for the submission of applications will not be complied with.*

Note.—The office of the Commission will close in Delhi on the 13th April, 1933, and will open in Simla on the 15th April, 1933. Requisitions and applications which cannot reach Delhi by the 13th April, 1933, should, therefore, be addressed to Simla. •

5. The fee for the examination will be Rs. 20 to be paid on application, in accordance with clause (e) (i) of the instructions on the application form. *No claim for a refund of the fee paid will be entertained.*

6. The examination will be held at the following centres :—

Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore, Madras and Simla.

7. The Public Service Commission may, if they think it desirable, fix a minimum standard to be attained in all or any of the subjects of the examination.

8. Candidates, other than those to whom Section B is applicable, must be not less than 20 years, and not more than 24 years, of age on the 1st July, 1933. They must be graduates of a University incorporated by an Act of the Central or a Provincial Legislature in India, or of the Mysore or the Osmania.

University; or must have passed the Cambridge School Certificate Examination or any other examination which may be recognised by the Public Service Commission as equivalent thereto.

Note.—Any person who, at the time of application, has appeared or is appearing at an examination for one of these qualifications, the result of which has not been announced may apply for admission to the Ministerial Service Examination, but, if admitted will not be eligible for appointment to the Ministerial Establishment of the Government of India, unless he produces before the 30th September, 1933, proof of having passed the former examination.

9. The subjects of examination, the time allowed for, and the maximum marks allotted to each subject will be as follows :—

(a) *Arithmetic.*—Time one hour, marks 100.

The questions will be designed to test intelligence, accuracy and rapidity in working.

(b) *Handwriting.*—Time 20 minutes, marks 100.

Candidates will be required to copy a passage printed in English. Marks will be awarded for accuracy, legibility, neatness and speed. If a candidate is unable to copy the whole of the passage a deduction of marks will be made in proportion to the shortage.

(c) *General Knowledge.*—Time one hour, marks 150.

Candidates will be required to give brief answers to questions concerning current events, common phenomena and matters of everyday interest or common knowledge.

(d) *English Composition.*—Time 2 hours, marks 200.

Candidates will be tested in the following :—

(i) Drafting.

(ii) Précis Writing.

(iii) Correcting mistakes in English.

(iv) Proof correcting.

The test will be of a high standard.

Section B.—Special conditions applicable to retrenched personnel.

10. Any person who, as a measure of retrenchment, has been discharged from the Government of India Secretariat or from an office attached or subordinate to the Government of India, whether located at headquarters or else where, and who will be over the age of 24 years on the 1st July, 1933, will be eligible to compete at the examination, subject to the condition mentioned in paragraphs 11 to 14 below.

11. A candidate must not be more than 30 years of age on the 1st July, 1933, and must not have been more than 25 years of age when he or she first entered Government Service.

Note.—The date of first entry into Government Service is the date from which the candidate was continuously in Government employ until his or her discharge as a measure of retrenchment.

12. A candidate must not have appeared at any previous examination conducted by the late Staff Selection Board or the Public Service Commission for appointment as Assistants and Clerks in the First and Second Divisions of the Ministerial Establishment of the Government of India Secretariat and its Attached Offices.

13. A candidate must have one of the educational qualifications prescribed in paragraph 8 above, and, except as provided in this Section, must comply with the other conditions prescribed in Section A.

14. A candidate's application must be accompanied by a certificate from the Head of the Department or office from which he or she was discharged stating (a) that the candidate was not more than 25 years of age when he or she first entered Government Service as explained in paragraph 11 above; (b) that as a measure of retrenchment the candidate was discharged from an appointment which he or she held in a permanent capacity or in which, but for retrenchment, he or she would have been

confirmed ; and (c) that the candidate is suitable for re-employment in Government Service.

D. REYNELL,

Secretary,

Public Service Commission.

DELHI ;

The 25th March, 1933.

Note.—Copies of the " Pamphlet of the competitive examinations held in February, 1931, for recruitment to the Ministerial Service of the Government of India Secretariat and its Attached and Subordinate Offices " containing the Notice, the Question papers and the Table of marks of candidates can be purchased from the Manager of Publications, Civil Lines, Delhi.

